

## M I N U T E S

of the 16th session of the Assembly of the Serbian People in Bosnia and Herzegovina  
held on 12 May 1992 in Banja Luka

The session started at 1000 hrs, and was chaired by the President of the Assembly, Momčilo KRAJIŠNIK.

The session started by honouring deputy Goran ZEKIĆ and all Serbian soldiers who have died in this war.

After establishing the presence of a quorum, it was stated for the record that the Assembly can reach valid decisions.

The following agenda of the session was adopted,

### A g e n d a:

1. Report on political conditions and the war in the Serbian Republic of BH;
2. Adopting the oath;
3. Confirmation of the decisions and other legislation adopted by the Presidency of the Serbian Republic of BH;
4. Draft amendment to the Constitution of the Serbian Republic of BH;
5. Bill on amendments to the Constitutional Law for the Implementation of the Constitution of the Serbian Republic of BH;
6. Draft decision on electing the members of the Presidency of the Serbian Republic of BH;
7. Bill on amendments to the National Defence Act;
8. Draft decision on establishing the Serbian Republic of BH Army;
9. Bill on turnover tax on goods and services;
10. Draft decision on marking the Serbian Republic of BH;
11. Draft decision on the use of the Serbian Republic of BH symbols;
12. Platform proposal for talks with the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia leadership;
13. Warning to European Community member states in relation to the break up of the Lisbon Conference;
14. Elections and appointments.

### Item 1

In his speech, Dr. Radovan KARADŽIĆ, president of the National Security Council, addressed the political conditions and the war in the territory of the Serbian Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

After the discussion on the speech, the deputies adopted the Report on the Political Conditions and the War. It was decided to form a working group to make a map of the Serbian Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina to make it clear which territories have to be defended.

### Item 2

After the proposed text of the oath was submitted and discussed, the following text was adopted:

"I swear I shall abide by the Constitution and the laws of the Serbian Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, I shall protect its constitutional system honourably and faithfully, respecting moral standards and spiritual values in the struggle for the freedom of the Serbian people and all other citizens of the Serbian Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. So help me God!"

### Item 3

The Assembly unanimously confirmed the following decisions adopted by the Presidency of the Serbian Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina:

1. Decision on establishing SRNA news-agency;
2. Decision on provisional financing of the SR BH /Serbian Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina/ public expenditure for the period of January – June 1992;
3. Decision on basic organisation and work of misdemeanour courts;
4. Decision on directing misdemeanour fines and on conducting misdemeanour proceedings during war and imminent threat of war;
5. Decision on basic organisation, location and territory of regular courts;
6. Decision on basic organisation, location and territory of public prosecutor offices;
7. Decision on proclaiming imminent threat of war;
8. Decision on the establishment of penal and correctional organisations in the territory of the Serbian Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

### Item 4 and 5

The Assembly unanimously adopted the draft amendment to the Constitution of the Serbian Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the bill on amendments to the Constitutional Law for the Implementation of the Constitution of the Serbian Republic of BH;

### Item 6

The Assembly unanimously elected Dr. Radovan KARADŽIĆ, Prof. Biljana PLAVŠIĆ and Prof. Nikola KOLJEVIĆ members of the Presidency of the Serbian Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

### Item 7

The Assembly adopted the Bill on amendments to the National Defence Act.

### Item 8

The Assembly unanimously adopted the Decision on establishing the Serbian Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina Army.

Lieutenant General Ratko MLADIĆ was appointed the commander of the SR BH Army Main Staff.

### Item 9

After an extensive discussion during which, among other issues, reservations were voiced as to whether or not this law should be adopted in conditions of war, bearing in mind the absence of any sales or production, it was decided that the Bill be adopted for a limited period of three months only, and subsequently, should

conditions return to normal, a new bill shall be drafted and all the aspects of the issue thoroughly reviewed.

#### Item 10

It was decided to strike the Decision on marking the borders of the Serbian Republic of BH from the agenda, and to prepare a decision regulating the precise way of marking the territory of the Serbian Republic of BH. The decision is to be forwarded to all municipalities.

#### Item 11

The assembly did not adopt the draft decision on the use of the Serbian Republic of BH symbols. Namely, it was decided that the anthem and the coat-of-arms should not be adopted, and that the insignia should be agreed with the Republic of Serbia.

A Decision was adopted on the form and appearance of the Serbian Republic of BH flag, which shall consist of three colours, red, blue and white, while the length-to-width ratio of the flag shall be two to one. The flag shall have horizontal red, blue and white stripes. Each of the stripes shall be the width of one third of the flag.

#### Item 12

Following a discussion during which certain suggestions were made, the Assembly adopted a platform for talks with the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia leadership.

#### Item 13

At the proposal of Prof. Nikola KOLJEVIĆ, the Assembly adopted the text of a warning to the European Community member-states regarding the breakup of the Lisbon Conference on Bosnia and Herzegovina.

#### Item 14

The Assembly appointed Milenko VRAČAR acting governor of the Serbian Bosnia and Herzegovina National Bank.

Since the deputies proposed that a National Bank Board should be formed, it was concluded that the Vice-President of the Assembly, Dr. Milovan MILANOVIĆ, hold consultations on the issue at the Autonomous Region of Krajina level, after which the Assembly of the AR /Autonomous Region/ could appoint a six-member Council, which the Assembly of the Republic would confirm at its next session.

The Assembly confirmed the election of the following ministers in the Serbian Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina Government, who were elected by the Presidency because the Assembly was unable to convene: Velibor OSTOJIĆ – Minister of Information; Momčilo MANDIĆ – Justice; Dr. Aleksa MILOJEVIĆ – Development and Spatial Planning; Dragan KALINIĆ – Health, Social and Family Care; Božidar ANTIĆ – Economy; Petra MARKOVIĆ – Finance; Bogdan SUBOTIĆ – Defence; Momčilo PEJIĆ – as Deputy Prime Minister with a finance portfolio; Nedeljko LAIĆ – Transport and Communications; Ljubomir ZUKOVIĆ – Education, Science, Culture and Physical Culture; and Prof. Milivoj NADAŽDIN – Agriculture.

The audio tape recording of the session is an integral part of the minutes.

PRESIDENT OF THE ASSEMBLY

Momčilo KRAJIŠNIK

/signed/

/stamp:/ REPUBLIKA SRPSKA, NATIONAL ASSEMBLY – SARAJEVO

SERBIAN REPUBLIC OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA  
ASSEMBLY OF THE SERBIAN PEOPLE IN BH

ORIGINAL MINUTES

of the 16th session of the Assembly of the Serbian People in BH, held on 12 May 1992 in Banjaluka on the premises of the JNA /Yugoslav People's Army/ Hall, at 1000 hrs.

Momčilo KRAJIŠNIK, President of the Assembly of the Serbian People in BH, opened the session.

MOMČILO KRAJIŠNIK:

I hereby open the 16th session of the Assembly of the Serbian People in BH, which, in these times, can justly be called our first war session.

Since this is a time of war, we ought to be pleased to have a quorum today, but also sad because one of our deputies, who was treacherously killed and heroically gave his life for our people, is not among us today. Goran ZEKIĆ is not among us, and I would ask you to honour our Goran with a minute of silence.

To his eternal honour, God bless his soul.

Not only Goran, but many of our soldiers and members of our people and patriots from this Serbian BH have also given their lives. My apologies to all those whom I do not mention today. We do not consider their sacrifice to be any less than that of our late Goran, but it is our duty to honour again our deputy, and together with him, to honour all those who have given their lives for the freedom of their people during this war. As I have said, we do have a quorum to hold the session, there are 49 deputies from all parts of Serbian BH present here, and just before the start of the session we submitted the agenda to you, but there are some changes to it and I would hereby ask you follow this and jot down any changes so that we can vote on the agenda.

/number added in hand/ 1. As the first item of the agenda, we propose the Report on political conditions and the war in the Serbian Republic of BH. The report shall be presented by the president of the National Security Council, Mr. Radovan KARADŽIĆ.

/number added in hand/ 2. As the second item of the agenda, we propose to appoint a Commission that shall, in the meantime, draft a proposal for an oath which all members of our Government must take, because they can neither be members of the Government nor continue with their work unless they take the oath. Deputies will not take the oath because, according to our Constitution, the Assembly of the Serbian People in BH shall perform the duties of the National Assembly until the elections, and after conducting supplementary elections, we shall constitute a National Assembly. In these times of war, the role of the National Assembly, provided for in the Constitution of the Serbian Republic of BH, shall be performed by the Assembly of the Serbian People in BH which is composed of deputies who have already taken an oath.

/number added in hand/ . 3. The third item is: confirming decisions and other legislation adopted by the Presidency of the Serbian Republic of BH, namely:

- Decision on establishing SRNA news-agency;
- Decision on provisional financing of the Serbian Republic of BH public expenditure for the period of April to June of 1992;
- Decision on basic organisation and work of misdemeanour courts;
- Decision on directing misdemeanour fines and on conducting the misdemeanour procedures during war and imminent threat of war;
- Decision on basic organisation, location and territory of regular courts;
- Decision on basic organisation, location and territory of the public prosecutor offices;
- Decision on the establishment of penal and correctional organisations on the territory of the Serbian Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina.
- Decision on proclaiming an imminent threat of war;

/typed ordinal numbers 3 – 5 below corrected in handwriting into 4 – 6, handwritten ordinal numbers 6 – 15 corrected in handwriting into 7 – 16/

4. 3.- Draft amendment to the Constitution of the Serbian Republic of BH.
5. 4.- The Bill on amendments to the Constitutional Law for the Implementation of the Constitution of the Serbian Republic of BH
6. 5.- Draft decision on electing members of the Presidency of the Serbian Republic of BH.

May I now ask the reporters here to finish what they are doing, so that... thank you for your efforts, and you will probably receive the information later. I hope that we are agreed and that there are no problems there.

7. 6. Item six is the Bill on amendments to the National Defence Act;
8. 7. – Draft decision on establishing the Serbian Republic of BH Army;
9. 8. – Bill on turnover tax on goods and services;
10. 9. – Draft decision on marking the Serbian Republic of BH;
11. 10. – Draft decision on the use of the Serbian Republic of BH symbols;
12. 11. – Platform proposal for talks with the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia leadership;
13. 12. – Report by the Serbian Republic of BH Government ministers, and fifteen,
14. 13. – Elections and appointments.

Two more decisions have been proposed for consideration:

15. 14. – Draft decision on founding the Faculty of Agriculture in Banjaluka, and
16. 15. – Draft decision on advancing the Teacher Training College into a Faculty of Teaching in Banjaluka. This has not been passed by the Government, but it should be passed, and there is no need, since, in time of war, as we have said, the Presidency is authorised to adopt such decisions, and we shall later confirm this in the Assembly, so I would ask that we keep the agenda as it was, according to the Rules of Procedure.

Gentlemen, the agenda has been proposed. Do you agree with the agenda, and are there any objections or suggestions. There seem to be many, so let us proceed with them one by one. Mr. KOLJEVIĆ. Could you please come to the front for the benefit of the stenographers so that all proposals are recorded.

Dr. Nikola KOLJEVIĆ: I propose to include into the agenda the text of a Public Warning to all European Community member states in the wake of the yesterday's suspension of the Lisbon Conference. It does not matter under which item, I believe that we need such a such a document because we would thus state

publicly what has to be done in the situation in which the European Community has suspended, or rather postponed the Conference on Bosnia. Thank you.

Two more asked for the floor.

Nikola ERCEG: I would just like to say something briefly concerning the last two items. I would like to know when this Decision can be confirmed, since the deadline for the students to enrol is very close, a few days from now, and if the Rules of Procedure prescribe a certain period for this, that would prolong the matter. It would be necessary, if this is the case, for the Government to take this into consideration today.

Momčilo KRAJIŠNIK: It can wait until the next session. It is not a problem at all. If there is anything special, it would be proper for the Ministry to prepare it and state the reasons, so it is not a problem at all. We can do it at the next session. Let us now proceed one at a time, as we have learned.

Nikola ERCEG: I propose that we include the appointment of the Governor of the National Bank under elections and appointments.

Momčilo KRAJIŠNIK: There, Mr. VUKIĆ asked to take the floor.

Radoslav VUKIĆ: I propose that, when we complete the first item, we move to the discussion on the Bill on the Armed Forces and the Draft Decision on Establishing the Armed Forces Staff, while we are still rested and fresh, and while the commanders are still here.

Momčilo KRAJIŠNIK: That is completely in order, but we have an amendment to the Constitution waiting and I suggest that we stick to the agenda.

Deputy GEROVIĆ: I move that we add deputies' questions to the agenda, since some things are not clear.

Momčilo KRAJIŠNIK: Can we now adopt the agenda, then, placing this warning to European Community member-states before elections and appointments, as the item before last, and as the last item we shall have deputies' questions. Is that all right? Let us vote on the agenda then – who is in favour? Anyone opposed? Anyone abstained? No one, thank you. I state for the record that we have adopted the agenda and we shall move to the first item of the agenda. The material is written, but to avoid both Mr. OSTOJIĆ and Mr. KARADŽIĆ having to speak, I suggest that Mr. KARADŽIĆ presents it the way he knows orally, and we will then start the discussion.

KARADŽIĆ: Ladies and gentlemen, deputies, honourable guests, we find ourselves in a situation created by the historical fate of the Serbian people and its geo-strategic and geo-political position. It seems as if something new is happening to us, but in fact we are experiencing something that has happened to us before, only this time our answer is different, if I may say so, we are more prepared and more successful. The political conditions in Bosnia and Herzegovina in the last two years, since the foundation of the HDZ /Croatian Democratic Union/, first in Croatia and then in Herzegovina, and later in Bosnia too, with its militant and dangerous gatherings, with

insignia of the Ustasha regime which committed genocide against us, and the setting up of the SDA /Party of Democratic Action/ at its founding assembly, with its militant Islamic fundamentalism and guests from Croatia who drew the Croatian border on the Drina river, the first defence line of Croatia on the Drina have been very crowded complex. The number of events in unit of time was enormous. These two events, which followed the breakup of the one-party system and the arrival of democracy, that is to say, the multi-party parliamentary system, were a great challenge for the Serbs. With their natural readiness for law, order, and peace, the Serbs were willing even to put up with a regime in which peace and order were for the most part paid from the funds of Serbian spirituality, culture, statehood and economy. However, as a people known for and inclined to democracy, we accepted the challenge of the time, accepted the multi-party parliamentary democracy and, as it was obvious that the Croatian Democratic Union and the Muslim national community were taking certain roads which aimed not only at the prosperity of their peoples, but would inevitably suppress the Serbian national interest in these areas, we set up our national movement, called the Serbian Democratic Party, entered the elections and, in these very tense times, you as deputies managed to keep pace with those who were destroying Yugoslavia while wishing to solidify Bosnia and Herzegovina and their positions in a Bosnia and Herzegovina under their domination.

When we rewind the film of events, we can remember, and everybody can remember it thanks to the TV coverage, that that Assembly neglected all other tasks and charged towards setting up a state, that is to say, gaining independence for Bosnia and Herzegovina as a unitarist state under Muslim domination, with the help of - which is difficult for us to understand - the Croatian national community and its representatives. Of course, it became clear to us that in that stage, their coalition was aimed at separating Bosnia from Yugoslavia, leaving their potential differences and quarrels for later, after Bosnia and Herzegovina was established as an independent state. While we fought in the Assembly to prove to our partners - our secret adversaries and enemies - that we are a people, that we have our own political will, our own national and state consciousness and interests, the war in Croatia broke out. We watched it with apprehension, and some people from these parts even participated in it. During that period, we gave our full contribution to the preservation of peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina, but in a way which did not sacrifice a single Serbian political or state interest. Our moves, which led to the setting up of our own State in this area were sequential, successive and always provoked by violations of the rules of the game, violations of the Constitution, human and written laws on the part of our partners. We remember very well how much care we took not to make moves which would undermine our neighbourly relations, undermine peace, and lead to unrest and a possible war conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina. All our moves were provoked, they were well measured and they led us in the direction of establishing a balance that was disrupted by our partners and their unjust acts. That is how we came to this assembly, after the deputies from Muslim and Croatian national communities, assisted by some opposition parties, denied any meaning of the BH Assembly, after they had decided to enclose us in their own state, to make us wake up in a foreign state, whose signs and symbols are quite well known to us from our near and distant past, both under Croatian and Turkish occupation. We were forced to exercise our right to self-determination and set up our own state. The European Community became an ally, meaning that part of the European Community which was allied to our opponents in the Second World War, but they nevertheless accepted our proposal for a conference on Bosnia and Herzegovina, recognising that the Serbian people would not accept the

unitarist Bosnia of Alija IZETBEGOVIĆ so easily, and that is how we came to the Conference on Bosnia and Herzegovina under European auspices. At that conference, we have won a great political success, gaining the approval of the international community, in this case the European Community, for a three-part Bosnia and Herzegovina - as opposed to the unitarist Bosnia and Herzegovina - a complex Bosnia and Herzegovina, consisting of three nation states, of three constitutive states, whose relations and links will be stronger or weaker. We were for weaker, the Croats were for weaker, while in Europe, they were for stronger links, but that is less important. What is important is that in the political field, we have won recognition of the legitimacy of our wish to have our own state unit in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and that nobody has the right to dispute that. They may dispute a village or a municipality here and there, but nobody can dispute our right to have our own state unit, our own state organism, or entity in Bosnia and Herzegovina. We have thus reaped success in the political sphere, both in the Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina and in international relations. Our policy was being realised, and we did not have any need for war, we had no need to organise ourselves militarily, we did not need to set up various "berets." We have opted for a political, peaceful solution, and accepted the political arbitration of the European Community, which does not favour the Serbs at this moment, but we accepted the loss of a thing or two in order to avoid war. However, immediately after the international recognition, the gentlemen from the Muslim national community, having announced before the recognition that their acceptance of the Conference was a pure tactical manoeuvre in order to buy time and gain international recognition for Bosnia and Herzegovina, began to sabotage the Conference in a brazen way, unprecedented in European experience. Simply, the European diplomats could not believe their eyes and ears, they could not understand that such escapades, of which we had warned repeatedly in the domestic arena, could appear as a legitimate political activity in the international arena. However, the interest of Europe was not to expose Alija IZETBEGOVIĆ. Their interests were to crush Serbia and Montenegro and to give the Serbs in Bosnia and Herzegovina as little as possible, although they had to agree to give them what is fundamental - a state entity within Bosnia and Herzegovina. For IZETBEGOVIĆ, even this alliance, this support, this turning of a blind eye, was not enough, and on the Ramadan Bajram, he resorted to a mobilisation call, which he knew with one hundred per cent certainty would be unacceptable to the Serbs. He thus mobilised the Croatian and Muslim national communities with the aim of aggravating the situation, using the same logic Croatia used when it attacked the JNA and the Serbs, in order to speed up the process of gaining independence for Bosnia and Herzegovina and taking control of fates of the peoples in Bosnia and Herzegovina. That happened on the 4<sup>th</sup>, in the evening, when the BH MUP /Ministry of the Interior/ had already been split. Our people separated themselves completely, accepted our Constitution and our laws, but between the 6<sup>th</sup> and the 7<sup>th</sup>, that is, on the 7<sup>th</sup>, when Bosnia and Herzegovina was recognised, we, that is to say, this Assembly, at its session in Banja Luka, proclaimed the independence of Serbian Bosnia and Herzegovina before Bosnia and Herzegovina was recognised by the European Community, so that there would be no misunderstandings as to what the European Community was recognising. The European Community has *de facto* recognised a Bosnia and Herzegovina which does not exist, in whose territory and within whose former borders there is another state - the Serbian Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The events then resulted in the war, first and foremost by terrorising the Serbian people in Sarajevo, and then by openly attacking Serbs in other areas - Zvornik, Bijeljina, and in other parts where there had been skirmishes even before this event, before the proclamation and recognition. So, the Serbian people in Bosnia

and Herzegovina found itself exposed to attacks of the State of Croatia, the independent state of Croatia, which has its aspirations in Bosnia and Herzegovina, to which we have no objections except for the part where we disagree regarding territorial issues. We have nothing against the Croatian national community in Bosnia and Herzegovina setting up its state, or staying in the same state with the Muslims. We do have objections to the cruel war in Posavina waged by Croatian hordes – regular forces of the Croatian state – which raided Posavina and invaded the Serbs /as printed/ of Bosnia and Herzegovina, committing genocide and expelling them from their homes in an attempt to gain the best possible negotiating position, that is to say, to establish the borders of their state unit in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The Serbian people had to take up that struggle and defend themselves, but I must say, we trusted the army, we often joined the army, regardless of individual cases of mistakes while carrying out duty or treason, which occurred in Slovenia and Croatia, we have to say that the army had a decisive influence on the fate of the Serbian people. It has saved the Serbian people in these parts, the Serbian people which did not have its own military organisation, which had not prepared for war, and which had opted for a political solution. Today in Bosnia and Herzegovina, as far as the state of Bosnia and Herzegovina is concerned, there is chaos, disorder and a total lack of any effective state government in Bosnia and Herzegovina, except for several areas - Tuzla, Zenica and a part of Sarajevo. The government in the Muslim Bosnia and Herzegovina, especially in Sarajevo, is exercised in a most shameless criminal way, with terror against the Serbian people, military personnel and their families. Finally, by open bloody and blood-thirsty attacks on the young men in the JNA /Yugoslav People's Army/, all on the orders coming from the TO /Territorial Defence/ Command of the so-called Bosnia and Herzegovina, which is composed exclusively of Croatian and Muslim officers and soldiers, with various paramilitary formations, which have been legitimised, that is to say, included in the BH TO. As far as other areas outside Sarajevo are concerned, Serbs control a considerable part of their territory and their settlements, not all and not fully, but they do control a considerable part. In other parts of Serbian Bosnia and Herzegovina, there is law and order based on the Constitution of the Serbian Bosnia and Herzegovina and the laws of that republic. Schools are working, companies are working to some extent. Today, we were glad to see from the aeroplane that the whole of Bosnian Krajina is fully cultivated, which means that the Serbian people is establishing life in its state, and at the fringes of that state, the areas bordering other national communities, it has to fight for its survival and against genocide and attempts at genocide against it.

The conditions in Bosnia and Herzegovina are determined to a considerable degree by the situation in Yugoslavia, which is renewed by Serbia and Montenegro. The pressure on Serbia and Montenegro, that is to say, Yugoslavia, is impudent and unjustified, and now they are, in a way, being connected to the status of the Serbian people in Bosnia and Herzegovina and its political and military actions. For that reason, we have been very cautious not to take what is not ours, not to fight more than is necessary, to defend ourselves in order not to spread the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina, not to burden Serbia and Montenegro, that is to say, Yugoslavia, after the renewal of their federal contract. However, we see that all this has been in vain. We have seen from the example of the Conference on Bosnia and Herzegovina that the Conference is interrupted whenever it suits the twelve European foreign ministers, regardless of the reasons given for it.

Scheduling of the current session of the Conference, which was supposed to be held tomorrow, is justified by the fact that the fighting in Sarajevo has subsided, and then it was cancelled with the explanation that the fighting in Sarajevo has not subsided. In the meantime, we have seen and learned that a declaration is being prepared against Serbia and Montenegro, that is, Yugoslavia, and maybe even the breaking off of diplomatic relations with Yugoslavia. We see what is happening in the OSCE, we see that the pressure on Yugoslavia from the fascist coalition allies of the Second World War, unfortunately strengthened by American support, is unprecedented. There is impudent diplomatic terrorism and pressure on Yugoslavia within the OSCE.

Both the pressure from the OSCE, whose member we are, whose member Yugoslavia is, and the pressure of the European Community, as a European citizens' association, as an interest community of which we are not a member, are completely incomprehensible and unacceptable. Our position on these issues is somewhat different to that in Yugoslavia, and we believe that we had to stand up a long time ago and leave the organisations which behave improperly and violate their own principles - because the OSCE is violating its own principles in the case of Yugoslavia. We should deny Europe any right to meddle in our affairs, declare our right to self-determination, mark the borders and defend them until they are recognised. We have not done so because the balance of forces in the world is utterly unfavourable. In 1914 and 1941, we had at least a considerable part of the world, if not more than a half of the world, on our side. This time, unfortunately, we do not. The non-aligned countries do not appear or exist, and the European forces look only after their own interests. We did not do so, although I sometimes wonder whether it would have been better to do so and proclaim the struggle of the Serbian people for its state, and then we would see how long we would endure and whether in the meantime we would gain the support of someone in the world who would be interested in such a Serbian state. However, what is done, is done. We have not done that. We tried to reconcile our internal situation and our interests with the interests of others outside us, those who live outside us, and that is how we found the solution with the United Nations for Serbian Krajina, which will give us a rest and allow us to describe /as printed/ the position of our Serbian brothers in Krajina and their preparation for unification in a common state or union of states or a Serbian federation. Such a solution was not on the horizon in Bosnia and Herzegovina, nor could it be implemented in the way it was in Croatia, because huge forces would be needed to cover the Serbian territory in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Besides, we ask why the Serbian territory has to be covered, why do we not cover Muslim territory, which is much smaller and much more problematic in the state and legal sense, because laws are not respected and terror is being used there. In this last round of talks, or meetings with the representatives of the United Nations, we did not allow for the possibility of deployment of UN forces in Bosnia and Herzegovina until after partition, and then exclusively along the borders of the three nation-states. We supported that option when the Serbian Krajina was in question. It was not possible to achieve such a solution, although we hope that this solution will eventually prevail, because in the Turkish Republic of Cyprus initially it was just like in Krajina - deployment on the whole territory, but later the "Green Line" was drawn. The UN forces have been deployed on that "Green Line" for nine years already.

As far as the defence forces and capabilities in the war situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina are concerned, we can say that at present fighting is going on at the contact points with the Croatian national community, primarily in the Neretva valley

and in Posavina, as well as in Kupres - Livno war theatre, which is now fortunately more in Livno than in Kupres, but unfortunately, it used to be in Kupres, where we lost more than 50 men and where many people were wounded and many houses destroyed, as in, after all, the Neretva valley, which is the line of separation between the Serbian and Croatian national communities, although the Muslims, by their own wish and the wish of Europe, are hoping to claim central Herzegovina, which is the narrow straight belt from the river towards the hills of our Herzegovina and covers a part of Mostar. As far as the Muslim national community and the contact points between our two territories are concerned, it was them who started the fighting. After an incident by the Serbian side in Bijeljina, their Green Berets and snipers imposed terror, and you know how that ended. Then the tension and conflict continued along the Drina river, in which they are very interested, because it would give them good possibilities to be supported by the Islamic countries, especially Turkey, if they establish a "Green Transversal" through Sandžak, Kosovo and the Albanian part of Macedonia, and thus become a stronghold of Islamic, primarily Turkish, interests in Europe. And of course, there is the conflict in Sarajevo, where the Serbian people do not allow a city built at the expense of all parts of Bosnia and Herzegovina, at the expense of the Serbian people, which in the post-war period made up 44 % of the population and over 50 % of the work force... Even today, Serbs account for 44% of all employees in the work force. Thus, the city has developed enormously at the expense of Serbian areas, primarily Serbian - because Zenica and Tuzla did not lag behind in their development, while Banja Luka and Bijeljina did, as well as Trebinje and Herzegovina - which was, therefore, built with our money, primarily with our money, and which was built on Serbian land, according to the cadastre, for the most part on Serbian land. We are not going to allow it to be excluded from our state unit in Bosnia and Herzegovina. We did not want war in Sarajevo. We wanted the Serbian police to control the Serbian part of the town, to be responsible for what happened in the Serbian part of the town, and Muslims for the Muslim part, and to make the partition without any fighting, both in the whole of Bosnia and Herzegovina and in Sarajevo itself. All that could have been done in a peaceful manner. Sarajevo would not be the first or the only border city. There are many border cities in Europe, and some of them are even prospering. The war in Sarajevo, which has been imposed on us, is full of criminals, both those who used to be thieves and criminals in peacetime and those who are now becoming criminals, war criminals, and that is the war we are enduring there. I must say we are doing quite well, considering the forces that we had at our disposal, we hold the positions we had rather well. We hold all our areas, all the municipalities, all the settlements around Sarajevo, and we hold our enemies - now I must and can say - we hold our enemies in complete encirclement, so that they cannot receive military assistance, either in manpower or in weapons. True, there are war conflicts here and there. In Doboj, they lasted a short time and ended successfully for the Serbian side. Along the Drina, they ended successfully in Foča, Zvornik and Višegrad, while Goražde, where the 27 % who are Serbs are in a particularly difficult situation, and Muslims who are in the Serbian part and our positions are held there /as written/, although we do not have very good connections and we do not know how the situation is developing from day to day. At any rate, it is not tragic for the Serbian people.

We have done everything to avoid the war and, when it did break out, to stop it and establish peace to make a political solution possible. The cease-fire or truce has each time been violated first and foremost by Muslim forces in Sarajevo and Croatian forces in Posavina, where the war never stopped, as well as in the Neretva valley. We

believe that the Croatian goal is the conquest of territory and establishment of the situation on the ground and the borders, which will, in their opinion, sooner or later be recognised, while the Muslims violate the truce in order to put off, or undermine the Conference on Bosnia and Herzegovina, where they are losing, their concept is losing, the unjust concept which implies domination over the Serbs. We said last night, and today, if this Assembly so decides, we shall announce a unilateral cease-fire for a certain period, and we shall not respond except in cases of extreme necessity or extreme danger, in order to show the world and Europe, although Europe knows very well the whole truth about these events, that we are not belligerent and that we are not starting the war or violating the cease-fire. Of course, the unilateral cease-fire can last only until the moment when we are actually threatened and have to defend ourselves. We believe that we are on the right route. It would be much better to solve this situation by political means. It would be best if a truce could be established right away and borders set up, even if we were to lose something, in the manner the European Community proposes and agrees with the three national communities.

The Serbian side in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Presidency, the Government, the Council for National Security, which we have set up, have formulated the strategic priorities, that is to say, the strategic goals for the Serbian people. The first such goal is separation from the other two national communities - separation of states. Separation from those who are our enemies and who have used every opportunity, especially in this century, to attack us, and who would continue with such practices if we were to stay together in the same state.

The second strategic goal, it seems to me, is a corridor between Semberija and Krajina. That is something for which we may be forced to sacrifice something here and there, but this is of the utmost strategic importance for the Serbian people, because it integrates the Serbian lands, not only of Serbian Bosnia and Herzegovina, but Serbian Bosnia and Herzegovina with Serbia, and the Serbian Krajina with Serbian Bosnia and Herzegovina and Serbia. So, that is a very important strategic goal which we have to achieve because there will be no Krajina, Bosnian Krajina, Serbian Krajina or alliance of Serbian states if we do not secure that corridor, which will integrate us and give us unimpeded flow from one part of our state to another.

The third strategic goal is to establish a corridor in the Drina Valley, that is, elimination of the Drina as a border between two worlds. We are on both sides of the Drina, and our strategic interest and our living space are there. We now see a possibility for some Muslim municipalities to be set up along the Drina as enclaves, in order for them to achieve their rights, but that belt along the Drina must basically belong to Serbian Bosnia and Herzegovina. As much as it is strategically useful for us in a positive way, it helps us by damaging the interests of our enemy in establishing a corridor which would connect them to the Muslim International and render this area permanently unstable.

The fourth strategic goal is establishment of the border on the Una and Neretva rivers. On their working maps proposed at the last session, the European Community recognised the border on the Una. They marked the Una as our war-time border, and painted everything east of it blue.

The fifth strategic goal is division of the city of Sarajevo into Serbian and Muslim parts and implementation of an effective state government in each of these

two constituent states. Thus, Sarajevo is strategically in the fifth place, but the battle in Sarajevo and for Sarajevo, seen strategically and tactically, is of decisive importance, because it does not allow the establishment of even the illusion of a state. Alija does not have a state while we have a part of Sarajevo. He has no government, no assembly, no functioning /state/, because the most important thing for Alija is to create an illusion for the world that there is a state and that we are terrorists. In addition, the fighting in Sarajevo keeps the fighting far away from Krajina, far away from Semberija, far away from the Drina, far away from all those areas, where we could possibly have conflicts with Muslims. Because the fighting around Sarajevo will decide the destiny of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and we suspected and said before that, if there was a war, it would start in Sarajevo and end in Sarajevo. The first part of this prophecy has come true, and the second part will come true the moment we have a map of Sarajevo, when I think the war will end in Sarajevo and in the whole of Bosnia and Herzegovina, as far as the Serbs and the Muslims are concerned.

The sixth strategic goal is the access of the Serbian Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina to the sea. It is not unimportant. It is very important, but some things are more important than others, or more feasible than others. We do not know how feasible that is, but we have to know that our interest and our goal is, first and foremost for Herzegovina, which historically had access to the sea, to gain access to the sea again. That means we have to dispute a part of the territory there and not recognise that area as a part of Croatian state, because the borders between Croatia and other parts were drawn in a dishonest, dishonourable and improper way. It is a border, strategic border of the west towards the Orthodox world. It is a border against the Serbs, against the Russians, it is a border against the Eastern world, the Orthodox world. That border is ridiculous, and everybody looking at the configuration of the Croatian coast can see that it was done forcibly, with the goal of keeping these parts as far as possible from the sea, the Serbian parts as far as possible from the sea, and they would exercise economic pressure on Montenegro, or a nationalist-separatist coup to throw Serbia out from there too. You saw how close it came to Serbia and Montenegro not being in a single state. The Montenegrin Ustasha political forces are, unfortunately, very strong in Cetinje. In Montenegro as a whole, they are not substantial, but in cooperation with the 30 to 35% of Muslim and Albanian interests there, those forces could have jeopardised the unification of the Serbian lands, first and foremost of Serbia and Montenegro, which provides access to the sea for the Serbian lands of Serbia and Montenegro.

Honourable deputies, dear guests, these are the circumstances in which we find ourselves, the circumstances which brought us to this situation and the prospects of getting out of it. We believe, and we have faith in God, justice and our own strength, that we shall achieve what we have planned, all these six strategic goals, of course, according to the hierarchy, and that we shall finally /original underlined/ and finally finish the job of the freedom struggle of the Serbian people. That job is not finished. Anything in history that is not properly finished does not die but it returns to the agenda again, each time with many more casualties. The Serbian illusion of brotherhood and unity, especially one which transcends the boundaries of religion, which is important not only with respect to faith, but is an entire culture and civilisation /as printed/. We must also put an end to the Serbian megalomania of trying to include as many of our enemies in our areas as possible, especially as much territory as possible, as many hills and brooks, regardless of whether they are fertile or not. It must be brought to a reasonable measure, in order for us to be solid and

compact. This can be compared to a balloon which is blown up to be as big as possible, but the bigger it is, the thinner it is and more likely to burst. I am saying this because every day we meet our brave people who took as much as they could, which could put us in danger of including in our state too many of our enemies, who will again work against that state.

The Assembly does not meet often because we are at war, although I have to say that I look forward to the Assembly sessions when we are all together, and it seems to me that there is no other assembly in which, regardless of the opposition or the position, there is so much unanimity on the subject of basic national, state and human issues as in our assembly, and so much brotherly unity and mutual understanding and respect. And finally, so much strength which the collective gives to individuals, that all our deputies who took the stand excelled and opened the eyes of our people regarding what is happening to us. I hope that you will call assembly sessions whenever possible and that in the meantime you will authorise other organs to make decisions with legal and other force between sessions, so that the state organism and the state life in the Serbian Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina does not get into a dead-end. Of course, you will review all the decisions at the next subsequent session and then either confirm or reject them.

Answering a question about Russia, Mr. KARADŽIĆ said:

There is a journalist here, I do not know if he stayed outside or came in with us. He was on the plane with us. Russia has demonstrated some diplomatic dignity at the OSCE. The journalist told me so himself. For the first time, Russian diplomacy is looking after their interests. Russia refused at the OSCE to allow Yugoslavia to be thrown out, and that has now become a matter of dignity. If Russia gives in now, it will be a sign of her weakness. Russia is waking up and recovering, and we believe that Russia will be strong and powerful. It is a fact, as our American friend, an analyst, wrote to us, that we Serbs have always been in trouble when Russia was weak. That was so in 1877-78, before the Berlin Congress, then in 1908-1909, after the Russian-Japanese war of 1905, then in 1914, then in 1941. So, we were usually in trouble when Russia was weak. It is a fact that the Orthodox faith has brought us a lot of worries and troubles with the Western world, because they always think of us as potential allies of Russia, and that is why we get hit on the head and threatened, but it is also a fact that a strong Russia has an interest in that the Serbian people in the Balkans remain together in one state, because there is a struggle for power in this part of the Mediterranean and Europe. I shall finish now, and you can decide for yourselves when you want to ask questions and when to hear the answers.

QUESTION: What is in dispute, and what agreements have you reached with the Croats?

KARADŽIĆ: I hope that all in this room are ours and that I can say this: it was a political manoeuvre useful for both us and the Croats. However, we cannot rely on what we agree with the BH HDZ, partly because they are treacherous, and partly because they do not control the situation, and someone in Zagreb may change the decision without informing them. Take the example of Kupres, when we told them we would take their interests into account, since Kupres was more important to them than to us because of the Kupreška Vrata, that we might agree for the border to run along the road, and that something could be arranged, first by the local armies on the

ground, and then by us at the level of the republic. The most important thing is that there is no fighting. However, although they knew it, they still fought us in Kupres and killed our people.

However, our agreement with the Croats, the bilateral agreement on the issues which are in the framework of the Conference on Bosnia and Herzegovina, has shaken the world. The British Foreign Office is dealing with it. The State Department is dealing with it. This agreement has enabled us to point out that it is possible to make different arrangements in Bosnia and Herzegovina, arrangements which the Hungarians /as printed/ fear, that is a partition of Bosnia into two parts. Of course, we do not want that. We do not want to get our state with a huge number of people who are against that state, but that is a possibility they are afraid of. Secondly, we have shown that borders can be drawn bilaterally, and we wanted to move the delineation line as deep and as far as possible, so there can be no more going back. A Russian diplomat who talked to us before we left this morning, asked and received information as if it were a fact, as if it was going to happen. Obviously, the actual situation on the ground has convinced many people that Bosnia does not exist any more, at least not in its previous form. We wanted to establish what is in dispute. Let everyone say it, let them say that the border is Baranja, we shall say it is the Neretva river. That will then be disputed, and let Europe deal with it. By singling out three or four disputed positions, we have implicitly ended disputes on all other issues and all other areas with Croats, such as the area of Dobratić near Skender Vakuf and all other areas where we are in contact with them. We ended disputes on them and touched on the issue of drawing a border between the two national communities. It is very important for us to pull them into that water, let them get wet and go deeper in that direction. It was a political manoeuvre, a big gamble which succeeded beyond our expectations. It was very successful. Of course, peace was not established, nor did we believe they would establish a cease-fire, but we needed this political manoeuvre.

Please, ask your questions. Mr KOLJEVIĆ is here, Mrs. PLAVŠIĆ is regrettably absent, the Prime Minister and other Ministers are also here, and we can talk later, when we finish with the agenda.

KRAJIŠNIK: Thank you, Mr. KARADŽIĆ. I hereby open the discussion on this issue. We can apply for the discussion orally or in writing. There, Dr. BELI.

BELI: Honourable Presidency, ladies and gentlemen! I would only like to make a few remarks on the priority tasks set by our president. One of the first priorities is establishing communication between Semberija and the Bosnian Krajina, and since Brčko is practically in the centre of all these events, I must inform you that the operations to establish this communication have been completed, to a degree, in the military aspect. However, Brčko itself, being a fierce stronghold, primarily of Muslim forces, remains uncompleted, and it is my personal opinion, which I trust is shared by the majority, that in dealing with such priority tasks we should act together instead of letting the burden of it all fall on that area only. Until now we were unable to communicate with anyone, with the exception of our Region of Semberija and Majevisa. This co-operation has been quite good so far, or rather, as good as the circumstances allowed. However, for definitive clearing of the area it will be necessary to have many more forces there, and, first of all, we will undoubtedly need help to maintain the current situation. We have not accomplished anything if it turns out that after a while we find ourselves in a position where we cannot control Brčko,

just like Alija IZETBEGOVIĆ cannot now maintain control over BH. Here I refer primarily to well qualified police staff. Many former active policemen failed to respond, and the reserve police we have is practically useless. To keep it brief, I would like to ask that we do not leave this place without – and above all the military strategists, I see Mr. MANDIĆ is here – without having such problem areas such as Brčko or Derventa precisely defined in military terms, so that we know where to turn for help. It is my opinion that Semberija and Majevica can do quite a lot here. I do not know whether this is on the agenda, however, in these times of war we must conduct a general mobilisation of the Serbian people, so I would ask President KARADŽIĆ and President KRAJIŠNIK, because they can communicate with the Serbian people through the media, to promote this more, and I must say that the Serbian people, especially in parts like Brčko, where we are 20 %, and as you have been saying, Mr. President, the Serbs are not a conquering people and do not get involved easily in these conquests that are currently necessary. Also, it is very difficult to drum up the neighbouring municipalities, other than Brčko, difficult to mobilise men, and we must keep on repeating, these are the war goals, the people must know what they are to do at any moment. Let me tell you, these goals can be accomplished, but, I repeat, we should insist on a general mobilisation. However, this general mobilisation is not being conducted. Someone should issue directives so that it does not depend on individual municipalities what a general mobilisation is, because, for instance, Semberija and Posavina can surely mobilise 20,000 soldiers, but today there are no more than maybe four to five thousand people under arms.

KRAJIŠNIK: KEROVIĆ asked for the floor, and then MILOŠEVIĆ.

KEROVIĆ: I would only like to add, in relation to the strategic goals presented by Mr. KARADŽIĆ, that the issue of Tuzla should be included in resolving the issue of the corridor, as he called it, for the following reasons. When a moment ago my colleague, deputy BELI, presented some facts about Brčko, we must also clearly determine the territories, or rather the borders of the Serbian Republic of BH, and now let me tell you why I mention Tuzla. The issue of Tuzla is extremely important and problematic. We have lost everything south of Mount Majevica, and if we lose half of Tuzla, and there are intentions /as printed/ that at least a half of Tuzla could be lost, because Tuzla has been acting indifferently up to this point, following some civic option, although we strive to keep it separate from Sarajevo. It has worked so far, although Alija's forces have recently become dominant and are trying to take power in Tuzla, because conflicts will probably erupt there too. This is why I say that the issue of Tuzla definitely needs to be included in the resolution of these strategic issues, and that we can no longer bargain with certain earlier divisions we envisioned before the EEC recognised a sovereign Bosnia. Now we must have a different concept, a different vision, and we cannot agree to any enclaves any more. I will ask for the floor later when the issue of borders is discussed.

KRAJIŠNIK: Thank you. Mr. MILOŠEVIĆ:

MILOŠEVIĆ: Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, fellow deputies, allow me to use my right as a deputy and to speak, with all due respect for the Government and Presidency, and Mr. President, but this respect goes only as far as the Assembly has given them authority to do their job. Gentlemen, the Assembly is the highest organ of authority of the Serbian people in BH, and as a deputy, I participate in this authority. However, unfortunately, with each passing day we are fewer. Unfortunately, some

have been killed, and a few individuals have also turned away from Serbian affairs, which should not be disregarded either. I am not going to make a long speech, because I have spoken often enough and have discerned, that is to say, predicted many things. I am, like every Serb, afflicted by local-patriotism. All we Serbs are local-patriots in a sense, the war has demonstrated it too. All of us want to be on our own doorsteps. What bothers me is the problem of the area that the Croats call "Little Kuwait", that is, northern Bosnia. I have spoken on several occasions about what will happen there, and now, sadly, not a single Serb remains in the Bosanski Brod municipality. In a municipality where the Serbs had 60 % of the territory, where they made up over 30 % of the population and, together with the Yugoslavs, were the most numerous group. We do not have a single Serb in the Bosanski Brod hinterland. All Serbian villages are uninhabited, burnt down, people have been slaughtered and thrown together into pits. I would not want to go into what is going on in the wider area, and it is happening everywhere, and the wounds of northern Serbs are not more serious than the wounds of southern Serbs, but I would like to say to the gentlemen who are running Serbian affairs, the Serbian men-of-affairs, that the areas in the north are more densely populated than those in the south, that they are more fertile and rich, that they are closer to industrial centres of Europe, and therefore interesting for anyone who wants to be in politics. But I do not want to lecture you on political matters, nor our esteemed generals on military matters, because I do not know, and I demand from this Assembly as the highest organ of authority to state its position – as the wartime presidency of Bosanska Krajina stated its position the other day – and thus stop the political suffering and the military suffering of the Serbian people in the north of Bosnia by saying where this corridor to Serbia is – and I know which route is the shortest because I was born there – so I can tell people and end that spilling of blood in combat, stop the dying of our men there, or I can say that we will do it, but in that case, if this is in our common interest. Since I heard the proposer say it was our second strategic goal, please allow me, in that case we must jointly work on furthering that interest, in a military sense too, because we are now in a situation where we are attacking fortifications. I would not want to talk about the ratio of those who are attacking compared to those who are defending to be sure of victory, but now it all relies on the ratio of soldiers. There is no Croatian population living in the areas that are now Croatian. The entire population has moved to the other bank of the Sava river. There are no more bridges across the Sava river. Croats remaining there, home-lovers or Home-Guards, are very poor soldiers because they have no combat experience, like the Serbs. They are peasants, as people from Slavonia and Vojvodina would call them, but for that reason in these parts, in the area of Derventa alone, I have reliable information that the Rijeka Battalion has brought in two thousand soldiers. Gentlemen, I demand again that the Assembly state its position on this strategic goal, and my proposal is the same as the one – no matter how megalomaniac it is – which I presented to and which was accepted by the Presidency. Mr. BRĐANIN is here and he presided in this Presidency. Mr. RADIĆ was present. It was accepted that, at the moment, the right bank of the Sava river is our border with Croatia. Thank you, gentlemen, and I want the Assembly to state its position on this.

KRAJIŠNIK: Here, Trifko RADIĆ is asking for the floor.

Trifko RADIĆ: Fellow deputies, I have carefully listened to Mr. KARADŽIĆ's speech, and there will probably be more questions, but I want and need to say a few words.

Awareness of the war in BH: some of us became aware of it sooner, some later. Trust me on this, we from Ilijaš were aware of it and felt it, it is a year and a half since the elections. We organised as far as we knew and could. I will not speak of the weapons. We got what we could get, although I could make some objections to the conduct of the former JNA, as everybody calls them. So, we organised ourselves in such a way that an encircled population of 11,000 of us defended itself against 70,000 of our bitter, unyielding enemies, proven Ustashas, the worst enemies of the Serbian people.

Immediately after BH was proclaimed, after it had been recognised by the European Community, they struck against us in such a perfidious and cunning manner that in the first few days we had nine dead. Two were killed the day before yesterday and we have 15 wounded. It is probably not the end, and we do not know when it will end, but trust me, we lack organisation and co-ordination between the top echelons of power and us who live and work in the municipalities. All our routes of communication have been cut off, in the air and on the ground, and thus we sometimes simply do not know what to do. Should we destroy all the Ustashas and enemies around us or should we stop. That is why I ask, as the President said, let us set our goals and tasks, see exactly what is ours, how much we should occupy, and then divide it up. What I said about co-ordination, can that be arranged in detail for the next Assembly session, so that we know what to do. Should we defend ourselves, should we occupy or should we let go? So, let it be like this, I endorse the request of my colleague MILOŠEVIĆ from Derventa, we should do this. I would also like to tell him that I am sorry that, at the intervention of the President of the Assembly, we released that Ustasha, that Ivo STANIĆ whom I had taken prisoner. This is what I regret having done most.

As for continuing the war, please deal with this now, please make sure that the lines of demarcation and goals are determined, and the rest will easily follow. I have read reports on when the Swedes and the Norwegians separated. The process of resettlement lasted ten years. We will see the same thing here, but it is still better to do that, and know exactly who is resettling where. It will be a difficult process, it will require lot of toil and effort and explaining to people who have to leave their hearths. That is why you, gentlemen, high up in the Government and the Presidency, will be working on this with our TV-network, and preparing the people psychologically that this will have to happen some time.

I would like to ask myself one question, I believe this is the third time that I am asking it: How long will the Serbian people stand by and wait while somebody else decides their future? Throughout our history of wars and freedom, others have always decided our future. Well how can it be possible that it is always somebody else telling us and deciding what we do? Can we not do something by ourselves, the way we want it? Don't we have the right to live in Europe as Serbs and choose for ourselves which path we shall take? I do not understand, and it is my position that, as far as this division and the corridor are concerned, I feel the need to tell this Assembly that we were informed yesterday that our enemies, our butchers, must be given an exit route from Sarajevo. They have three, one is Ilijaš, one is Ilidža and one is Olovo. Through Ilijaš they can pass only dead, and let me tell all of you here who are negotiating on behalf of the Serbian people of Ilijaš, that they certainly will not pass, and should anyone sign anything, nor will you. We reached that conclusion yesterday, we are prepared to defend ourselves, and we are prepared to defend ourselves.

To keep this brief, this war must end as soon as possible. Take my word for it, all work stopped in our parts two months ago, all factories have closed down. We have, as the saying goes, everyone up in arms. We are prepared, we hold 50 km of the line of encirclement around Ilijaš. We are organised and I have asked the TV to come and record how well organised for the war we in Ilijaš are, how our defence lines are organised. It is true, yes, that we have stolen a lot of goods. We have a lot of provisions down there to live on. We have stolen 32 tons of fuel oil and petrol in tankers. We have cut off and mined the railway line and no one can now get into Sarajevo. We have mined the motorway too. We shall do our best to prevent the enemy from ever getting to Sarajevo from the direction of Zenica, and anyone who tries the upper route will also meet his end. Please work on this, and please give us our goals so that we know what are we going to take and let us then develop the economy and work and live. This is all from me!

KRAJIŠNIK: Thank you. Dragan ĐURIĆ asked for the floor.

Dragan ĐURIĆ: Mr. President, fellow deputies, I would like to say a word on these strategic goals. Deputy Trifko's speech was emotional, but in times like these, we need cool heads. I agree with colleague MILOŠEVIĆ. However, since I come from the area below Majevisa, which is practically my birthplace, let me say that we must realise that in Derventa there are now 25,000 Serbs and they have at least 3,000 men under arms. In other words, the Serbs from Derventa should have done a better job, that is a fact. One month ago, before the war, a power struggle started in Derventa. They tried, I believe they succeeded in removing MILOŠEVIĆ from power. I do not know whether the President of the Serbian Municipality of Derventa is here? The soldiers also find it irritating that this is the only municipality in the BH that did not take the name of Serbian municipality of Derventa, but became Nova Derventa /New Derventa/. This reminds me of those things from the books, you know, the new generation, a new life immediately after the war. It should have been named Srpska Derventa /Serbian Derventa/. Another thing, I see this in some decisions here, is it part of Krajina or Northern Bosnia. Northern Bosnia is a utopia, let us not behave like snot-nosed kids in this war. If it belongs to Krajina, then the entire Krajina has to fight for it, and forget about local-patriotism, let me just tell you this, and you tell me if I am wrong, with the exception of a few villages, naturally, on the left bank of the Ukrina river which depend on Prnjavor for practically everything, starting with the supplies. In this section on Mount Motajica they defend Prnjavor. We have the first detachment, which stayed together. We have in the 5<sup>th</sup> Corps and in other units /as printed/ and it is only proper to fight and die for this.

Everyone in the barracks in Derventa is again from the municipality of Prnjavor. In other words, the entire area. There are some on the right bank, we are holding the position, but with us the left hand does not know what the right hand is doing. These parts on the left bank are not a problem. If you ask me, Krajina and the Serbian Assembly should urgently send commissioners, three persons. Another thing, if the War Presidency, which I respect, makes decisions, then, please, let there be at least one man who has been on the Sava river, who has been on the lines. We can reach whatever decisions we like, but we have to fight. We do not have a problem with doing our part of the job, but I do not want a member of the Crisis Staff to be telling me this: "You from Prnjavor, from Krajina, will be advancing from the west,

and those from Bijeljina and Srbija must do it from the east," and he says, "We will wage a little bit of war here." That will not do.

I will do my part of the job. It almost seems that we fight only on the left bank, while Krajina makes the decisions, but Krajina has the assistance of the 5th Corps. That is that. As for the territory, this needs to be clear, if there are indications in the negotiations, or maybe there are such proposals which we can adopt, although it seems illogical to me. Unless we plan to go all the way to the Sava river, then there is no point in dying, but if we do plan to go to the Sava river, we should develop the tactics and we should have more assistance. The Corps Chief saw what was it like on Bijelo Brdo.

I have nothing more to say except that, when we start discussing the transformation of the JNA into the armed forces of the Serbian Republic of BH, I believe a pledge of allegiance is necessary, as in the SUP /Secretariat of Internal Affairs/, which was also purged. With all due respect to the officers, I believe that a pledge of allegiance is necessary because communism is even stronger in the army than in the police. And hence, they must pledge allegiance to the Serbian people. I would also like to say that the connection between the Tuzla Corps and the Banjaluka Corps is non-existent. The actions of certain officers with the rank of colonel or lieutenant colonel in the Tuzla Corps amount to pure treason. They have practically driven away their troops, there is no co-ordination, and that is why Serbs in Derventa are not more strongly motivated to fight. Therefore, that needs to be regulated, I think the civilian authorities must stand behind the military authorities.

KRAJIŠNIK: It is Mr. Dragan KALINIĆ's turn now, and then Miroslav VJEŠTICA.

Dragan KALINIĆ: Gentlemen and ladies, I will speak on behalf of the group of independent deputies of this Assembly. I would first like to apologise for appearing on this stand in this inappropriate attire. It is because we are at war and we all took what we could.

I would like to address some of things I have heard here and some of the information and ideas that have been in circulation lately, which could create some confusion among our people, and maybe this would be the right place to clear such issues up while there is still time. Among all the issues this Assembly should decide on, the most important one is this: have we chosen the option of war or the option of negotiating? I say this with a reason, and I must instantly add that, knowing who our enemy is, how perfidious they are, how they cannot be trusted until they are physically, militarily destroyed and crushed, which, of course, implies eliminating and liquidating their key people, I do not hesitate in selecting the first option, the option of war, because I believe that our fate, the fate of Serbs in BH – and I do not link it in any way to the fate of Serbia and Montenegro, because I have already said that our sentimental and national bonds have to be reduced in this respect to a pragmatic level and established on the basis of interest – that the fate of Serbs in BH cannot be solved in any other way but by war. It is possible that in doing this the fate of us Serbs in BH would be to choose a hundred years of solitude over five hundred years of slavery under some new Turkish empire. We will be very isolated and have only ourselves to rely on, we must expect that, and I will be the first to say here that I am ready, as probably most of you are, to share this fate with our people.

Why do I say that the war option seems more certain? Because only what has been conquered militarily can be really and truly ours. Trust me, Mr. President KARADŽIĆ, I am not sure agreeing on the maps – I am referring to Sarajevo – would mean the end of fighting in Sarajevo. I think that there is no point in making maps before we have succeeded in defining and marking our territory militarily. Only then will it be possible to make concessions left and right. Every map is just a piece of paper that can be erased, and you know well that we have made maps of the city of Sarajevo and seen that we do not have forces at our disposal which would be able to make the maps into a reality. In other words, we must limit ourselves to what is militarily achievable. Also, I do not understand fully this statement, and I want it to be clarified here in this Assembly, what would the proclamation of a unilateral cease-fire mean for us. The reason stated was that by doing this we would demonstrate to Europe that we are in favour of negotiations and a peaceful solution, but please, since we are in a closed session of the Assembly, let us make it clear: if we need a unilateral cease-fire to consolidate our armed force and military forces, and I suspect that this may be the case, it should be made clear that this is just a statement for external, public use. This statement may easily confuse our people, may inspire a certain degree of desertion, which would imply that we are slowly giving up on the warriors' military solution. Please explain. My group of deputies also favoured the idea of demilitarising BH. Is there any point in discussing this idea any more? Hearing yesterday Jerko DOKO and Stjepan KLJUJIĆ and the Muslim phalanx surrounding them say they were now forming BH armed forces, which means that they have realised that the Territorial Defence was not a good solution for them, as we already knew. Let us here, in this Assembly at least, end some of our dilemmas, be they real or imaginary, so that we can be clear about our positions, and avoid making even more confusion among our ranks than is necessary.

There are two more things that bother me in the answers provided by our military representatives. AKSENTIJEVIĆ had signed, I do not know on whose behalf, allegedly on behalf of the JNA, the decision to unblock the airport. The public perceived this as surrendering the airport, and people are frightened by the fact that anything can now land at the Sarajevo airport, because you are aware that 20,000 of their mercenaries from Libya and Sudan to Iran and so forth are getting prepared. AKSENTIJEVIĆ was retired yesterday. They say that the Army will appoint new negotiators. I believe that our option must be firm. We must keep hold of the airport for Serbian needs at any price. If we cannot keep it, then the issue of airport must be solved differently. If we let go of the airport, not only will we disappear from the lands on this side of the Drina river, we will disappear from the lands on this side of Caucasus, and we must bear in mind the significance of such issues. Something else baffles me. I saw yesterday in Pale, and there were other people watching this with me, convoys leaving from Sarajevo via Pale, Sokolac and further on. Licence plates from Belgrade, Niš and other places escorted by an armed force, I presume ours. This goes away and no one knows what is going. Barracks are being dismantled, everything is being pulled out. Gentlemen, if it is weapons and ammunition that is being pulled out, than is digging our own grave, because we need arms and ammunition to continue the war. If it is factories, parts of military schools and such that are being pulled out, let us discuss that. We want an answer to this, if it is possible to get it from the military people who are here with us, so that we know what is going on, because that also causes alarm among the population. I am not in favour of this, but let us not get into a situation where parts of our Territorial Defence, those parts that are not under our control, or the MUP, intercept such military convoys,

block their passage, stop them from leaving BH. However, we should know what is being taken out and for what purpose. And finally, the last item, although I meant to speak about it earlier, but we did not have this Assembly, is the destruction of the Radio and Television. You know, I was among those who advocated that it really should be destroyed, because what Radio and Television did for Alija IZETBEGOVIĆ and Stjepan KLJUJIĆ is equivalent to what two divisions can do. They have done a very good job for themselves there. Let us agree what to do about this. What are we going to do with those who still live as vipers in our bosom. Let us make a plan of what to do about this, let us make a decision. If this TV building and the antennae are to remain on our territory, let us not destroy them, let us put the transmitters in order. If they are not, I am speaking openly here, let us destroy them with rockets. What equally upsets me – the gentlemen in the front rows already know what I am about to say – is the fact that by playing a reckless game of sulking and manoeuvring in Sarajevo – yes, that is what I am referring to – we have lost the two most important medical facilities. We have lost the Koševo hospital, the Green Berets occupied it from both within and without a month before the war started, and the day before yesterday we lost the Military Hospital in Sarajevo, while we were trying to assess whether or not it could be defended, whether or not it could be evacuated in time. As the unfortunate Minister of Health, I know that 150 people from the Military Hospital have been handed over to me – to all of us, indeed, because I view the army and us civilians as one – who managed to take their underwear and clothes, but not one instrument. Anything of value, all those things in which we invested, millions and millions, went into the Koševo and the Military Hospital, and it all fell into the hands of the enemy. Our people from this area and from the greater area of Sarajevo are being treated in improvised institutions that we have put together, with the help of the Army, this needs to be stressed, with medical supplies and materiel we received from our Army. Gentlemen, we have renounced the very thing that our people will need most during the war, as well as after it. I cannot understand why it could not have been preserved. If we could not keep it, at least we should not have left it to the enemy, because, I am telling you, Mrs Hajdiguber /as printed/ from the International Red Cross – she is the extended arm of Germany and she is now director of the Military Hospital. Do you expect her to give this hospital to the Serbian people? NO. However, those who plan the Sarajevo operation, the liberation of Sarajevo or destroying the enemy forces in Sarajevo, will have to plan what to do with the medical facilities. And let me tell you this right now, if the Military Hospital falls into the hands of the enemy, I am for the destruction of the Koševo Hospital so that the enemy has nowhere to go for medical help. Let me say one more thing before I finish, and I will not be asking for the floor on this issue any more. I think that our biggest problem – and if the Assembly could adopt a decision in that respect, since now we do have an Assembly, since as of today we will have a President of the Republic, since we already have a Government, and since we will finally have, God willing, our army, something which most of us here have been advocating for quite a while, let us stop creating new dilemmas about who does what. Gentlemen, I insist, these are times of war, dangerous times. Everyone should do their own job. Saying this, I appeal to you, as a member of the Government, let the Government do its business in an operative and effective manner. Let the army do its job, and let the politicians, leaders of the state, do their job. Let us not meddle in each others affairs more than is necessary for the good of all. We cannot all be military commanders, we cannot all head the Government, we cannot all head the state or the party. For the benefit of us all, there has to be a division of work if we want to see the work done well. Thank you.

KRAJIŠNIK: Mr. VJEŠTICA, and than Mr. NOVAKOVIĆ.

Miroslav VJEŠTICA: Mr. President, esteemed people's deputies, members of the Presidency and dear guests, I will briefly tell you, inform you about the situation on the front in the Serbian municipality of Bosanska Krupa. You know that I have always endeavoured to speak briefly and clearly whenever I came to the rostrum in the Serbian Assembly. I will do the same now, and I wish to ask all my colleagues and participants in the discussion to be brief, clear and specific.

I fully accept all the strategic goals that have been proposed, but with the proviso that they be operationalised and individuals appointed who shall be responsible for the activities related to each individual goal, because I do not believe it is sufficient to declare here that the Sava river is our border, and then learn in the course of the day that Bosanski Brod has fallen, that there are no more Serbs there, and so on. As a matter of fact, such things are incompatible. Any War Presidency, and unfortunately we have several war presidencies, every Serbian municipality has its own war presidency, which reaches such a decision is obliged to implement it as soon as possible, and we know what implementation means when it is necessary to go to the front. What have we done in the Serbian municipality of Bosanska Krupa? I must tell you, to remind you all, that only 24 % of the population are Serbs in the Serbian Municipality of Bosanska Krupa, there are 14,500 of us and there are 47,000 Muslims. As our president has said, we in the Serbian Municipality of Bosanska Krupa did not want the war, but there was nothing else we could do. One could not live any longer in the Serbian Municipality of Bosanska Krupa with all the insolence, military exercises, and many other things, with forcible take-overs of firms with guns in hands, with every single Serb thrown out of his job in the municipality of Bosanska Krupa, with not one Serbian teacher wanting to sign an oath of loyalty, as a matter of fact, not one Serb in the municipality of Bosanska Krupa. That is why we were forced to go to war, gentlemen. For a year and a half we have been preparing for war in the Serbian Municipality of Bosanska Krupa, because we knew that there would be war and it could not be avoided. I have to ask a question now, which I have every right to ask, how could it happen that two-thirds of the town were taken in two days of operations? Thank God, we did get to our borders, because that was how we had envisaged them and drawn them, and you, people's deputies, know well that we had said that the right bank of the Una river would be our border, and that the right bank of the Una river must be the border. After all, the natural border of the Serbian Republic of BH runs from Bihać via Bosanska Krupa to Bosanski Novi. That was what we always said and that was why we did get to the right bank of the Una river. This was where we stopped and we dug in. We have mined the right bank, we have mined the iron bridge, blown up the wooden one, and now we are preparing for Bosanska Otoka. God willing, in two to three days we shall mine the bridge in Bosanska Otoka connecting it with Bosanski Novi. This will be done, I guarantee it. What are our adversaries doing? At the moment, they are all in Cazin Krajina. On the right bank of the Una river there are no more Muslims in the Serbian Municipality of Bosanska Krupa, all the enclaves that were there, Rapuša, Veliki Vrbovik, Ostrožnica, Babić, Muslim Jasenica and Zavir, we have evacuated them, so that there will be none there for the duration of war operations. Will they have a place to return to? I think it is unlikely after our President told us the happy news that the right bank of the is the border. Unfortunately, our villages of Perna, Podbran and Ljusina have remained on the left bank of the Una river. Let me say here that we are capable of entering Perna

village, since there are few Muslim Green Berets on the left bank of the Una river, and they cannot stay even there. We can also enter both Podbran and Ljusina, but we do not have sufficient forces to stay there, since our natural obstacle, our big advantage is the Una river, which we can defend with smaller forces, but we do not have enough forces to reach Perna, Jezersko, Ljusina and Podbran. All our adversaries are at the moment in Cazin, mobilising, and we know they are making preparations because in the course of our operations we captured all relevant documentation because they ran so fast they did not have time to take anything with them. All minutes of meetings of the SDA /Party of Democratic Action/ Executive Board and the SDA Regional Board, since a person from Bosanska Krupa was the president. Having captured all their documentation on their Territorial Defence units and the Crisis Staffs we know that at the moment they do not have weapons, not as much as they need right now, they do not have ammunition or equipment, they do not have, in other words, a tank. However, the moment they obtain these, it will become extremely hot on this front.

I would also like to tell you very briefly what is happening in the neighbouring municipalities, since this is after all the border on the Una river. The situation in Bihać is the same as it was in the municipality of Bosanska Krupa before the war. Eighty per cent of Serbs have left Bihać. A large number of Muslims has also left Bihać and we have a pre-conflict situation there. The SDS representatives in Bihać are negotiating, however, I believe, and I have told them that they have also chosen the wrong approach in Bihać and the SDS. They are trying to pacify the Serbian people, waiting for the 19th or the 21st, when they expect to be given the 27. juli barracks and the airport by the army. Since I know that they will not get the 27. juli barracks and the Željava airport, you can expect the conflict to start soon, and that will become yet another front, namely Cazin Krajina.

As for Bosanski Novi, let me tell you that I was there yesterday. Bosanski Novi is sealed off. An ultimatum has been issued and a deadline set for the Muslims to surrender their weapons. Some of them did, some did not. Yesterday there was shooting. What will happen today? I believe they will surrender. The same is going on in Sanski Most. I think that the Muslims will soon be disarmed there, too.

In conclusion, let me say that, if the Una river is the border, and the river Una is the border, I insist that the organs of the Serbian Republic of BH, its Government and the Ministry for National Defence and so on, bear in mind that this is the border, that the entire Cazin Krajina is at stake, that there are 220,000 Muslims there, compared to 67,000 Serbs, if you include Grahovo, Drvar, Petrovac, Bihać and Bosanska Krupa. That would be all, and thank you for listening!

KRAJIŠNIK: Thank you. Mr. NOVAKOVIĆ. Mr. KUPREŠANIN, be ready, you are next.

NOVAKOVIĆ: Mr. President, fellow deputies, I believe that the Serbian officers, once they hear how militant and able these Serbian deputies are, will want the entire BH, the former one, as it used to be. I think it was good that we talked today about the work done last time in Lisbon, the work that was done with the maps. Not because the Serbs like to draw maps, although it is true that they do, but because our strategic goals, or rather concrete tasks for all the deputies here and all people's tribunes, military leaders and others on the ground should be derived from such an explanation.

As for the maps and so on, the area from which they come, in other words, the region of Semberija and Majeвица, since what is Serbian there was liberated long ago and the people are already gradually getting used to it. I must say that those who were our enemies, in other words, the Muslims, that they got used to this too and, interestingly, from my lifetime experience and what I have seen in the last month, they co-operate best when there is Serbian rule. That is what they react to best. When there is Serbian authority, then there is peace in the house.

As for Posavina, I think that Mr. BJELOŠEVIĆ has presented the problem in the way it is perceived among the people, that the right bank of the Sava river is the northern border of that region. In that respect, I expect to be able to take to the soldiers from this gathering the decision they are seeking. They want the entire right bank of the Sava river to be mined from the mouth of the Drina river upstream, so that an Ustasha foot can never again be set there, and they have started doing it, comrade General, Sir. We have to reach an understanding on this today, because, although bridges have been torn down, although there are refugees, although we have fought in Posavina both on the eastern and on the western side, it would be difficult for someone to believe, especially for a regular soldier, that the Serbian state will survive and that the Bosnian and Serbian Krajinas will survive with a five kilometre corridor, a corridor that can be cut in two by two gangs of Ustashas or whatever they may be, so that the entire western part of these Serbian lands would end up being cut off. I feel obliged to say this, it concerns a problem that this part of Semberija has experienced, but Belgrade much more than Semberija. We should reach an agreement today, that, as far as Serbia and Montenegro are concerned, there can be no refugees from the Serbian Republic of BH in this Yugoslavia. All our people who want to flee from Sarajevo, Tuzla, Zenica and elsewhere, there are plenty of Serbian lands in BH they can go to. We here ought to dispatch a note to the state of Yugoslavia, in other words to Serbia and Montenegro, saying that Serbia and Montenegro should not feed any of our people. They can either starve with us, or eat with us what we have to eat, and this should be our very firm position, and in this case, if both internally and externally it has been agreed that the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia is a separate state, that it has its own assembly, that it shall have its own deputies, that we are a separate state, then there can be no love-me-love-me-not. I think that our actions here suit our interests, not to mention that in a certain sense they are politically cunning. I have been meaning for a while now that we should send a protest to Serbia asking them why people from Sandžak are allowed to come over from Serbia to strike at us in Serbian BH. This is just one such example. And I would also propose that we ask the Association of Reserve Military Officers in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia to call all pensioners aged, say, between 35 and 60, people with military or police education and origins in Serbian Bosnia and Serbian Herzegovina, to appeal to their patriotism, their patriotic morale, and offer or request that they come and fulfil their patriotic duty in the place where they were born. The state of Serbia would be very happy if they could also send back Vuk DRAŠKOVIĆ and MIĆUNOVIĆ. In that case they would welcome such a request from us. As for the Serbian army, I believe that today we shall establish the Serbian army and that makes this a historic moment, since it seems that the Serbian people in BH has never in its history had organised armed forces as it shall have from now on. And it is nothing to be ashamed of. That is right. We shall take over, because the Serbian people in BH like the army, and the rest of Yugoslav People's Army located on Serbian territories in BH has undoubtedly lost its people and will be glad to gain this people today. In that respect the interests and the love are mutual, things only need to be well co-ordinated. However, let us not refrain from

saying – there were betrayals, and the boys holding the positions on the exit routes on Rača bridge and on Žepa bridge, would not allow a mouse to get by them, and, if you please, what comes out of Krajina, I do not even know where from – from Romanija and so on – and passes through these parts needs to have necessary documentation issued by the minister of the armed forces in BH or the Prime Minister of the Autonomous Region of Krajina. The men simply would not allow it. They say: we are going to be left without weapons, and we have to fight a war here, and even we do not know how long it will last. This question has already been put, and I think it is a crucial question that should not be taken lightly: who signed it, and does this Assembly stand behind the signatures on surrendering four barracks and the largest military hospital in BH? And if the airport was to be handed over today, we will be waging war forever or we will altogether disappear from these parts. I am quite far from Bihać in that respect, but some of the boys who fought on the battlefields of Banija, Kordun and elsewhere, and who have that experience behind them, and are now helping the Serbian people in Posavina and north-eastern Bosnia gave me this message, and I would like to give it to the officers. They say they will seek out and find the person that hands over the Bihać airport and signs that, be this person a military man or a civilian, wherever he may be in the world and they will take his life. Strong language, but this is what I, as a deputy, heard from them, and it is my duty to pass on this message from people who are professional soldiers and who are professionally involved in fighting and warring. That would be all from me.

KRAJIŠNIK: Thank you. Mr. KUPREŠANIN first, and then Mr. BRĐANIN.

Vojo KUPREŠANIN: Serbian gentlemen, please allow me to salute you all. I would try, and I will try to be practical, to say which reasons brought us into this situation. I refer to the militarily quite bad situation, considering that the majority of the JNA officers are actually Serbs, and that over 97 % are Serbian staff, and that the most of the military equipment is actually in our hands and that we find ourselves in a really difficult military situation, which is obviously difficult if one knows and has all this information. I believe that these parts, the northern part of the Serbian Republic of BH if I may call it that, this region is divided between two corps. One is the Banjaluka Corps, and the other is the Tuzla Corps. Gentlemen, these are two different worlds. These are two states but only one people lives in the region. It was all planned very systematically. Tito and Tito's state had it all worked out in detail for the eventuality of a war. Rather than setting up a Serbian army again and being left with two corps again, and having a foreign people when they are in fact our people, I suggest that the corps be integrated, joined into a single corps and that one commander be selected for this corps, and that the command post of this corps, in the current war situation, be relocated immediately or tomorrow or the day after tomorrow to a place where combat operations are being conducted, in this case, to Doboj. On the same day that he arrived in these parts, General VUKOVIĆ relocated the command post to Okučani, or to Stara Gradiška. This has had fantastic consequences and results. Also, knowing the situation, and the situation in northern Bosnia is dismal and shameful for the entire Serbian people and for all of us sitting here, and they fought for three months or two and a half months without our support. In Brod, the people from Brod that have remained, and here are the data: on the frontlines in Bosanski Brod 50 % of those fighting for the Serbian lands, Serbian people and Serbian interests are under 18. All of us here, Serbs and Serbian deputies, should be ashamed, because I have been aware of the situation from the start, I have been touring that frontline all the time and, not to say, Serbian officers /as printed/. I feel that after this Assembly session we must

clearly state what we intend to do with northern Bosnia. No one should be allowed to sign any compromise on behalf of the Serbian people when Serbian lands and Serbian people are in question. I am personally of the opinion that northern Bosnia, or more precisely, the northern part of the Serbian Republic of BH, is the territory downstream and on the right side of the Sava river, and the territory beyond Doboje, if we take Maglaj, part of Lukavac or Ozren, part of Tuzla and go further down south towards Zvornik /as printed/. That should be the border. I am personally of the opinion that this Assembly, and its task is to define at least a part of this border, or all other borders if we can, and I think that we have defined Herzegovina and so on. That was what I wanted to say at the moment, and I believe that we should act in accordance with my proposal that we urgently break up the two corps. In a conversation with the generals present here I have been told that that is not my domain. Excuse me, it may not be my domain, but there are Serbian people there. There are no domains, this is the Serbian Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, this is its territory and that is that. It does not matter whose domain is what when the Serbian people is at stake. However, through negotiations with Alija and before Europe we are putting ourselves into the same situation as we got into in Croatia. In Croatia we negotiated with the HDZ, we negotiated with Europe and we ended up with what destiny had in store for us. We lost Western Slavonia, we lost Gospić and a string of Serbian territories including Kotar. Why did that happen? It happened because our policy was not what it should have been. We failed to utilise our military strength, we failed to make the Croatian Government capitulate. Had we brought Zagreb to the point of capitulation, the borders would be different. I hereby request that President KARADŽIĆ, the future President of the Serbian Republic of BH, alternatively as an obligation, that the Muslims must be forced to capitulate /as printed/. With the Serbian Army we can do that in five days. That is my opinion, and with the forces we have at our command, and with the strong will of the Serbian people to break the Muslim domination and their attempts to turn us into a minority. Thank you, that was all!

KRAJIŠNIK: Mr. BRĐANIN, and then Mr. OSTOJIĆ.

Radoslav BRĐANIN: Mr. President, I asked for the floor only after I realised that I was the most remote, that compared to everyone else I was a "kindergarten". I would first of all like to thank all those participating in the discussion. I would like to say a heartfelt "Bravo!" to Mr. KALINIĆ. In all my appearances in this joint Assembly it never crossed my mind that, although he seems quiet while I seem hawkish, his opinions are the closest to mine. I believe that this is the formula and that we should adhere to this formula. For a start, I believe it is good that Europe has suspended all talks and negotiations, because, first of all, we do not have anyone to negotiate with, and second, there is no one who could be the mediator. Europe has loudly and clearly sided with the secessionism of the Croats and Muslims. Should we move the game into the United Nations arena? We can discuss that if it happens, but I want to say a few things about what needs to be done at the moment. Just a moment ago I jokingly said that our Crisis Staff of the Autonomous Region of Krajina should continue working, if you ask me, in the same way it has so far, and in the policy of the SDS leadership and the Presidency, it is permissible and normal to go for negotiations and concessions. And the last time I also said that, when we do something that is not in keeping with the programme, they can at least claim that it happened because our people stepped out of line and did what they were not supposed to do. I ask this Assembly to make certain official decisions today, so that we may clear away all the dilemmas. The problem for areas where the Serbs are a majority is this: that most of

them are still asking whether they should injure the Muslims, whether they can hold certain posts, whether loyal Muslims and loyal Croats exist. When I spoke with General RAŠETA six months ago, when he asked me how many Croats hated the army, I retorted 100 %. That is not true, he says, and I say 101 %. Furthermore, the generals whose management of the campaigns from Zagreb to Slovenia and so on was so fantastic should be prevented from any further intervention. Here I refer to Mr. RAŠETA who, has retired, fortunately, AKSENTIJEVIĆ, who was captured by four elementary school kids, and so on. But listen, the generals who have proven their value are generals from these parts. That is a well known fact and there is no need to name them. And that is why we talk to these generals. However, I must add, hopefully without offending anyone, that wars were always won by corporals, with the exception of those truly honourable and honest. This is why. General KUKANJAC insisted a month ago that the military high court be moved from Banjaluka to Sarajevo. Two Assembly sessions ago, when I asked, pleaded, why some segments of the hospital in Ljubljana were being transferred to Sarajevo, this was seen as "dogs bark but the caravan continues on its way". Now, whoever was responsible for this, should be put into the front ranks and sent to bomb this hospital. I cannot fathom that we still have not learned some sense. I will support this argument with the following facts.

How can anyone still believe it is all right that we have a Muslim doing political education in the Banjaluka Corps? I do not think it is. I know that people will not like what I am saying here, but I truly believe what I say. I am less of a chauvinist than many believe. I just have a high degree of national awareness and I believe that in conditions of war, once it is proclaimed, the entire economy, all planning for the war, all guarding of facilities must be put into the hands of Serbs, but once we are liberated, once we establish our own state, we will have nothing against employing experts of other nationalities. Hence, let us not delude ourselves any more with empty talk about how we shall arrange this or maybe this will happen. I have also proposed that we give most of the leading positions to people from the parts where Serbs are a minority. They know what mujahedin and Ustashes are. Indeed, speaking about this, I said that in Krajina it is Bosanska Krupa, the area around Cazin, Derventa and Kupres which have witnessed this, because it seems that, where we make 100 % of the population, we think that maybe it is all a lie and that it is all exaggerated.

When you mentioned borders, it seems to me that all borders have become clear, but now I will say something that has not been mentioned, although I know that we all share the same views about it. I find the border on the Una totally unsure, because it does not exist. I am not philosophising here, we must establish telecommunication links, all information links, economic links with the Knin Krajina, create all the prerogatives for such linking of states that the unification, when the conditions for it are ripe, will be a mere formality. We will undoubtedly be the strongest republic, the Serbian Republic of BH together with the Serbian Republic of Krajina, and to be honest, one should not be too sensitive. At the moment Serbia and Montenegro have problems of their own, and I also wonder – on whose behalf is Mr. KOSTIĆ speaking about the Serbian Bosnians, Serbs and Herzegovians. All credit to him and I congratulate him. He is one of us, a Montenegrin, a Serb and so on, but come on. Let us first resolve our own problems. At the moment, they are not capable of resolving our problems, because, after all, no matter how we view it, they have abandoned us. And that is true. We have proclaimed "all Serbs in one state", but in the end it turns out that everyone has to fight for one's own area, and that is how it will be. I ask that

this Assembly urge, as the Crisis Staff requested, I hope that this will not annoy anyone, for the purpose of furthering the general Serbian cause, a reconciliation of all political options in the Serbian Republic of BH, although there is no real discord here, and in the Serbian Republic of Krajina. I have personally asked that we invite to the meeting President HADŽIĆ, who is present here, Mr. BABIĆ, MARTIĆ and to achieve a reconciliation in the interest of the Serbs, so that the Ustashas see that they cannot defeat us, to get rid of all speculation and to make it clear once and for all that in war the Serbs must be united, and let us remember exactly where we interrupted our quarrels, so that we can take them up again when peace comes.

As for the military options, I do not know much about that, but I proposed, as Mr. ŽUPLJANIN has said, that the Serbian BH cannot be defended on the volunteer principle. If we establish Serbian armed forces today, a general mobilisation has been announced and now everyone must be put under the command of the Serbian armed forces and the forces of law and order. All paramilitary units must truly disappear, any private armies will only bring us harm and divide us once again between *Nedićevci* and *Ljotićevci* and so on. To illustrate why I speak with such indignation about the generals who were in Croatia I will give you one example, and with this I will finish my speech. When 104 flats had to be built in Banjaluka, when we in Banjaluka welcomed the army as our brothers, somebody in Sarajevo had this idea of just telling us that Tešanj would build them. I beg your pardon, my view was that Tešanj could construct this building all right, providing they would kindly move it to Tešanj, onto that bridge that was torn down, let them build there, because the people who were then in the Construction Service in Sarajevo cannot remain in any kind of army if they believe that it is all right that a group of mujahedin should come to Banjaluka to work on a project worth seven million marks, robbing all builders and engineers in Banjaluka of a chance to work. Of course, following an intervention by the Banjaluka Corps, we have to be aware of this, this project was not realised. And let me finish by saying that the Banjaluka Corps, I have no doubt about it, is fighting on, I think, the longest border in the world, and there is 80 % of its personnel are patriotic and pro-Serb in orientation, and when I spoke earlier, I was referring to a minority that has to be eliminated. As for the military convoys, I am of the opinion that Serbia has too many weapons. Serbia is our motherland. We shall get food through Serbia, but today, with establishment of the Serbian armed forces, one should really accept the remarks made today about allowing as few weapons as possible to be taken to Serbia from Serbian Krajina. Any explanations saying that they would be safer in Serbia are not valid. Let me give you an example, if someone is afraid that *Kosmos* in Banjaluka will fall into the hands of the enemy, who needs *Kosmos* if 700,000 Serbs in Krajina fall first? *Kosmos* would then be worthless. Hence, this explanation is not a valid one. That is why I would ask that, when we adopt these decisions at today's session of the Assembly, we abide by them and work more effectively, and we are of the opinion that the Government and the Assembly should work at least five to ten days to enact all the legislation we need to live, and, unfortunately, as Mr. KALINIĆ had said, to wage war, because it seems to me it is our only option.

I personally believe that there is no room for bargaining if the question is whether we need a corridor to Serbia through Posavina. Without Serbia we would, after all, be cut off and condemned to perish. That is why in negotiations we can ask for this corridor in exchange for some parts that are not important for us, and should it

come to the worst, the corridor, even if only bus-wide, will have to be established by military means. That would be all, and thank you.

KRAJIŠNIK: Thank you. Mr. OSTOJIĆ. Just one explanation, please. When we discussed the border on the Una river, we referred to the one between the Cazin Krajina and us. I never meant to say that there should be a border between Serbian Krajina and Bosnian Krajina, but it is good that we have explained this.

Velibor OSTOJIĆ: Mr. President, fellow deputies, officers and guests, showing consideration for time, concentration and patience, I shall be very brief and indicate what my position is, and later we may listen to comments. I would like to note that I fully agree with the view expressed by our colleague Minister KALINIĆ, and I would like to appeal and plead that competence of various institutions should be demarcated so that everyone starts doing his job. The Presidency, the Assembly, the Government, the Command, and that we stopped meddling in each others' affairs. I have stated this in a very reduced form, and I appeal to us all to focus on a different task, the task of establishing the authorities where they were destroyed or eliminated or usurped, and of starting up the wheels of economy so that it can start working, producing and exporting, so that we may produce the food, work the land, because I believe that this is going to be a long war and that its first phase is going to last until the presidential elections in America, and as for later, that remains to be seen. And professionals should be put in charge of the affairs. With special attention to /as printed/, today we shall have the Staff Command, we shall have a Staff, we shall have a commander, and we should leave the professionals to handle the war, the conduct of operations and the defence of the country, of the state and the people. I have witnessed a confirmation of what Mr. BRĐANIN has said about the Muslims and their conduct in relation to Serbian rule, while travelling yesterday with General MLADIĆ and being in contact with Muslims from one village in Herzegovina where you can see precisely who can be – either the master or the servant, and that nothing can be when they are with us. And we do know what kind of masters they make – then we have genocide – and what kind of servants – respecting the authority and awaiting what we will feel like saying /as printed/.

Thus, I appeal and plead that we get started working in that fashion. The third thing, as far as realisation of strategic goals is concerned, they have been presented here in rather general terms. These goals may be developed further and presented as variations or as including a set of mutually complementary sub-goals. However, here is one point of view. We have the idea and the realisation of this map of ours, and I do believe I was the first to start drawing the map, but they are an idea on which the diplomacy has to work, but they, /the borders/ will be drawn and established only when we make them a fact. I believe that peace with Alija can only be achieved by war. However, to conclude this, I have to return to the following assertion. Leave the front to the professionals. And we should support, or service the front so that it can keep on going, and that behind the front lines we can have a functional rule of law. Europe and diplomatic circles will recognise that something is under our control, that it is Serbian only if it is defended, only those territories where the authorities are functioning, where there is a working economy, in short, a state. Thank you!

KRAJIŠNIK: Mr. KOZIĆ has asked for the floor.

KOZIĆ: I believe that all our speeches are a bit on the lengthy side, so I shall make two suggestions. First, regarding Item 1 I want to say the following: the situation in the Herzegovina theatre of operations is now good, and the only objection we have is that too many weapons are being taken away. That is all I have to say about Item 1. And I have asked for the floor because of the following suggestion: the enemy – Ustashas and mujahedin – must be defeated by whatever means are necessary, and only after that can we negotiate, when it is easier to reach an agreement, and to make a contribution to this, our concrete contribution at the moment should be the following: let us conclude the discussion on Item 1 as soon as possible. Items 2, 3, 4, 5... here I refer to the agenda before the amendments by President KRAJIŠNIK, 6 and 7 should be adopted without any discussion, trusting the people who have drafted them, without a debate, or anything, leaving open the possibility for corrections should we at a later stage discover that something is not the way it should be, and to move straight to items 8, 9 and 10, and thus help all those ideas, and Mr. KALINIĆ's idea most of all. That would be all.

KRAJIŠNIK: We have a proposal from the back row. Please.

Captain GARIĆ: Fellow deputies and officers, I am Captain GARIĆ, serving in Doboj, and originating, I am proud to say, from legendary Romanija. I wish to say the following: I would like to see you politicians draw maps for us here and say "we want this", or to tell us: "whatever you have taken will be ours". And how are we going to take it, we the Serbian officers – and I am one of those who long ago declared that I was maybe the first, Serbian officer, and I still maintain this, I hope that these generals will not reprimand me any more because of this – we will do it the best way we can. Next, as for politics, settling the territory is a political matter. We in Doboj have done an excellent, astonishing job, Mr. Vojo and I toured it all two days ago and he saw what we have done, and he was elated. I told him that the border was there. If the border is on the map, if you say "whatever we have taken will be ours", we shall move the border, if having a border means "I want to put up a watch-tower" and the rest that a border needs in a military or any other sense. Next, regarding Bosanski Brod, me and Major STANKOVIĆ, of whom all of northern Bosnia and beyond has heard, we were at the frontlines in Bosanski Brod. Do not assume, gentlemen, that the Serbs want to go to war. They do not. I am two companies short in Doboj, let us not speak of exact numbers, those who know what the army is will know how many men that is, and in the town there are enough Serbs to make at least ten companies. Until recently they refused to join us in the barracks because the commander was a mujahedin, but now I am the barracks commander, they know what kind of person I am, and still they refuse. We have put up the Serbian flag, and on our caps, too – and I have suggested that we wore the *šajkača* /traditional Serbian cap/ instead of berets, because *šajkačas* can be politically justified to the world as traditional Serbian caps, and we should introduce them, yes. The Serb who refuses to come under the Serbian flag and under a *šajkača*, we will show that Serb the way to Istanbul, Teheran, just as we did to the mujahedin. Goodbye to him and we do not need him. Let us make that clear.

And now for the mobilisation. I can see that one gentleman here, probably from Derventa, does not understand what mobilisation, more precisely, general mobilisation is. And as far as I understand, imminent threat of war was declared in my Pale. Fellow deputies, I expected to see you in uniforms, to be frank, everyone but a few who should be exempt, who are, for political reasons, not supposed to put on

uniforms so that nobody could say: "There, you see, they have chosen the war option". It is clear who among you here should not be in uniform, but in order to have a successful general mobilisation you should send your nearest and dearest and yourselves to join the ranks, and those who refuse should be banished from these territories, declared traitors and forbidden to return, ever. That is what a general mobilisation is, for those among you who did not know. My greetings to you, and I hope that these words of mine will buzz in your ears because I believe this is the essence of the problem. I have said what I have to say briefly and clearly, I am no politician, although I have often been told that I tend to slip into politics, however, I will be proud to continue being political in the future as a Serbian officer and to inspire the minds with Serbian heroes, knights, and when one says it is a Serbian army, it will surely be easier to die for the freedom of the Serbian people, and not as some sort of JNA which was sold and betrayed by individuals, starting with KADIJEVIĆ, the ultimate enemy of all Serbian peoples, Mr. Broz, who did whatever he could so that the JNA, which was created by us Serbs, would come to ruin in the way it eventually did. I salute you all!

KRAJIŠNIK: Professor MILOJEVIĆ, please.

Prof. MILOJEVIĆ: I shall be very brief, and I would like to say first of all that it will be very difficult to speak, take the floor, after hearing the captain's speech. However, I want to and I am concerned about one issue, our Serbian historical question. I want to put emphasis on this, no matter how it will be understood. Serbs have often won in war and lost in peace. I wish to advise us how we can keep in times of peace what we have won in the war. The war cannot last long. We need to make, right now, a lasting solution. The lasting solution to keep this in times of peace, to make an option for peace. I would just like to outline it briefly. After the war, democracy will start. Voting starts, a majority and minority start. We need to define now how to endure in the areas where we are a minority. Just imagine, we hold enormous areas which now, in the war option, are ours, but which, overnight, may cease to be ours, where we comprise up to 30 %, and then we will start asking ourselves why all these people died and what is happening to us. Just remember, the best minds of our people have been explaining why it is that the Serbs win in war and lose in peace. This time we cannot allow this. We must make an option enabling us to keep in peace what we have won in war.

I would like to suggest – there is no doubt that there will first be the option of war and then the negotiations, that we cannot expect solution from negotiations only, that negotiations can only represent a modification of the success at war and of war solutions, which implies that we would have to have a map of our own, a border agreed between the political and military leadership of our republic, one thoroughly assessed, and I might add, kept a secret. Divulge it to no-one, but each and every general must know this border and the political leadership should keep this map as a potential negotiating chip. But this map needs to be mastered within a closed circle of people, presented to the deputies, but it probably should be kept a secret. And secondly, because of the war option, which was imposed upon us, initially we had been discussing some more peaceful options, this way we aim for the state border. If it is a state border, it intrinsically implies moving a contingent of population. Within the present option we do not have this solution. This Territorial Defence is an overall uprising of the people, and conflicts get incited in places where we obviously do not need them, where lives will obviously be lost for nothing, places we cannot hold,

because we only incite anger amongst our own and other peoples, and that is why we believe, if we set the state border as our goal, and we do, this border needs to be reached and this implies resettlement. Shall we give a hint to our Serbs who will remain deep within the enclaves that they simply have to move from there and that a solution must be found for them, and in the institutions of the government we must seek for solutions for the resettlement of population. It seems to me that we are waging a war, establishing a state border, without having defined within the institutions of the government what is going to happen with the people who shall remain in enclaves, who tomorrow may find themselves encircled, slaughtered, killed and so on. We must tell these people in due time that we simply will not be able to hold this. The government simply must seek for solutions so that they can get out in time instead of provoking the situation in general. In conclusion, I propose that maybe today we form some kind of a group to come up with the borders very quickly, but for our eyes only, so that we know very soon what the goals are of our army and our political leadership in establishing the Serbian Republic of BH. So, a commission for borders, but for our eyes only and in secrecy. Thank you!

KRAJIŠNIK: Mr. Mirko MIJATOVIĆ. Just briefly so that we can conclude with this item. We have here guests from Serbian Krajina, and they will come in to attend the session.

Mirko MIJATOVIĆ: Mr. President, esteemed deputies, honourable guests, I would like to make just one small remark in respect to the work of our Assembly so far, I want to say that ever since the beginning of the war in the former Yugoslavia, those most often heard in our Assembly were those who were the least involved in the fighting, who had found themselves in a situation where they were the least involved in the fighting. I know, for some time the voice of the people from Krajina was heard the least, because they had to fight the most. I believe that now we have the opposite situation. I would like to say the following – concerning the realisation of all the six strategic goals that are the duty for all of us of the Serbian Republic. However, three of those most directly concern Herzegovina. These are, first of all, establishing a corridor along the Drina river, establishing the border along the Neretva river, and the sixth one, which I find of extreme importance for gaining access to the sea. I can tell you that throughout Herzegovina there are no dilemmas as to what general mobilisation is and the like. I want to point this out with the best of intentions in mind, in the towns of Eastern Herzegovina I have not seen as many people on the streets as I have seen in Banjaluka. There, the general mobilisation was completely successful. In my estimation, Eastern and old Herzegovina wages war at the Neretva against the most zealous Ustashas and in the Drina theatre against the most extreme nationalists. I do not wish to explain this in more detail. What I am aiming to do is to contribute to the work of this Assembly by having us hear, and move to adopting, the remaining items of the agenda, and to give the floor to the experts in the military field – so that they can tell us their vision and their overview, and I hope that we will all see much more clearly what the duties are facing us, what it is that we have to do to fulfil the six strategic goals we reasonably put before the Serbian people and the Serbian Republic of BH.

KRAJIŠNIK: Thank you, the next speaker is General Ratko MLADIĆ.

Lieutenant General Ratko MLADIĆ: Honourable President, esteemed deputies of the Assembly of the Serbian Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, it is my honour to greet both you and my fellow soldiers of the Serbian Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina on behalf of all soldiers and officers from the front, from the ground, and to wish the Assembly every success in its work. I was not on the agenda to take part in the debate at this stage, but I have asked for the floor for a series of reasons. My turn was supposed to come a bit later. I wish to speak about this historic moment seeing all of us reaching the point our ancestors should have started from. I am deeply convinced that from our present point there are two paths leading to future. The first path, the path which I want to take and which I suggest that our people should take, is a path of a well-thought-out, organised, determined, hard, backbreaking work. It is a path of honour and survival. There will be victims, they have not yet started falling, we have not even started waging this war. It has not even started yet. Should we decide to fight, some of us shall survive. The other path is a path of chaos, passivity, disorganisation, quibbling and empty talk, not a path of fighting, or a path which would mean a sort of free-for-all. That is the path to our extinction. The path of betrayal and dishonour. I must tell you that in this present day I recognise and see some of the instances I came across on my arrival on 29 June last year, when I unexpectedly arrived by helicopter in Knin, and even more hurriedly left, and Minister MARTIĆ had a point when he observed just now that I had surprised even myself, because I had just arrived that day from Belgrade, but as soon as I arrived, I had to go back again. I could not take the same plane. Please, it is not important what we have on our heads but what we have inside them. This what we have our head should not be a path of wishful thinking, it is something that needs to be dependent on our own strength and the strength of our people. Please, let us not set before ourselves goals that will bring us down, let us set before ourselves the goals we can achieve. Many of you have helped me. I already said this a few days ago, I keep on repeating certain things, I said this in Nevesinje before the top leadership of the Serbian Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and before an even more select political leadership in Belgrade. When we met, I tried to, it seems to me that I did get close to getting both my own and their eyes opened, and I want to open the eyes of us all. Firstly: I shall start from this point from which we have to start, and there is nothing to do but to start, bite the bullet, and my starting point is that we have to start from what is in our heads and clearly define our goals. And my primary request and appeal, not only to myself and to you, but also to our entire people, is that we first have to be /clear/ among ourselves, because, unless we are /clear/ among ourselves, we cannot expect to be with anybody else or anybody else to be clear with us. Only when we are /clear/ among ourselves will we be able to take our place in the ranks and on the ladder where time and results will place us. I am not a miracle-worker, I am an ordinary man. True, I have been to places where someone else might not risk putting his shoe and where I risked my head. I have been in some horrifying places. What got to me most were the columns of people from the hinterland villages Skradin in Ravni Kotari leaving in panic, leaving everything they owned behind. Only some of you have witnessed similar scenes. I hope none of you will ever experience the things I have seen and experienced. There are my fellow soldiers among you here who have seen some horrifying things. Please, I am not St. Sava, nor can I be. He was Rasko /as printed/ NEMANJIC, and I am Ratko, and I do not want to be measured against icons, I want to be an ordinary man who uses his head soberly. I was not born a hero, nor do I see myself as a hero, I am an ordinary man. In a difficult period, I found myself in a situation where there was nothing else to be done, although that does not mean I could not have done better, but I could not have done better because, at that moment, neither

myself nor my brain could have shown me a better way. MARTIĆ is here. I do not point this out because I want to take credit for the results, but because he was my witness, but to the left of him are Colonel ĐUKIĆ and Colonel ŠPANOVIĆ. My brother-in-arms DRAGIŠIĆ from Dragišići, /a place/ that no longer exists, is also here, and I was glad to see him walk normally, because he was badly injured. I was the one who got MARTIĆ out of Otoka. Not out of Otoka, because I could not get down into it because of the aiming of the guns, but out of Bosanski Novi. Imagine this, there was a group of people there, political leaders and patriots, yes, but primarily ordinary people who were not afraid of the Ustasha steamroller. And it was easy to lead these people and fight together with them. But beware that it does not degenerate, since because of those three fingers /Serbian gesture/ it was impossible to get through the villages because of the refugees. I must tell you that when I was there now, there were very few who were raising those three fingers.

Tell me that I am wrong, if you can, both you gentlemen and you comrades. /Listen/, as the deputy speaking before me said, the Serbian people and Serbian brains are posing the Serbian question for the third time this century, in two preceding periods and wars. Winners in war, losers in peace. The question is whether the war was actually won. The question here is what was the goal. Had it been a realistic one, it would have been possible to try to achieve it. To achieve a goal, you need forces. I have read, mulled over for a long time and discussed within the most select circle of comrades whom we convened, the strategic goals that are of substance, which does not mean they could not be better, richer, or maybe more in keeping with our current strength and the present moment. Listening to the speeches by patriotically oriented persons here, I have concluded that for one individual, as is logical, the strategic goal is his house, his village, his hill, for someone else another, for others the other. As for defining the goal, it would be very useful to determine and to define the territory of the Serbian Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Some of the participants in the discussion, I did not get the impression, I am not trying to criticise anyone, there are people who are better versed in international law, and attorneys and lawyers. I do not want to interfere in anybody's business, that of a physician or a teacher or a politician. I just want to do my job properly. However, those who are even slightly versed in the law of war, and I will now teach you something from our angle, from down there in the Knin Corps. There were many dilemmas regarding why did we not take Zadar. We could have. We did not for two reasons: firstly, we could have taken Zadar and Za... but the international community would never agree to recognise them as ours. Unless it had been ours, for instance. We can hold something for five or 10 or 150 years, our grandchildren would still have to go back from where they came and it would not be ours. Those who think that we can keep whatever our tank and our soldier can reach, those times are long gone, that's the past perfect. Our tanks and our soldiers need to be where our hearths are. If we have taken something in this war that was not ours, we need to keep hold of it so that in political negotiations we can get those things that were ours, and that we cannot get in any other way. In other words, define the territories clearly. Next, I would like to mention that when the political leadership, the Government and the Assembly, defines the territory, we must clearly determine which path to take, which goal, now and for the future and in the past there were always two paths, generally speaking we always chose between the option of war and peace. What do we gain and what do we lose by each? It is my job as soldier to assess which path is more realistic at this moment. The way I see it, unfortunately, is more realistic, and I can tell that we have only made our first move in the war. Not of our own accord. In Bosnia and Herzegovina, it is only starting here and there.

People and peoples are not pawns nor are they keys in one's pocket that can be shifted from here to there. It is something easily said but difficult to achieve. In the Cazin Krajina, as I think the deputy or president from Banjaluka has said, whichever, there are 220,000 Muslims, while in Bosanska Krajina there are 67,000 Serbs. The ratio is 3.3 to 1. I am calculating what was said by – I may be wrong – if you please, Bihać, if it was Bihać, then I am even worse /as printed/. Just a moment. If we, as the most responsible segment, I think, of the Serbian people, not only in the Republika Srpska, in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, but also in the Republic of Serbian Krajina, if we consider and assess that war is the only way out, then we have to gather our wits, consult history on how to win the war and how to wage the war. We must not lead the peoples into an abyss. We must not declare war on the entire world in the morning and on ourselves in the afternoon. War, it is an ominous word, and an even more ominous event in history. Many find it easy to say it. If it is necessary to wage war, and it is going to be imposed on us against our will because it was imposed on us, let us not fool ourselves, nobody is going to ask us whether we wish to wage war or not, we can speak out, declare and write as much as we want that we do not want to wage war, we used to say that we did not want it in Yugoslavia either, but they forced us. And they forced us, because at the moment they are stronger than us. Well, now we have to see what we can do to save the people and how to achieve our goals. We cannot wage war on all fronts nor against peoples. I would like to make one suggestion here that we adopt such a wisdom that we are against the war but that we will fight if attacked, and that we do not want a war against the Muslims as a people, or against the Croats as a people, but against those who steered and pitted these peoples against us. If it is at all possible, politically or in any other way, we need to clearly define ourselves in relation to our enemies and our allies. And precisely define who our enemy is, and, if it is at all possible, avoid making the mistake made by many politicians and military leaders before of having a two to one ratio. These are two peoples. We need to, now. Some hate this Ustasha, some the other Ustasha more. Ustashas, I know what kind of people Ustashas are. However, we must now see and assess what makes one our ally or our enemy, and who our allies and our enemies are, and which enemy would be easier to handle. On the basis of this we must make our move and eliminate them, either temporarily or permanently, so that they will not be in the trenches. It is not important how strongly we are in favour of a certain goal or of this or that type of army, nor to what degree we have mobilised. What is important is how many of us are in the trenches. How many of us next to our /artillery/ pieces, how many of us in *stenka* /word unknown/. I will have to say a few things that I have seen there too, it is good that my commanders and my fellow soldiers with whom I fought in Krajina are here to confirm this, because this is our joint fate. I think the Croats are in a more favourable position, there are more of them, I assume there are more of them, I have not /studied/ the demographic structure, at least in Bosnia, or maybe not even in Bosnia. There are more of them in the former Yugoslav areas. And they are in a better position and at least have a body of territory that is attached to Western Europe, and the Vatican, Western diplomacy and all the Western scum swear by them. They are in an unfavourable position in one section of Dalmatia, from the Maslenica bridge southward to the Neretva front and this bit in Western Herzegovina. But at least they have some kind of access to the sea, and can go bring or take aid and food and ammunition, engine and heating fuel from across the sea. They export the cattle they rustled from the areas of the Serbian Republic of Krajina. Pretending they were warriors, they were involved in various underhand dealings, while the Muslims are in a more difficult position. They are in a worse position than the sealed-off Military Hospital, which is not a combat institution, in Sarajevo, referred to, with a

good reason, by the Minister of Health in his speech, however, I do not find anything wrong with that, I do not want to start off any polemics, but let me now tell you something about the issue. I would have been glad had you spoken about how you have organised the health system, the health protection of the population and the accomodating of the wounded. This will probably happen and I would be glad if each of you talked about his duties. I shall talk about my duties, and should I offend someone in any way, do not hold it against me, I am not doing it to offend, I am doing it so that we can jointly learn something. I believe that, at this moment, it is very important to place at the head of the Serbian people both in the areas of the Serbian Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Serbian Republic of Krajina, all the potentials and brain we possess: political, spiritual, cultural, scientific, military and whatever else there is, to keep it short. And please, let us not only put our minds into what we are doing, but let us at also think thoroughly about it, and let us be cautious about when to keep mum. No. The thing that we are doing needs to be guarded as our deepest secret. And what our representatives appearing in the media, at political talks and negotiations, are going to say, and they do need to present our goals in a way that will sound appealing to the ears of those we want to win over to our side, without being detrimental to our Serbian people /as printed/. Our people must know how to read between the lines. And we, what we did and what we were like. Any member of our people has one to two or three general-staffs in his head. Ours certainly, the one of the former Yugoslavia, that is how we have to call it, and on his tongue all the general-staffs in the world. And everyone has an estimate of his own, I have seen some demands, some goals and some reckless opinions here, yesterday in Herzegovina, while I was in Nevesinje, I have said it openly, and I must repeat it here today, the goals that I have heard here and the demands, please, even if we had an army like the Chinese, it is doubtful we would be able to fulfil them. Paying all due credit to the commanders and to General TALIĆ, putting emphasis on the longest front which is almost six times shorter then the one held by the Knin Corps, this one is 150 km long and the Knin Corps holds 650 km. In other words, please, by saying that we are clear among ourselves I mean that everyone should do his job. And a chain of command is to be introduced which would make it clear who reports to whom and who can be held accountable for what. We have too readily labelled those who maybe need not have been labelled. At the moment, we start from such goals and tasks, and some individuals are making plans for some sort of offensive as if we already had a trained army and even if we had seven new, ready and experienced corps to bring in, you cannot tell how they would fare along some of the axes. All of you who have been stressing that the transformation of the Army is now /underway/, have forgotten to take into account that many Serbian officers born on legendary Kozara, at the foot of Mount Grmeč or in my own Kalinovik, now feel that they are having it good, for the time being, in Niš or Skoplje, well, we cannot count on the latter any more, or in Belgrade, I do not really believe that all of them will come, and the units need to be taken over. We can take five Krupas. But the question is whether it is worth the lives of our soldiers. That Krupa.

I would like to stay with this concept I have mentioned. Because I would like to come to certain things by using judgement, and to present to you my vision, the way I think of and see this path. Let us continue further. When I spoke of two paths, my first thought is, and I am deeply convinced of this, that for any man born in the area of the Serbian Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina or whose roots reach back to here, there is only the first path, the path I see as the path of honour, glory and survival. However, I do not refer only to Serbs here, as you will have noticed, not

because otherwise someone may think I was ideologically prejudiced in one way or another, no, and what was said from Banjaluka, let me compare this now. I know to whom it referred and who is teaching political classes. Colonel HASOTIĆ. I have explained this to you, but /now/ I will have to do it here before the Assembly. I have brought Colonel VUKELIĆ with me this morning, who is from these parts and who had shared the same school bench with me ever since high school. However, it is better to have here this HASOTIĆ who was here among us, than to have him take the place of Vehbija KARIĆ or to have him in the trenches fighting against us. If HASOTIĆ had been there instead of Vehbija, things would be more difficult for me now. He was with me, after all, and knows better how to neutralise me and to what extent and for how long and with what. And the other does not. Therefore, we cannot cleanse nor can we have a sieve to sift so that only Serbs would stay, or that the Serbs would fall through and the rest leave. Well that is, that will not, I do not know how Mr. KRAJIŠNIK and Mr. KARADŽIĆ would explain this to the world. People, that would be genocide. We have to call upon any man who has bowed his forehead to the ground to embrace these areas and the territory of the state we plan to make. He to has his place with us and next to us. What the Minister of Information, OSTOJIĆ, said was right, his observation was correct. He saw that scene yesterday in the village where I was born, we went down to my village and Muslims came from three neighbouring villages. They respected me before too, but never did so many of them come as yesterday. Fear, might, prays to no God, and God cares not for might. But that does not mean that Muslims have to be expelled or drowned. The Minister would, it's a pity that we did not record it yesterday. To keep a long story short, as I said, they all gathered at my place, had a drink there, those from my village and from the neighbouring village, both Serbs and Muslims, all must take care of one another. We have not suffered there, not even in the war, nor have we experienced what some of the Serbs here have experienced from the Muslims, or what happened in Foča. Back then, or now in this war. But there are ways in which we can neutralise them. Since these Muslims somewhere there above Kalinovik are encircled. They live peacefully. Since this barracks, this, I do not know exactly, *Viktor Bubanj* or whatever it is called now, is now in a more favourable position because there are brave lads defending it. Just as this Military Hospital was under blockade, so the Muslims too are under a blockade. There is nowhere they can go. One of the reasons is because the head of the dragon of fundamentalism lies beneath our hammer. To tell the truth, what I have seen, and I must tell you that I have seen a very bad picture and have ordered officers from the Knin Corps to come who will very soon change this picture. One cannot take Sarajevo by spitting at it from a mortar or a howitzer. You cannot win the negotiations that way either, and it is small wonder that they send us people in trousers with their hands behind their backs and buses and disarming them along the way. They can do this to us because the distribution of arms was done by inexpert people who thought that by giving weapons to the people they have done their duty as officers. On the contrary, they have demonstrated their duty as officers by doing it. There, here are MARTIĆ and ĐUKIĆ. I have never signed nor issued arms to anyone but to Simo ROSIĆ, who brought in a company formed according to establishment, in Sajković. And even this company that was so organised could not go to the front line, it is not enough for me to have a surgical scalpel to operate on a patient. I could operate on him, but God help the patient. The arms should have been issued to the people in the following fashion. And that was what I did, and wherever we did this, it was good. If someone wants to fight, put him into a squad, into a platoon, a company, a battalion, next to a cannon, a tank, to learn, train and do his job. And then you have to form strong structures and next to Sarajevo you should produce not five mortars, my heart

almost broke yesterday when from a helicopter in Lukavica I saw, just imagine, I must tell you this, *gvozдика* /word unknown/ howitzers barely dug in. There was some sort of canvas screen around the 122 mm howitzers, like on a cross-country race. Let me tell you, there are still vehicles and tanks, parked, without crews, and why? Because individuals come to have breakfast and then leave, and then he tells his wife how he was in some operation. That is not how you win a war. If we want to make the Muslims surrender, 300 guns must be densely planted around Sarajevo, of calibre ranging from *Zolja* /hand-held rocket launcher/ 40-64 millimetres to *Orkan* /multiple rocket launcher/ and P-65 rockets. And Sarajevo, I don't need any applause, mate. I am not doing it for that or for recognition, I am just doing it to avenge the bones of my dead comrades. Because when I think of them I cannot speak. I will tell you what course of action I took at Zadar. We stopped before taking Zadar for the following reason: had we taken Zadar, if people had then had to declare their affiliation, and if all the Croats and the Serbs were to return, there would be more Croats in Zadar than there are Serbs in the entire Krajina. That is the reason we did not take it. And the second reason why we did not take Zadar. The primary reason was the one I will now mention as the second. We needed the hardware that is now active around Mostar and in the Knin Corps. I needed that *Orkan* system which has a range of fire of 60 km, because, had we continued fighting, we would have destroyed this hardware, which is already damaged enough. Back then we did not have what we had /as printed/. ĐUKIĆ and ŠPANOVIĆ are here also. ŠPANOVIĆ came later. ĐUKIĆ knows what the strength of the Knin Corps was at the time when, following an order I received by phone, I reached the decision to move for the coastal rim. I was 1353 and there is MARTIĆ, I called him and BABIĆ to call up the people to come and fight, and as they were coming they were being issued weapons and sent into the battle. But they could fight, because they had been trained to fight. We worked through the summer. When the evacuation of Zadar took place, General VUKOVIĆ worked for two or three days, a man of whom I think very highly. There is no man without faults or virtues, and he has some great virtues. I have more faults than he. However, he could not hold out, because he was not as familiar with them as I was, because I had both talked with and fought against them on more than one occasion, and taken part in the fighting personally. And then one day he called me and told me: "MLADIĆ, come here, Chief, I don't know how to handle these lunatics any more, I apologise for talking like this, I have to be like this and that." I got into a helicopter and went to Benkovac wondering what to do, I knew that they had stopped a convoy of 165 vehicles. And let me tell you straight away, what you think, war, peace, negotiations, this way, that way, plots, only war, because we cooked it up. The road we have taken is the road of no return. On landing in Benkovac, the first scene I saw was a unit of 196 Greater Serbs lined up, saluting and welcomed with flowers. From Kragujevac, an armoured battalion of the 180<sup>th</sup> Brigade. I ask what is going on and VUKOVIĆ tells me: "You'll see for yourself, for three days I have been begging them but they refuse to go to the front. Chief, my blood pressure is low, get me out of this if you can, if you can't, I don't know what to do." Yes, Sir! All right. I salute the Commander, he goes away, I approach the first group, salute them, half of them start saluting this way, that way, as if I were in a church, in a mosque or who knows where, each of them blurts out the first thing that comes into his mind. Why do you not want to go to the front, lads, they know me, supposedly respect me, why do you not want to go to the front, lads? Instead of having me feed them here, it was not my state that went to war for me, for 45 days, we have introduced tourism here, you see, we want to solve the war using peace-time guidelines, you won't see anything like that anywhere in the world, on the planet, this planet can't keep going with the stupidities we can

come up with. I told them: "A chicken doesn't want to get into the pot either, lads." I held a brief speech. I asked them whether there was anyone among them who did not want to go, and the first one who raised his hand to show he did not want to, lightning struck him, the moment he raised his hand, the police was at its job, and doing it properly. In the future, if we aim to establish an army, he has survived. The one who fails /us/ in such a way should not survive in our army. We cannot continue labelling, and here, I would not want to take it upon myself to be a board on which anyone can write down his wishes and place messages, or a box into which you put your wishes. We are all this army, what this army will be depends on us. We are the army, we are this wisdom. KARADŽIĆ, KRAJIŠNIK, I apologise for addressing you in this manner, I do not want to anticipate any decision for the sake of this only, but I have respect for all of you, none of this has any value without the people, or the people without us, or we individually, nobody, me. I liked KOLJEVIĆ very much when we talked upstairs in this Presidency, a learned man, but he is a swallow, a harbinger of our wisdom, right, you have elected him, I do not know, I cannot assess people nor do I want to. So, you cannot have Tom, Dick and Harry playing the officer or the general, because, let me tell you, I have had the experience of being praised in the evening and attacked next day, even by some of my own soldiers. Because I simply did not fit into his way of thinking. This unit left for the front. They all went with the tanks, we made the mistake of leaving them, because I had to obey orders. I wanted to break them up, so that they would go one or two at a time, however, the word came down that all of them should go at once, and after 20 days spent in one unit, just when they were supposed to be sent into the battle, they failed to take part in it, they left their tanks behind and set off for Kragujevac on foot. Now, most of them saluted like this, not that I criticise those who salute that way, we can salute each other any way we like. I walk into the office, since I knew this Božo KRKO, an engineer, from the village of Trilje, he was a reserve officer, nuclear-biological-chemical warfare specialist, he was in charge of the defence of Zadar. We had this hotline, so I call him and tell him, and whenever they hear my voice, and from what I have seen here it is predominantly the Muslims who are the enemies, more than Croats. When the Croats hear who I am and where I am, it will all be clear to them /as printed/. They know how to communicate with me and with you, they know that I will have an influence on you and vice versa, and I will obey anyone, the political boss is the boss of the army. They keep on asking me who my boss is, if Yugoslavia has disappeared. Well, if it does not exist, I am my own boss, if you please. This was what I told that fellow who arrived the other day, VAJNANS /original spelling unclear, ?VANCE/, when he asked me up there at, Mr. HADŽIĆ was there. They did not ask them any questions, they all thronged around me like this. I was a thorn in their side. So, I come into this office and call this Božo KRKO and I tell him, and he says: "Oh, General, you know, there is no more moving out." Well Mr. KRKO, why can't we take /?things/ out, take it all out, everything can stay, just without weapons. All right. Mr. KRKO, will you let it go as it was planned? No chance, General, unless you come here yourself. All right. Here I come. I dial, press /the numbers of/ the commander of the Corps' artillery and rocket group. Commanders, hear my orders. X such and such, a five digit number, Y such and such, Z such and such under so much. KRKO, did you hear this? Ah, general, we are familiar with your plans, that is the Hotel Kolovare. You cannot /aim/ there, the European Union is located there. That is precisely what I am going to hit, because they are the ones who brought you here. You have five minutes to find shelter, five minutes have passed, I call, Sir, I am about to start firing, five rounds, fire! Boom, boom, boom, and he yells: MLADIĆ, are you sane? I'm super sane. I went for my medical check-up three months ago, all the results were like those of a

twenty-year-old. Sir, can we, stop this? No, no, three more rounds. MLADIĆ, can we talk about this? I'm listening. Convoy has to go. Oh, but that's what I want to talk about, I will hit Filip Jakov with 20 rounds of naval artillery, I make a call to the commander of the navy, because I was the only one who had a link to them, 20 rounds on Filip Jakov, he pleads, fumes, please, stop it, I do not have 20 rounds here. Carry out my command. After it was finished, we will arrange all this /as printed/, have we not already arranged it? You should rather release the convoy immediately, and remember KRCO, I know where your Crisis Staff is, too. I'll /get/ you there, but I need you for moving out. If you stop one more vehicle, expect no mercy. It went on for three days. On the fourth day, a vehicle broke down. I call Božo KRCO, they want to take it, KRCO, the vehicle, send a team to repair it and have it brought to me at Musap stan. But, General... Fire five rounds. He sends a team. Next day we have to dismantle the power generators from Zadar barracks and the school centres, and now we use them to light up Zemunik airport. We do not have a crane, we need a hundred-ton crane, they tell me, the commander, this Trpko ZRAKOVSKI and some others, they suggest that we leave it, it cannot be accessed, then this house, it should not be demolished. Listen to me, man, blow away the roof, set the mines, tear down everything, let nothing remain. I say it is not here, some forklifts, no, we will get the forklifts, I will get the forklifts, Božo KRCO will give me forklifts, I call KRCO again, I need this many forklifts for loading, so that the convoy can move faster, I need a crane for this and that. MLADIĆ, how can I do that, man, all my men are at the frontline. You will get the *Zengas* /ZNG – National Guards Corps/ out of their uniforms, give them civilian clothes, provide them with your police escort, my police, it is going to work. That was how I moved things out of Zadar. This hospital has been moved out, they will neither benefit from this Military Hospital nor from the Koševo hospital, nor from Sarajevo unless they accept peace. We can now offer them peace, so that we can talk in peace. If there is going to be a war, Bosnia will be of no use to anyone, and Sarajevo even less. I refer to what is not on the front. We should not spit at Sarajevo with two mortars. And not: "Hit here and here," over the phone, it is an example, I use this as an example, and this phone is connected to a switchboard where there is a MUP /Ministry of the Interior/ expert, and /he/ immediately sets an ambush. I do not know how to operate, but I do know how to command an army, but to be able to command I need to have an army, and we cannot have 100 masters in one home. The army must have a unified command. And when we start fighting over Sarajevo, we must not say before the international public or tell Mr. OSTOJIĆ to pass it to them, we are going to shut down your water and power supply, why should I explain to him what am I going to do? He will see what I am going to do. And we have to put a ring around the dragon's head of Sarajevo this very moment, and only those whom we let out should be allowed out, and this "we" is not just anyone among us, but the one who is in charge, who is the commander. We should not say: we will destroy Sarajevo, we need Sarajevo. We are not going to say that we are going to destroy the power supply pylons or turn off the water supply, no, because that would get America out of its seat, but gentlemen, please, fine, well, one day there is no water at all in Sarajevo. What is it, we do not know, damage, we should fix it, no, we will fix it, slowly. And the same with the electrical power, Zadar and Šibenik and Split, they disconnected the army's power supply, the army had none for six months, but I told them, while I am /here/, you will not get it. And they didn't, apart from when I felt like letting them have some, or when that president, the one for political affairs, that Viktor ANDREJO /original spelling unclear ?ANDREEV/. Therefore, we have to wisely tell the world, it was they who were shooting, hit the transmission line and the power went off, they were shooting at the water supply facilities, there was a power

cut at such and such a place, we are doing our best repairing this, that is what diplomacy is, and not like yesterday when this smart man in Nevesinje, I do not want to offend him, when he said, when I have exposed their goals, what's the point in exposing their goals when it is the Vatican setting their goals for them. He knows his goals for a thousand years. His goal is to have a state. What is our goal? To have a corridor, the one to Serbia, my goal and our goal should be to have a state of our own where we have left our mark, the bones of our fathers, and that is the goal we must fight for, and in addition to this goal we are one distinct Serbian people and the third, we invite anyone whose forehead has touched this here, but first a Serb, I will not assign anyone else to a command duty, but I will assign someone, no matter who he is. There are only a few Serbs, you do not know how few of the Serbs are worthless. At ĐUKIĆ's, DUDAKOVIĆ, a Muslim, Chief of Artillery, ask him what it is like to work there, great, and he wanted to commit suicide because one Colonel, a Greater Serb, attacked him in the vicinity of Gospić, he intended to take Gospić, but could not do it without the artillery, he needed a professional, I cannot command the artillery as an expert person, but as a commander I know how to deploy, group the artillery. Therefore, if you please, that is why we need one common wisdom. Well now, the things that KARADŽIĆ knows, KRAJIŠNIK, KOLJEVIĆ, the political leaders, deputies, what we agree on in the Assembly, does not have to be on our brains and in our brains, on the tongue of each member of our people, yesterday in my village they talked, there is more than a company worth of soldiers there. They all speculate: there will be war, there will not be war. Well, I do not know. Only when the house starts burning will they realise it's war. In that sense, please, I seek and ask: let us be of one mind, and that we are all clear among ourselves, and then we will be able to be clear about each other. Next, I believe that unity and concord will ensure our survival, while discord, sloppiness and empty talk will bring our end. I do not want to put this into rhyme, I do not say these words so that they would sound good in some history book, I say these things because I believe that is how things are and I shall leave it for history to judge and assess both me and you and all of us in the present time, and it will be evaluating us, but history, when it evaluates /us/, will not be of any use to us. But my now duty is not to find out what we will gain, but what we will give in this war and in this struggle. So, please, let us all ask ourselves, is this the prevailing opinion everywhere around us and among each of us individually? It was yesterday, the day before yesterday, in Nevesinje that I heard someone say how the police had been ordered to withdraw from some oil terminal, or whatever. When I came here, I consulted my people, and there is no way that their assessment would not be a good one, I'm telling you, that was the beginning of the oil theft, they drove away the security and then it goes through the channels and the profiteers act. I have seen for myself that this is the case, since I have been saying for the last month and a half that a checkpoint should be put above Drniš. Drniš was almost intact because Colonel ĐUKIĆ had taken it with his brigade, he encircled it, we did not demolish anything that we did not absolutely have to, where we had to pass by the barricades. With the number of soldiers we had at the time when we established the front at Nikšić, at Žitinić, where we have had five times fewer in our operations, we would be in Ancona now. There is no way you can stop it, I was even offended, I must distance myself from the statements made by the comrade who said: we have stolen so much that we /now/ have /enough/. Well, this is how I want it, if you are willing to accept me and my opinions, you are the ones to choose, not I, anything that ends up behind the lines in battle, be it movable or not, is part of the spoils of war. We can have a unified command and control system along both the military and the civilian, political line. It means that those who are soldiers must fight the war, the combat and the battle, and

those who are in authority, district, municipal or village, must work for the front and produce for the front. And then the spoils of war, whatever can go bad needs to be sold or distributed, sold among the people to generate money, you cannot wage war without capital, money. Whatever is a material asset and is durable needs to be put into storage and allocated. We learned from experience at Kupres, there were 10,000 head of cattle that were part of the spoils of war. To prevent it from being squandered away, and some individuals had already started coming with a trailer and tractor, I immediately ordered Colonel LETIĆ, set up a farm, if they refuse to work, beat up the first villager, he will work, but take older people who know how to milk a cow, a sheep, and now, on my departure, I ordered him, since the farm is big and there is not enough people, distribute /it/, draft an order together with the president of the municipality that it should be distributed. For each house where there is a wounded soldier, two cows and a few sheep; where a soldier was killed, twice as many. Let the people have something to do and produce, so that they don't die there. We have to clear our names. The Serbs. That we are thieves. They have been saying that the army was Serbo-Chetnik, communist, thieving, those are the traits that have been ascribed to us by the media propaganda, and we mustn't think of wanting something that belongs to someone else, Serbia used to be a real example of honesty when no one dared to take a money belt filled with gold lying by the roadside. How did we get to here? I am convinced, it is my feeling, at least, that those who loot, steal, squander, profiteer, they are not stealing property, meagre captured belongings, they are stealing away our morality. Ustashas cannot kill me, I could have died on the battlefield, just like this ĐUKIĆ, he remembers when they started hitting me, the place where I was, I stayed with them, I did not look for shelter whether it was a field gun, a howitzer, a mortar hitting us. Even the other day in Čaprazije, the shells were falling around the observation post, I did not even go in, they cannot touch me. But sloppiness, recklessness, greed, dirty work, cowardice in our ranks, among our Serbian soldiers, these could kill me. We have described ourselves as a brave and strong army, as never losing a war while wearing a *šajkača*, and so on. Therefore, the other day in Drvar I saw someone from Grahovo wearing a *šajkača*, he had fled from Drvar, from Grahovo with his rifle. There he is, pretending to be there on some sort of business, and even does what some of the individuals do. You know, combat is a terrible thing, for combat it is not enough to have nerves of steel, you also need knowledge. You know who will remain on the frontlines, those who know what they want, who know why they are fighting, those who can overcome all their emotions. The man does not exist who does not know fear. I too have experienced fear and I saw, however, in many of the places I have been, I was afraid whether this nineteen-year-old child driving me or providing security for me would get killed, and that is why I went to the barricade to lift the mines, because there was nobody we could give a trained man to, you did not have a unit of engineers, because the entire Knin Corps had been prepared for surrender. I need not tell you who was at its head for years, and those Croats and Muslims we have retained there, they were retained in a civilised manner. I dispatched him. There you go. An unparalleled Ustasha, people here know him, Stjepan STRBAN, you will not find a worse villain or Ustasha in Croatia or in Europe. He was the Chief of Engineers. But I did not force him to go away. Come here, Strba, go mine the Maslenica bridge, but Comrade General, this bridge, I... Listen to me, carry out your orders, I want it in writing, so he writes one, another one, still no good, a third one, asks me to write it, now sign your initials here so that it can be seen it was you who mined it. Report to me when you have finished. When I went to Maslenica bridge, I took explosives with me, show me, I ask about the supports, the supports I have not, I told you the entire bridge, only one support which had been hit by a ziz

/?pack howitzer/ battery in the operations for the bridge was not, we did not mine it. And it remained as a stump. The rest went into the ground. So, this is how we need to make choices and assess. For creating a state and an army we need the entire people and its forces and its entire wisdom. I think that there are trials and a difficult path awaiting us. The enemy has attacked with all its might from all directions. And it is a common enemy, regardless whether it is the Muslim hordes or Croatian hordes. It is our common enemy. What is important now is either to throw both of them out employing political and other moves, or to organise ourselves and throw out one by force of arms, and we will be able to deal somehow with the other. Please, in these times of war and blood, complex times when the best sons of our nation fall victim. We are creating our army. The times are difficult and dangerous, but also good for establishing and developing an army, because a people's army born in the maelstrom of war and from the bosom of the people is the strongest army. Providing, however that we are to opt for the kind of army I have envisaged and conceived, which does not mean that this concept is sacred, but we have had a discussion and I shall give you some more details later. We are not starting from scratch. That is very important. Our starting point are the armed Serbian people in the Republika Srpska of Bosnia and Herzegovina, who have, in the course of the war so far, responded, insofar as they did, to the call to put a stop, together with the members of the Yugoslav People's Army, to the fascist and phantom Ustasha dragon. And so far, we have saved this people from being totally wiped out. The bosom of this people has, in the course of the war, produced a large number of volunteers, both regular soldiers and officers, who have proven themselves and whose sacred duty at this crucial moment is to place themselves in the service of an army that will have to protect its people from being wiped out. We are not going to create a conquering army. That is my proposal. We do not want a conquering army, we do not need what is not ours. We are creating an army which will defend, successfully, the traces our fathers have left behind and protect our children from the conquering ambitions of Nazi mercenaries; which will bring freedom to its people, and enable it to live in peace and serenity in its environment, at its centuries-old hearths. The basics of establishing and organising the army, the way we who have gathered around this position see it. I would not want to anticipate, some concrete ideas shall be submitted for your perusal later, so that you can form your own opinion. The name, however, we consider that, we have discussed this, I have even promoted it in Nevesinje, I thought, however, lawyers view this differently and we have to respect their knowledge, we thought it should be defence, armed forces, then defence forces, but in the end the best term is the Army of the Serbian Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The organisation, we believe that it should be regulated by a separate law, which will be adopted by this Assembly. Some things I cannot even tell you, we do not have to make public everything we have come up with. And it will be defined in a separate law, and we shall explain it to the people. At this moment, we can and shall establish arms and branches, the land army and the airforce; command and control, I think that the President of the Serbian Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina should have command and control over the army, through the Main Staff of the Serbian Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina Army, and heading the Main Staff should be the commander who would be entrusted with that responsibility. Organisation, the army is organised into arms and branches, from a basic unit through tactical and joint structures to operational structures which are organised according to a special establishment. The framework of the army would consist of operational structures. This means the corps, which would be active in their assigned territory or zone, or outside of it should the need and the opportunity for this arise. Even a corps, then, we envisage that it could go, for instance the Banjaluka one,

in its present state, it could become, for instance, the 1<sup>st</sup> Krajina Corps for the sake of these Bosnians, Banjaluka people here. If conditions are right, then, it would mean that it could go fight in the Neretva valley. And we have to put an end to this tourism among us. Or else there is no point in establishing an army if I plan to fight only at this rostrum or on my own doorstep when I am required. I want the army, as long as I move only 100 meters away. The moment it is more than 100 meters, I come back. This cannot work. In this army we need to have absolute obedience. Without discipline there is nothing. And the discipline must be established through legal measures because it is something we know how to do, and not following peace-time guidelines, people are getting killed and he asks me, a man died, an unusual incident, that I should send him what an unusual incident is. Well now, when the command was being blocked in Sarajevo, what then? A trick, what bloody trick, what did you expect him, he was having his picture taken on TV on 10 January when KUKANJAC was, I do not want to attack him, he is a man who has seen an awful lot. He does not lack courage. He has made some good moves and things. On 10 January, when he was at my office, this is what he asked me, I do not know whether you ĐUKIĆ, or ŠPANOVIĆ, was there, or maybe TOLIMIR: You are younger than me, please, you have some war experience, I respect that. What do you advise me to do that would be useful? Do not use this to attack him, there is no need for us to attack. He did what he did. It is easy to attack those who are on their way out. I immediately, spontaneously, picked up the phone, and said: order the Chief of Staff this instant to relocate the command and everyone out of Sarajevo. Where? You will be putting them in Kalinovik next. Yes, right there. Oh, come on. He has seen since that I was, that he should have listened to me. So, this is the answer to the thing about the Military Hospital. What did we get out? We got the people and the professionals, doctors, out. And that is good. Had we remained, we would have been left without that. The building and the instruments we can make. People are what is important, people, people must be saved. So, the framework of the army is the operational structures. Lower structures would act in accordance with the operation plan. By the decision of the relevant commander and in accordance with the situation, a front is necessary. Please be patient. It would be absolutely out of the question to have 1000 commanders in one zone. The Knin Corps was successful because under a single command in the zone of the Corps were the JNA, the Territorial Defence forces and MARTIĆ's police, isn't that right, MARTIĆ? And because he and I, I call him and say: give me 40 policemen here at Kijevo, and you took part in the fighting, isn't that right, Milan, and we did what we had planned, and we planned, and we will have artillery here and this artillery acts. Comrades and gentlemen, the artillery can not continue acting as it has up to now for two reasons. Firstly, because it is unprofessional, and secondly, because it will very soon run out of ammunition, and many a barrel has its life. Every barrel has its life. With a 130 mm, when this barrel fires 600 shells, the 601<sup>st</sup> goes where you do not want it, where you do not expect it, it cannot hit the target, the copper residue needs to be removed from the barrel, it needs to be maintained, replaced and so on. After firing another 300 it becomes dangerous for the soldier firing it. And after firing 1000, you can throw it away. Some of our people shovel it in as long as there is ammunition, just give them ammunition. How much ammunition did we manufacture in this war? None. Have we put any plant into use? I doubt it, and our field guns will shoot only as long as we provide ammunition. Soldiers will fight as long as there is food. Tanks will move as long as there is fuel. But we still continue, with no restrictions, carry on as we please. The system of staying on your own doorstep, please, let us eliminate that as soon as possible. Good organisation, a single chain of command, striking and manoeuvring power are the starting points of success

and favourable outcome of combat, battle and operation and war. Hundred of armies that we now have scattered over the front, dispersed commands, different insignia, unconnected and divergent goals, that is chaos which we can get out of if we do what I am suggesting. Military insignia: the Minister will later make a proposal as we agreed. Uniforms: what we have now, until we will have developed better ones. Ranks and status of army personnel: as they were before the onset of the war. Until then, while we still have it, once it is used up, the /same/ status as the people. Whatever the people have, we will all share their fate. What do I propose? I propose the following. Since I have identified this goal of defining the territory and the goal of establishing, I will move to the others. Firstly, issue a proclamation to all active military personnel, civilians and JNA soldiers born in the territory of the Serbian Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina to join the ranks of the Serbian Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina Army. Our commanders should be asked to do this taking their complete structures with them, as well as those who, although born outside our territory, belong to the same or any other people and view our just struggle for survival as their own struggle for peace. Secondly, proclaim a state of war and have every able-bodied man respond to mobilisation, man the units and commands so that the frontlines can be held, form strong reserve forces in the rear for manoeuvring toward the axes under threat, and we have to get rid of the tactics of moving 100 meters behind the tanks. No, we now have men, I admire some of them, we are going for the snipers, we have the advantage in hardware. There is no need for this friend of mine from Kalinovik, MANDIĆ, to go for the snipers or to Vrbanja or to Hadžići. I do not want to fight the war like that, to lose men, we will go 400 meters in front of the tank so that the enemy cannot strike the tank with a *Zolja* or an *Osa* /hand-held grenade launchers/. The tank shell has a range of 3 km, a 100 mm gun of 3 kilometres, and his sniper can shoot at me from 600 meters. I will put the infantry forward, 400 meters in front of the tank to protect the tanks, to protect the artillery. With artillery I will clear the path for the soldiers, what do I care, I do not have to go down volunteer street. I shell him until I have driven him crazy. Once we have driven him crazy he will either flee of his own accord, or, he does not even have to run away. Once we have approached we will capture him, and let us not play the game of taking prisoners. A commander was bragging to me: I have captured a Canadian. You have done a fine job. Where is he? Do you want me to send him over to you? Just you keep him, what do I need him for? No, we must not, we must abide by the laws of war, and I did not bring that Canadian over here. He is a mercenary, listen, and this mercenary should pay with his life, because he came here to kill us. And there are no conventions in international law binding us as far as he is concerned. We would not be held responsible. Nobody invited him to come here. And therefore, Mr. Mercenary, *addio mare*. Next: military and economic resources are to be assigned for defence purposes. Next, to organise the defence industry for production and create conditions for waging the war, and, please, let us start using bullets sparingly. Let me ask you right away: do you know how much a fired rifle bullet costs? I told them yesterday, in Nevesinje, in my talks with them, it surprises me that I do not hear anything now from the Banjaluka people. One, I think that he has fired about 15 bullets. Each bullet is worth one Serbian life, a soldier's or an officer's, because if we waste them in bars, going from one bar to another, we will find ourselves in a situation where we will have to use stones to fight. That is why fire should be opened only after observation, aim at the target, and one bullet for each target only, one shell, if we can neutralise 100 enemies, or get out. Fuel, if you please, a litre, a drop of petrol has to be treasured like a drop of blood. Petrol should be primarily allocated for the use of medical vehicles, for the evacuation of the wounded, secondarily, for the command vehicles that use

that type of fuel. Thirdly, for the needs of economy, so that the economy can function, police and so on, and fourthly, for nothing else. Privately owned cars, give him a +tankful for a five-month period so that he can turn it on to prevent the engine from seizing up and to have some to get away if he finds himself in danger, to relocate the family forwards, backwards, left, right. Firstly for the tanks, secondly for tractors to sow the fields. It is too late for sowing barley, nobody in Kalinovik has sown anything, nor in Ostojić, as I was told yesterday. Sow potatoes, as long as you have potatoes, you will not starve. Thirdly for the economy, so that our defence industry can function and fourthly, we should start thinking about restructuring our resources that use crude oil and oil so that during the winter we can warm ourselves next to our radiators. Let us make stoves and prepare wood. There will be no heating by oil.

Esteemed deputies and leaders,

I believe that this is how we can establish an army and successfully defend ourselves. Any other way will produce rift and disharmony among us. And in conclusion, if we are creating an army, it must be made in such a way as to win and to fear nobody. I am not afraid, we will not be short of either soldiers or officers. There will be no shortage of soldiers if everyone responds to the call, nor of officers if we rely on the men who have proven themselves in battle. And those who know how to lead units, if we promote them from the ranks of the bravest soldiers and if we accept those who are willing to join us, be those our people born here, be they whoever they may, providing they fight with us in the trenches and can show results. That was all I had to say. It was lengthy, you must excuse me, but the job itself is even harder and difficult to explain. No matter what option we choose, the front has to be held, the people must be protected. The people is the army and the army is the people. And let us establish an army we shall be proud of. As we treat it, so it will be. By labelling the army we reveal our own cowardice for not being on the front, use this as an excuse, this one is to blame, that one is to blame. Even if some have betrayed us, and I do not want to go into that because there was some of that too, some have betrayed us, just make sure it does not happen again. Nobody has the right to betray us.

Thank you very much.

Trifko RADIĆ: I need to tell you this, because I probably did not make myself clear. When I was speaking of oil, I would just like to say that this oil was owned by Mr. DELIMUSTAFIĆ. And that we stored this oil in our INA /oil processing industry/ reservoir, and we strictly monitor distribution to the Yugoslav People's Army. 30 vehicle tankers went to the Knin Corps, the Banjaluka Corps, you got 15, and the escort was provided by our brave lads who, nobody but our volunteers dared do it. Trust me, everything is still there. And, please, there is one more thing I want to say, we have heard many criticism from the General. We are at war, we are surrounded, we are being attacked every evening, we have no other solution but to shell and destroy towns. We have destroyed one third of Visoko, maybe tonight another third will go. They infiltrate at certain places, kill and commit genocide, we have forwarded this to the TV, nine people were killed and then mutilated with knives. Every day they kill some of our people, because they are such crafty and cunning swindlers. For instance, I went with the Municipality President and our people to Breza for negotiations, we got out and they started shooting from behind at us. And they constantly ask for negotiations, we do not want to negotiate with them, I can hardly wait for you generals and the rest of you to introduce order, work and

discipline, so that we can hand you over the army to command and control. We have no order, we cannot have discipline either, these people are farmers, workers and so on. Come as soon as you can, put yourself at the head of the army and lead it, we will give you a hand. That is all.

Momčilo KRAJIŠNIK: I move that we adopt the conclusions, we have heard quite a few proposals. I shall try to make a summary, but before that I want to say that we will need some time, but we will get used to the generals and the generals will get used to us. In any case, the most important thing is that we all mean well.

I think that the entire discussion so far can be summarised in the following fashion: That we should adopt the request by Mr. NOVAKOVIĆ, he proposed that we request that all our refugees be returned from Serbia and Montenegro to the territory of the Serbian Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, for one simple reason, not only those who are willing and able to fight, but also because the refugees should be located on our territories instead of going to Serbia and Montenegro, because we have enough free territory. We have made up our minds on that one. This was a proposal about choosing between the option of war and the political option. I think that we should choose the political option, and the option of war always comes /as/ what is imposed on us, but, in reality, if we are establishing an army it means that we do expect the war option. It would not look good if the conclusion of the Assembly would be that we have chosen the option of war. The option of war is the choice of those who want to occupy something that does not belong to them. Although, in my heart I believe that Mr. KALINIĆ is right, because we will surely go to war. I doubt that the politicians will solve this issue successfully. The second, the third proposal was, I will go over the gist of what you have been saying in one go, and I hope we will reach a decision on all of it, or item by item, which is also possible. A unilateral proclamation of a cease-fire, in political terms it is quite useful to have the Assembly of the Serbian People adopting, saying, there, we want to do it, see, we are letting the world see, we announce a cease-fire, we shall only defend ourselves, it is not our fault that the Serbs are always under attack, after all it is just an option. And this body should not shrink from such political options, we must always place ourselves in the role of the most rational solutions which will bring the best results to our people. Strategic goals, please, I would like to offer an explanation. A corridor was mentioned between Krajina and Semberija. The size of the corridor depends on you. Whether it will reach to the Sava river or be five kilometres wide, if it is five kilometres wide we will not be able to defend it, but if it is 30 km we will defend it. In the talks we are having with the Croatian national community we have said that the territories shall be re-grouped. We did not mention any corridor, those who have read it know that. Each decision we reach, we first weigh it well so that it does not bind us, tie our hands, why did you do it. This is why I propose that we do not define it precisely, the size of the corridor will depend on what we will be able to keep and to what degree we will achieve this goal. However, this has to be made, we will make it a priority. As for the goals, I would just like to offer an explanation, since I have also taken part in adopting these goals. We must make a choice regarding one thing. The first goal is the most important one, and in relation to all other goals, all other goals are sub-items of the first one. Have we finally decided to separate from the remaining two national communities? We can part from them if Bosnia and Herzegovina is to be torn into three parts. What kind of share will each of us get all depends on the elements I have presented. That is why it would be good, my dear gentlemen, to take care to leave enough space for division. I shall be a bit immodest, do not hold it against me, we

once placed the option on our agenda of making a map, and should anyone offer us 80 % of the territory, we still would not be able to work out a partition. Even if we were deciding how to do the partition, because it is very difficult, we are everywhere. That is why I propose that we also adopt a conclusion that a group is to be established, a working group and a Commission which would say, here, this is the map. I like Mr. OSTOJIC's maps most, and everything on them is blue. We just cannot seem to be able to make the partition. Therefore, if we want to have a partition, Tuzla cannot end up as ours, although I do agree that one part of Tuzla could. I agree that we can keep Tuzla, but then there will be no partition. We cannot get Zenica. Allow me, please. Why did we not discuss this earlier? Saying that wherever there were Serbs it was Serbian territory, that represented a mobilisation of the entire Serbian people, we shall, in an organised and fair manner, provide our people with a roof over their heads. Resettle them if need be, we shall not put them in a genocidal position. I know that I myself may remain in Muslimania, but I have no regrets, but the rest of the people should be happy. Now we can see which territories are free. We are all fighting for self-contained territories of a piece with the corridor, so that all of us will be in a single area that is linked with Serbia and Montenegro. These things will surely be in our options, Serbian Krajina and this Krajina, the Bosnian one, and the corridor and a large portion of northern Bosnia and Semberija and Romanija, and I do not know whether the part of Sarajevo where I live will fit in. But I have no regrets. We must not put our individual goals before this goal. My friend Trifko RADIĆ, nothing satisfies that man, that is because he is my friend and neighbour, if the Serbian goal must be that a corridor goes through Vogošća so that Muslim Sarajevo would be linked to their corridor this will have priority – because all the Serbs who have their goals – over our local one /as printed/. There, my village is being attacked, my town, and I still have no regrets, I have come here to do my duty to my country. Next, we mentioned the issue of reconciling all political options in the area of Serbian Krajina and of Serbian Bosnia and Herzegovina, as Mr. BRĐANIN put it, I find nothing wrong with that, we should authorise a body which would draft a proclamation so that we can send it to all parties, this is not a time for divisions. And divided we shall never triumph, and I believe that we can triumph. Therefore I propose that we form a body, assign the two governments to take the other steps necessary to connect the two Serbian areas and to include this in a declaration helping the two political options or two ruling political parties to reconcile some options that do exist. I do not think that the differences are big, but they are obviously there. The mention of national symbols, I apologise, I must tell the General that these Serbs are not chauvinists. They do not hate individual Muslims, but they have been burnt often enough in individual encounters. They will pay respect to everyone, and let time take care of that. But, it must not become a rule. This is no time for experiments. This is a time for being certain. That is why we will be glad to, and any patriot who wants to defend himself, the Serbian Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, can count on our protection, I am absolutely against looting, not I, I apologise, all of us must be against looting. It does not fit with our Serbian people, it simply is not a trait of our Serbian people. And we will have it bad when we, when others will take pleasure in hatred and suffering and hatred; for us there must be only one pleasure, to liberate our people for all time. This thing about a proclamation to all able bodied persons born in the Serbian Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina to return to Bosnia and Herzegovina, we thought that we could fit it into the discussion on the establishment of the Serbian army with which it would be interrelated and where it could be worked out. This about proclaiming a state of war, I think that it should be, if the Government of the Serbian Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, we shall probably proclaim it, but it is obvious that we must

not believe that we are only playing at war. We are at war, and it will be possible to solve this thing with Muslims and Croats only by war. And the politics will be instrumental in bringing it to an end. I do not know whether I have encompassed everything, but before we conclude, I would like to ask that we adopt, and let us not compete /to see/ who is the greater Serb. If it were up for election, no-one in this hall is a greater one than me. But it must be the rational Serbs who are leading the Serbian people. Please, if we acquire the territories which we agree on and have conceived of today, plus the corridor we get up there, we will have done, this generation will have done so much for the Serbian people that this debt will be impossible to re-pay. What will happen in reality, we will leave that to time, but it will be easier to achieve this now, once we establish the Serbian army, which we could have done earlier. That is why I would like to ask you, can we adopt this Bulletin. With our proposals and conclusions, or should we do it item by item? It is not necessary. Good. Who is in favour? Is anyone against, abstaining? If a good beginning makes a good ending, then the Serbs have become united.

We must form a Commission to draft the oath so that our ministers can take an oath. May I make a nomination. There, I nominate

Rajko KASAGIĆ,  
Pantelija MILOVANOVIĆ, and  
Milovan BELOŠEVIĆ

Thank you very much. Recess.

Momčilo KRAJIŠNIK: Fellow deputies, please take your seats, we shall resume. We may take our seats now. Take your seats please, so that we can resume the work. Let us move to the second item of the agenda. Could we have more quiet, please. Mr. KASAGIĆ shall read out the oath drafted by the working group so that we can adopt it and resume our work.

Let us first adopt the oath before discussing whether we like it, Pantelija MILOVANOVIĆ. May we have some attention, listen to the oath carefully because we are adopting it for all organs that are required to take an oath.

Rajko KASAGIĆ: The Commission proposes the following text for the oath: I swear I shall abide by the Constitution and the laws of the Serbian Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, I shall protect its constitutional system honourably and faithfully, developing moral standards and spiritual values in the struggle for the freedom of the entire Serbian people and all other citizens of the Serbian Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. So help me God!

Milan TEŠIĆ: Instead of the term "developing", let us use "respecting". That would be all. Thank you very much.

Momčilo KRAJIŠNIK: Let me read the two corrections. I swear I shall abide by the Constitution and the laws of the Serbian Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, I shall protect its constitutional system honourably and faithfully, respecting moral standards and spiritual values in the struggle for the freedom of the entire Serbian people and all other citizens of the Serbian Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. So help me God! Can we, please, conclude this quickly, because we will be holding a ceremony here. Can we say the following: I swear by my honour, we have to swear by

something. Deputies, please. Your attention, please. We are adopting the most valuable item of today's session. And we are not devoting it enough attention. Mr. BRĐANIN, Mr. BIJEIĆ, can we just have a minute to come to an agreement. We are adopting something very important here, please, devote more attention to this issue than you are. Yes, Mr. MILOVANOVIĆ. What about this suggestion. I swear by my honour, if there are any comments, please make your suggestions.

BIJEIĆ: If I were to raise my hand I would say what I have said like this: I swear to the people, my people, we know who has been elected, and we add honour.

Momčilo KRAJIŠNIK: If you allow me, I think it is more correct to say, if Mr. BIJEIĆ agrees, by what one swears instead of to whom.

Rajko KASAGIĆ: In our Commission there were two teachers of Serbian language and me as a lawyer. We weighed where to put each one of the words and which words should be deleted, and there were plenty words and we realised it was a tautology. We thought about saying what we swear by. When we just say I swear, we are swearing by all our qualities, by what we are. We do not specify by what, therefore it is by everything we are, and I think there is no need to insert anything further or newer. And this thing about who do we swear to, we thought about that too. We swear to this Assembly. Those taking oath, they were elected by the Assembly and therefore swear to the Assembly. And the Assembly represents the entire Serbian people. Hence, we believe that this wording solves all problems, anything added or removed would either be too little or too much.

Momčilo KRAJIŠNIK: This is the final proposal: I swear I shall abide by the Constitution and the laws of the Serbian Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, I shall protect its constitutional system honourably and faithfully, respecting moral standards and spiritual values in the struggle for the freedom of the entire Serbian people and all other citizens of the Serbian Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. So help me God!

Momčilo KRAJIŠNIK: Let us move on. So, we have adopted the oath, next item is confirmation of the decisions and other legislation: The decision on establishing the SRNA news-agency; the decision on provisional financing of the Serbian Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina public expenditure for the period of January – June 1992; the decision on bases of the organisation and work of misdemeanours courts; the decision on channelling misdemeanours fines and on conducting the misdemeanour procedures during war and imminent threat of war; the decision on the bases of organisation, seat and district of regular courts; the decision on the bases of organisation, seat and district of the public prosecutor offices; the decision on proclaiming imminent threat of war; the decision on the establishment of penal and correctional facilities in the territory of the Serbian Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Who is in favour? Is anyone against, abstaining?

Draft amendment to the Constitution of the Serbian Republic of BH; And /illegible/ Item 4.

Who is in favour? Is anyone against, abstaining, no-one. Thank you very much.

Bill on sales tax on goods and services.

Who is in favour, against, no-one is abstaining. It has been adopted.

A participant in the discussion: collected sales tax on goods and services shall be so distributed that the Republic gets 70 %, and the Municipal Assembly 30 % ...

Momčilo KRAJIŠNIK: "Let me make this clear." In a state of war we are striving to create a Serbian Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina that is as unitary as possible, in order to try and get out of the war, it does not matter what percentage we will be returning, all of us must collect as much funding as possible to help us get out of this crisis. We shall be helping each other as long as there is something to help with in any part of the municipality. Can we set it at 60:40. Let us not discuss this, or we will not be over by six o'clock.

Participants in the discussion:...

Momčilo KRAJIŠNIK: Can this law be in effect for two months. Three, five, does not matter how long. It is all the same, we must solve this now. I propose that you tell me how long it should be in effect, it would not be good, this law would probably be difficult to implement in war conditions.

A participant in the discussion:...

Momčilo KRAJIŠNIK: Can we attach a time limit to this law. I want to ask the deputies if we can strike the law from the agenda. It needs to be prepared if we want to comment it. We shall prepare an outline of the pre-draft, the draft and I do not know how and it will take awhile until it is finished. I think it would be good to view this as an explanation by Mr. ĐERIĆ, and that it lasts for a month or two, you name it. Once the war is behind us we will make a new law to our liking.

All right, we shall strike the law from the agenda and move on. Please, listen to me, we cannot discuss it here. We still do not have borders and we are thinking about this law.

It has been stricken from the agenda. Yes.

A participant in the discussion:...

Momčilo KRAJIŠNIK: Please, I propose that we strike this from the agenda, because we cannot adopt it, nobody will be paying taxes, people, we still do not have a state, once we will have territories, let us not quarrel over who will do what. We are probably not all in the same situation. This was just an attempt to weather the war conditions. We have all agreed in the Assembly that we shall have everything possible, anything that produces income... That is why I suggest that we do not dwell on this, to strike any contentious issue from the agenda, because even without this we can surely work (wage war). Let us move on.

Participants in the discussion:...

Momčilo KRAJIŠNIK: May we adopt that this gets postponed, if you agree, and to strike it from the agenda. All right, let us vote. Let us move on.

Gentlemen, I propose that we strike this from the agenda. Not a single law should be there, we need a longer discussion for this. Since there are differences, I, trust me, in a way, the fears that something is being done which would be similar to what we have had, I guarantee that we have no such intentions. Do we want to work on this in the times of war and aim for decentralisation. If we can do it we can do it, but if we cannot, let us not mess around with this, because there is neither sales nor production, there is no state, but we are still discussing whether we should apply the new or the old method for calculating tax. It takes a whole day to adopt a new law. That is the essence of the problem.

Can we adopt this.

Radovan KARADŽIĆ: This is a perfectly legitimate struggle over income, re-distribution and so on. But we have to understand one thing. Municipalities already exist and function as state units. The Serbian Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina is in its infancy, only. Let us adopt this first, so that we can see the breakdown of expenditures. So that we can see where the money is going. What is being spent, but if we now evade the solidarity which comes through state redistribution, then we have not earned the state. Then we can continue living in municipalities and let Alija slap us down again. In the very beginning it is necessary to give everything to the state to help it stand on its own two feet. Only then can we start snatching away from it and fighting for each slice. My dear fellows, do you realise what it means to create a state. What was Tito doing in 1943? I find it appropriate and absolutely normal to wrestle over every dinar, but now, when the municipalities exist and function, while the Serbian state still does not, except as a project, and is only about to start functioning. Its budget must not be crippled. And we will later see, what money is going where.

Momčilo KRAJIŠNIK: May we have it limited in validity. Deputies, please, may we discuss this.

Participants in the discussion: ... Momčilo KRAJIŠNIK: Role of a representative in these times of war, let us either strike this off or adopt it. Participants in the discussion: ... Momčilo: Can we make it so that this law is in effect for three months only. Can we, we can, who is against? There, three are against. Can we adopt what we have been talking about all day. That it is war, that we are in a difficult situation and establishing a state. If we get lucky enough to establish a state before this law ceases to be valid I will be very happy. Though we will not have established our state by then, I am convinced, although I am an optimistic person, since three months is a short period. Let us temporarily adopt the three-month period, to see how things will go, and then we all must make a commitment that the income has to be diverted where it is being made. And that is the commitment we have undertaken when we started working as representatives of the people. Will that do? Can we have it for three months, BRĐANIN? All right, who is in favour? Who is against? No-one. Abstaining? Two are abstaining. Thank you very much, and remember, if the war, God willing, ends in three months, we shall do as we have agreed. Let us move on:

Draft decision on demarcating the borders of the Serbian Republic of BH. Is there any need for a discussion? You can see here what it is. Shall we vote? Who is in

favour? Is anything unclear? It is about placing boards marking the Serbian Republic of Bosnia, binding for everyone. I declare the discussion open. Please. Participants in the discussion:... Momčilo KRAJIŠNIK: We shall place signs on the borders we have taken militarily and politically. The issue of Jajce still needs to be defined, because it is a border area between two ethnic communities and that is why this was defined and that is the situation. As for marking the borders, I believe that the decision needs to be prepared and distributed. This decision is not good. I propose that we strike it from the agenda, and to distribute the Decision this week, explaining to each of the municipalities, each border area the way in which the territory of the Serbian Republic of BH is to be demarcated.

Draft decision on the use of Serbian Republic of BH symbols.

We shall read it briefly in order to adopt it. Momčilo KRAJIŠNIK: So, it is the two-headed eagle of the house of NEMANJICI spreading its wings in flight and a cross with ... the book by Stojan NOVAKOVIĆ. That is one example. These symbols, as we have decided, are temporary, until Serbia adopts the symbols. Once Serbia adopts them, we shall conform our symbols to the symbols of Serbia. Do you agree? If we... They will have been adopted in Serbia by 31 May. Therefore, we would today only confirm the flag. Can we do it like that? The anthem is... two options: *Marš na Drinu* or *Bože pravde*. That shall be adopted in the Serbian parliament. There are several versions of the coat-of-arms and one of them is the one we have proposed today, we can decide today. How about, we adopt the flag which we need, and we can adjust the other two things once Serbia adopts them on 31 May. It is not so far off. Can we do it that way? Who is in favour? Is anyone against? Abstaining? No-one. All right, we have adopted it. I refer to the flag, and we shall adopt the other two things by default after Serbia adopts them. We have said that it is our decision, of this parliament, that these symbols shall be adjusted with Serbia so that we would not break up the unity of the Serbian lands. This is the decision of this parliament. That there should be no differences. Thank you very much.

We have a platform (proposed) for talks with Federal Republic of Yugoslavia here. There are certain issues that need to be solved, issues of citizenship, customs duties and some other issues. I think we could, to avoid a discussion here, have our Government record and conduct the negotiations and inform the Assembly on the results of talks with the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. It is obvious that, formally, this is an absolutely separate state. Is there any need for a discussion? Who is in favour of such a platform? Who is against, abstaining, no-one. Thank you very much. We have a warning to all European Community member-states by Mr. KOLJEVIĆ here, let us adopt it and then move to these two items and then we are done. Questions by the deputies, I would like to ask all deputies to leave those to be handled by a smaller group of top officials and to have the discussion only then, because the deputies shall be attending the ceremony. Can we have a break?

Nikola KOLJEVIĆ: As a legitimate representative of the Serbian people and as a part of the Serbian Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina entity, pursuant to unanimously adopted decisions of the Assembly of the Serbian Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, we hereby wish to issue you the following warning: the war in the BH was not initiated by the Serbian people, the war was caused by a premature recognition of the BH by the EC /European Community/, the rump BH Presidency's decree on mobilisation of 4 April 1992, and the introduction of the reign of state

terror, particularly in Sarajevo. As second: in an attempt to reach a peaceful solution to the crisis in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Assembly of the Serbian People started an initiative for trilateral talks between the representatives of the three ethnic communities, and, subsequently, a conference on constitutional rearrangement under the auspices of the EC. Third: the conference was, unfortunately, suspended and on 6 April the BH received international recognition. The requests of one of the parties were, thus, satisfied, while the representatives of the Serbian people were promised that their requests would be fulfilled once the conference resumed. Fourth: After the conference was resumed, on 12, 23 and 27 April, no solution was achieved because the Muslim side was persistently violating the agreed cease-fires in order to obstruct the work of the conference. Fifth: Since in the last two months the Serbian people in BH have been forced to start waging a defensive war, and since the civilian Serbian population has suffered hugely at Kupres, Serbian municipalities and villages in Posavina, as well as in a terrorist massacre in Sarajevo, the legitimate Serbian representatives have been forced to organise our own territorial defence, and to issue a call on 12 May 1991 /as printed/, to the members, i.e. today, and here we should change the army, to the members of the JNA to join the ranks of the armed forces of the Serbian Republic of BH. Sixth: As a token of our good will and hope to achieve a peaceful separation and an end to the conflicts of war, the Serbian representatives propose to organise a bilateral agreement, 5 and 6 May 1991 /as printed/, and today we are officially offering the same kind of agreement to the representatives of the Muslim national community. Seventh: As yet another token of our good will, today, on the 12<sup>th</sup> of May of this year we are declaring a unilateral cease-fire lasting for ... starting on 13 May 1991 /as printed/. During this period, Serbian defence forces shall act in response only if they are under grave threat. In that period, we request from the EC to organise the resumption of the conference, which would then continue uninterrupted until the final resolution was reached, regardless of armed provocations. Ninth: unless that happens, we shall be forced, on 18 May, providing we agree on a four-day period, to issue a call to all members of the Serbian people to lend us a hand in the struggle for the survival of the Serbian people in these parts.

The president of the Assembly of the Serbian People of Bosnia and Herzegovina. So, you have heard an idea of how to respond to the EC, and this is our ultimatum, we believe that the conference is beginning to discredit us before our people and that we must react somehow to this suspension. This was my proposal, if you want it differently, please.

Momčilo KRAJIŠNIK: Who is in favour. Is anyone against? Abstaining? No-one. We can say that we have adopted the warning to all EC member-states as read out by Mr. KOLJEVIĆ.

Let us move to the item we have skipped, and that is

The Bill on amendments to the National Defence Act. So, we have adopted the amendments to the Constitution.

Participants in the discussion:... Article 110 shall be amended to say: The Serbian Republic of BH has its own Army consisting of standing and reserve forces. The standing forces consist of professional soldiers and conscripts doing mandatory military service. A special law shall be passed on the Serbian Republic of BH Army. The third amendment, Article 11 is to be amended to say: Pursuant to the Constitution

and the law, the President of the Republic is the commander of the Serbian Republic of BH Army in times of peace as well as of war.

KRAJIŠNIK: The Presidency, not the President. A participant in the discussion: I apologise, Mr. President, the lawyers drafted this. The President of the Republic appoints, promotes and relieves the officers of the Serbian Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina pursuant to the law appoints and relieves presidents, judges and assistant judges of military courts as well as military prosecutors. Amendment IV, subsection 112 is to be amended to read: Military courts and military prosecutors are hereby established pursuant to the law. Military courts are independent and hear cases pursuant to the law.

Momčilo KRAJIŠNIK: We still have to adopt these amendments. Who is in favour? Who is against, abstaining? So, the amendments to the Constitution have been adopted. Proceed, please. A participant in the discussion: At the session held on 12 May 1992 it adopted the Law on amendments to the National Defence Act. Article 1: In the NO /National Defence/ Act, *Official Gazette* number 4/92, in all provisions of the Act, the terms territorial defence and armed forces shall be replaced by the following words: the Serbian Republic of BH Army. Article 2, subsection 2 of Article 10 is hereby expunged. It is an article in a subsection which regulated something concerning territorial defence. Article 3. Articles 37 to 53 also all have to do with territorial defence and are hereby expunged. Article 4. This Act shall enter into effect eight days from its publication in the *Official Gazette of the Serbian People of Bosnia and Herzegovina*.

Momčilo KRAJIŠNIK: We must say: from its adoption, because we do not know when it may be published. A participant in the discussion: The lawyers have explained that such a possibility does not exist, but yes, since the subsequent decision may be implemented because nothing is preventing the implementation of this act.

KRAJIŠNIK: All right, does anyone feel the need to say something, is anyone seeking the floor? It must be the Assembly of the Serbian People of Serbian Republic of BH since, once the elections are held, it shall become the national assembly. That is the only amendment, it should be the Assembly of the Serbian People in BH. Who is in favour? Is anyone against, abstaining? No-one. Dear gentlemen, receive my congratulations for the new Act, and we shall move to item nine, and that is:

Draft decision on establishing the Serbian Republic of BH Army.

A participant in the discussion: Pursuant to Amendment 2 to the Constitution of the Serbian Republic of BH, and in conjunction with Article 70, item 2 of the Constitution of the SRBH /Serbian Republic of BH/, the National Assembly hereby adopts the Decision on establishing the Serbian Republic of BH Army. One: the Serbian Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina Army is hereby established; Two: existing territorial defence units and staffs shall hereby be renamed into commands and units of the army which will have its organisation and establishment determined by the President of the Republic; Three: General Lieutenant Ratko MLADIĆ is hereby appointed the Commander of the Main Staff of the Serbian Republic of BH Army; Four: The Serbian Republic of BH Army shall wear uniforms and insignia of rank worn by the members of JNA and Territorial Defence. The insignia on the caps shall have the Serbian flag as its ground, while on the left upper arm there shall be a

round field with a Serbian flag and the inscription Serbian Republic of BH Army.  
 Five: This decision shall enter into effect on the day it was adopted and shall be valid until the Act of the Serbian Republic of BH Army is proclaimed. The President of the Republic of Serbian People in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Momčilo KRAJIŠNIK.

Momčilo: Does anyone want to take the floor. A participant in the discussion: This is not for discussion, it is just that Biljana PLAVŠIĆ has asked me to communicate her message on the occasion of the adoption of the last decision. This is what she had said over the phone upon hearing that the Serbian Army is being established: I am very sorry that I cannot be present there with you at this joyous moment, my congratulations on the occasion of establishing the Serbian Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina Army, the triumph will be ours for the Serbian Army is taking us there.

Momčilo: Who is in favour? Is anyone against? Abstaining? No-one. Serbian gentlemen, I congratulate you on your army. We have amended the Constitution where we proposed that another member of the Presidency shall be elected thus completing the Presidency which will be the Supreme Command. It would be proper for the Personnel Commission to tell us this, but since Mr. AJDANOVIĆ is absent and Mr. Goran ĐEKIĆ /as printed/ is deceased, we have not prepared it, but, if you still allow, it is a proposal by an informal group, that the army should be under the command of the three members of the presidency, and the proposal is that we elect this Presidency, and we hereby propose Mr. Radovan KARADŽIĆ, Dr. Biljana PLAVŠIĆ and Mr. Nikola KOLJEVIĆ. Should you agree that we conduct such an election, we have the ballots here and a secret vote would have to be conducted to affirm such a decision. Who is in favour of this proposal? Everyone. Is anyone against? Abstaining? No-one. So, this is the decision we have adopted: We have elected the three members of the Presidency, but we yet have to propose the President of the Presidency, the Presidency elects the President of the Presidency. They shall elect the President of the Presidency who will be issuing orders, adopting and presenting decisions and commanding the Army on behalf of the Presidency. I give the floor to Mr. MLADIĆ: Honourable President, esteemed deputies, I thank you for electing and putting your confidence in me, as well as for deciding to move jointly from this important spot in the direction our ancestors have taught us to go. To bring peace to our people. Thank you. Mr. ĐERIĆ: At one of the subsequent /as printed/ sessions we have elected some of the ministers and the Presidency later confirmed the election of the other ministers, and these are as follows: minister OSTOJIĆ, information portfolio; Momčilo MANDIĆ justice portfolio; Dr. Aleksa MILOJEVIĆ Ministry of Development And Spatial Planning; Dr. KALINIĆ Minister of Health, Social and Family Care; Božo ANTIĆ with the economy portfolio. And those elected earlier are Mrs. Petra MARKOVIĆ and Mr. SUBOTIĆ, as far as I know, the two of them, correct? Minister of Foreign Affairs Aleksa BUHA, and Mićo for the Interior. As far as I know, and Mr. PEJIĆ as Minister of Finance and Economy and LAJIĆ is for Transport. The appointments were done in the Assembly here in Banjaluka for some portfolios, and this was our supplement. Is there anyone, add ZUKOVIĆ for Culture and Education. Now we are missing only the Minister of Agriculture and Deputy PM for Administration and Social Affairs. May we confirm this proposal. Who is in favour? Is anyone against; abstaining? No-one. Thank you very much. My congratulations to the ministers and deputy prime ministers and remaining we have elections and appointments. The election of the Governor of the National Bank was also scheduled. We have prepared a proposal. First Mr. ĐERIĆ and then Mr. Nikola

ERCEG. ĐERIĆ: Pursuant to the National Bank Act, the Assembly appoints the Governor. We propose that today we elect the acting governor. The Government nominates Milenko VRAČAR, *Agroprom* Banjaluka. That is also the nomination by the Banjaluka region. Mr. Nikola, although this does not comply with our rules of procedure, you nominate someone from Krajina, because that is logical, who would be the most appropriate person, no problem. Nikola ERCEG: As for the proposal that was presented, a Council should be formed. Pursuant to the National Bank Act, the Council should consist of six members coming from economic and scientific circles. It would be good if this Council could be formed by region. However, since we are in a state of war, and we need it operational, especially in the early stages. Now, I do not know if that would be opportune, considering this is about the acting governor, maybe it would be opportune to form this office from those areas with easy access to Banjaluka on time. As for Banjaluka, we nominate professor Aleksandar KRESOJEVIĆ, professor of the School of Economics. KRAJIŠNIK: If I may, I would like to make a suggestion about the Council. That it be a council from the territory of Krajina only. Since this is a temporary solution, there should be no problems, there are not going to be any divisions between us, it would be best if it were close to the Governor, and we have confidence in this, because we believe that at the moment no-one from Herzegovina or from Sarajevo can come to join the Council. ERCEG: I would like to suggest to take into account that those who would heavily rely on the primary issue cannot be considered as candidates, because what is needed here is a system of checks and controls by the National Bank, because it is specific, and in that sense, hence, we need those who are not so close to the primary issue and who know what banking system is. KRAJIŠNIK: Can we reach the following agreement. Deputy: I would like to nominate another candidate, director of our Banjaluka *Incel* Lazo TOMIĆ. KRAJIŠNIK: I would like to ask you to authorise the Vice-President of the Assembly MILANOVIĆ and the Assembly of the Autonomous Region of Krajina to nominate both the governor and the Council, and we will confirm it here. Can it be done that way? All right. Would anyone else like to nominate someone for governor? Can we elect Mr. VRAČAR, temporarily, for a six-month period, the Governor of the National Bank. Who is in favour. Is anyone against, abstaining, no-one. As for the Council, I would like to propose that we ask and authorise Mr. MILANOVIĆ, in consultation with the AR Krajina, to have the Krajina Assembly nominate six members of the Council, because it is a matter that should be confirmed at the next session. Thank you very much.

Mr. KARADŽIĆ: Fellow deputies, ladies and gentlemen, I do not feel entirely at ease, but things are what they are, and we have decided that we do have to start strengthening state authority and specification /as printed/, especially when the army is involved, and so on. We have had one item, one article of the Constitutional Law which provided for election of the President of the Republic, and so on. However, the fact of the matter is that at the moment it would be much better for us to have a collective head of state to be able to function better, and the fact is that, instead of trying to grab power, this entire crew of Serbian Democratic Party leaders mostly shunt this power from one to another, because no-one among us is in this for the power, we are in this because of our obligation and debt to the Serbian people. I have even tried to avoid becoming a member of the Presidency, however this time I said yes to this proposal, and I see that this has met with your approval, and on my own behalf, I thank you for electing me, I thank you on behalf of Mrs. PLAVŠIĆ, Mr. KOLJEVIĆ whose term of office was extended today by this Decision, and trust me, our responsibility will be to the people, and, through this Assembly, directly to the

people. There is no need to be convincing you this, because that is how it has been so far and, trust me, it will continue to be so. I hope that all this will be temporary, the moment we define the state and achieve peace we must give our support to multiparty parliamentary elections and secret elections for the President of the Republic with a minimum of two candidates. Thank you. KRAJIŠNIK: We have to have our ministers take the oath today, because without taking the oath they cannot perform their duty, and we also have another item on the agenda:

Bulletin from the Serbian Republic of BH Government ministers.

I am afraid that we will not be able to hear these bulletins, because the time is running out, so, do you agree that we do not have the bulletins presented, but only this item, all ministers taking the oath, let us do that. Whoever is here shall take the oath. All right, the deputies' questions, those deputies who have questions shall stay, and I will only briefly say, I apologise, we were quite unprepared, the conditions are such and that is why there were so many unclear things and problems during the session, and we hope that it will be better next time.

I declare the 16<sup>th</sup> session closed and thank you for attending.