

/TRANSCRIPT OF KARADŽIĆ'S SPEECH IN BH PARLIAMENT/

/V000-0270; Master copy, VHS; 0:00:00 – 0:10:36/
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0:00:00 **Radovan Karadžić:** If Mr. Kadić, my respected colleague, didn't call me up, I would congratulate Mr. Bjelobrk on this discussion, in which..., in which he reminded us once again that peoples in Bosnia and Herzegovina are sovereign. And to be a sovereign people means that to be the people who has it's own authority and nobody can impose some other authority on him. Not this Assembly, not anybody. So, I am completely willing to accept this discussion and I think that SDP shed some new light on this work that we are doing here for five days now. But, let me go back to my respected colleague, Mr. Kadić...

/unintelligible shout/

Naim Kadić, not Rasim. Mr. Kadić analysed in a written form, calmly and long time, the oral speech I gave on Friday and I must say that he quoted me a lot and I must say that those quotations were the only thing correct in everything he said. Although, they were pulled out of the context, so they sound incorrect too.

/laughter and applause in the Assembly/

Gentlemen, let's be honest and fair and let's say to the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina what it's all about. Some of you need to bring the paper in The Hague, till Friday, till the end of this week, a written decision of this Assembly that says that it will go down the same road that Slovenia and Croatia took. You need it urgently, and immediately and you are desperately fighting to get it in unconstitutional and illegitimate way. But you have no way to get it, nor you have the way to realise it later on, because all people are sovereign, Serbian, Croatian and Muslim, and you'll have no way to realise that. Gentlemen, you need to say honestly to this people... With what you are doing right now, you are ready to violate the Constitution of Bosnia and Herzegovina, that clearly says that..., how and in which way a decision concerning national equality can be voted on, and in which way it can't. Mr. Kadić says, in the same sentence: "Peoples in Bosnia and Herzegovina are equal, but we shall have this thing voted in favour". Against the will of Serbian people, and even against the will of Mr. Bjelobrk, who is a Serb, from SDP, if I am correct... */unintelligible shout/* ... a Yugoslav. Yes, well, he acted like a Yugoslav, so I thought he was a Serb.

/laughter and applause in the Assembly/

The paper, you can't bring that paper to the Europe, nor you can, through us, realise your goal in Europe, to separate the entire Bosnia and Herzegovina from Yugoslavia, because what you are suggesting here is violating the integrity of Yugoslavia, and the integrity of Yugoslavia can be ruffled, although it can't but... , but it can if you agree in the Federal Assembly, federal institutions. A lot of plans are mixing here. You are referring to the Constitution and the law when it suits you , and when it doesn't, then you are making political proclamations. And one of the most flagrant things in all that you are doing is that you are trying to describe the acts of Slovenia and Croatia as legal. Now we understand why there was such a loud applause when Slovenia and Croatia proclaimed their sovereignty and independence. It was because, you gentlemen wanted to stick to Slovenia and Croatia, that's why you encouraged them to separate from Yugoslavia, because you hoped they'd drag you along. There is no other way you can leave Yugoslavia.

/laughter and applause in the Assembly/

Serbs in Bosnia and Herzegovina can prevent Croats and Muslims, if it comes to that. */loud reaction of certain individuals in the Assembly/* But we won't prevent you from anything. We will not prevent you, because we are sovereign people, regardless where we are in the minority, and where we are in the majority...

If I am bothering you... I really do rarely take up this stage, so... Than let me tell you what you need to be told. Gentlemen, I am not here in the act of the God of war, like..., like somebody from Croatian Democratic Community described me, but I am telling you, for a hundredth time, as I said it before in all our conversations. Serbian Democratic Party is not creating the will of Serbian people, it's merely interpreting it. We would be lying through our teeth, if we were to say that you can vote in the favour of this and that you can actually do something with it in Europe. Here, Mr. from SDA, we are talking about some other things for three months now. We are talking freely and openly about special and different organisation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, where maybe some kind of three levels could preserve the entirety Bosnia and that, Serbs can be as much in Yugoslavia as they want, Muslims as much as they want and Croats as much as they want. That would be one solution in three steps, where the sovereignty of people, as Mr. Bilob..., Mr. Bjelobrk red correctly, would be realised not only on the level of the Republic, and the level of the federal state, but also district and autonomy, as we suggested. If you don't want that, we can agree that we won't try to stop you to leave Yugoslavia by using the plebiscite, but through the same plebiscite and the same right, we shall prevent you to take us out of Yugoslavia. Here, Mr. from SDA in our conversations, and even in the Commission, it was said... we said: "this means the independence of Bosnia and Herzegovina." They said that it does, providing that Croatia separates

too. So, through the automatism, behaviour of the Croatia, the constitutional and legal position of Bosnia and Herzegovina, changes. It can't be done that way. Constitutional and legal position of Bosnia and Herzegovina can only be changed by actions of its sovereign people, and not Croatian people in Croatia or Slovenian people in Slovenia. You can't sanction that state, nobody in the world recognised it and nobody recognised the state in..., in..., in Serbian parts in Croatia. You saw what happened there, Mr. Abdić brilliantly explained what it was about. Mr. Abdić said: "This is a legal frame for actions, till the new Constitution is made". You can look it up in the stenograph! So, we are making a constitutional and legal act, in a unconstitutional and illegal manner. We are not against you making an initiative to change the Constitution of Bosnia and Herzegovina. But, you can't do it like this. That should go to the Constitution Council first, then the Council of citizens, so they can..., vote regarding this matter. But again, you can't enter the matters that are regulated by the federal Constitution. I am trying, in the calmest way possible to..., and to tell you that Serbian people know what you want. You want to achieve in The Hague, to show that you are the third or the fourth country that doesn't want to live in Yugoslavia anymore, but you can't do that, because we want to live in Yugoslavia. You can speak only for yourselves. Sovereign people in Bosnia and Herzegovina can each say for themselves what they want, but not for other people as well. It was one of the conclusions made in this Assembly. We shall disable you to carry out violence against Serbian people, constitution violence, in front of local and international public. Because, after the constitution violence, all other violence will come, we won't be consulted regarding the situation anymore. We won't be consulted if we come into the situation in which Slovenia and Croatia are in, especially Croatia. Knowing that in Bosnia and Herzegovina, that hell would be one thousand times worse and there would be way to stop it. I must send a message to all delegates. Gentlemen, believe me, even if you would make something tonight, even though you have no way to make it, because we have constitutional manner to prevent you from voting, but even if you would make something, that would be the source of shame for Mr. Izetbegović in The Hague, because we have the ways to make it impossible even in The Hague. It would also be a great shame for the image of this Parliament in Europe and for all these peoples in Yugoslavia and Europe. It would be especially your embarrassment, Croats and Muslims, who are loyal to this idea, your shame and your prove how much you respect sovereignty and equality of Serbian people of Bosnia and Herzegovina. I am asking you one more time, I am not threatening, but asking, to take seriously the interpretation of political will of Serbian people, which is represented here by the Serbian Democratic Party and Serbian Movement of Renewal, and several Serbs from some other parties. Please, take it seriously, it is not good what you are doing. This is the road that you want Bosnia and Herzegovina to take, the same highway of hell and suffering that Slovenia and Croatia went through. Don't think you won't take Bosnia and Herzegovina to hell and Muslim people in possible extinction. Because, Muslim people will not be able to defend itself if it comes to

war here!

/loud reaction and whistles in the Assembly/

Please, I know those are serious words. Serious situations call for serious words. How will you prevent that everybody start killing everybody in Bosnia and Herzegovina? Can war in Croatia be prevented? Especially in the border areas, where Serbs and Croats are in contact, whose two political wills are in conflict, and weren't realised in a legal manner, so there's only one way left to realise them. From now on gentlemen, I will ask for word on regular basis, until you take the matter of independence of Bosnia and Herzegovina off the agenda. That is my right. I want to send a message to Muslim, Serb and Croatian people, that you want to achieve something in Europe, what you have no right on. Thank you.

0:10:36 */end of the sequence/*