

MINUTES FROM THE MEETING HELD

ON: 30 August 1995

IN: PRESIDENTIAL PALACE – Northern room

MEETING STARTED AT: 1200 hrs

MEETING FINISHED AT: 1325 hrs

PERSONS THAT WERE PRESENT
AT THE MEETING:

Dr M. GRANIĆ, I. JARNJAK,
Eng. H. ŠARINIĆ, I. MILAS, Dr
I. PAŠALIĆ, N. VALENTIĆ,
Prof. S. SOKOL, Dr M. ŽUŽUL

DELEGATION CONSISTING OF:

PERSONS WHO ATTEND THE
MEETING BESIDE THE PRESIDENT:

RECORDED!

MINUTES

From the meeting between the President of the Republic of Croatia Dr Franjo TUĐMAN with the Republic of Croatia high-ranking officials, held on 30 August 1995 at the Presidential Palace

Beginning at 1200 hrs

PRESIDENT:

OK, Gentlemen, the meeting of this part of VONS /Republic of Croatia Council for Defence and National Security/ concerns a discussion regarding conditions for a peaceful solution for Eastern Slavonia and Baranja.

Friends, allies, the United States of America, Germany and Europe, not to mention Russia, all of them are pressuring us not to go further with "Oluja" /The Storm/. It seems that the Serbs, from Eastern Slavonia and Baranja to Belgrade, are very frightened, so, in principle, they ask for a political solution.

The general evaluation is, and I agree for the first time in this case with some external /missing a noun/, that Yugoslavia could hardly stay out of that conflict, if we proceed with the armed action in these conditions. MILOŠEVIĆ could not resist his Main Staff and the others, so if we go for it now, the situation would be like that so the Yugoslav Army would get involved as well. Obviously they have the explicit superiority in the aviation and rocket armament, also in tanks that could drag not only through the Danube river, but also through Srijem. So, in order to avoid victims and to be in accordance with the international efforts to achieve the peace, we should, as an answer to that Serb proposal, starting from those Serbs in Eastern Slavonia and Baranja, ending with MILOŠEVIĆ himself, who says that we should prepare a proposal for the peaceful solution and his people over there will accept it. /as stated/ So, today we should consider what kind of conditions we would achieve.

They start with Z-4 /term unknown/, which is of course Z-4 in the part pertaining to Eastern Slavonia and Baranja. They have a referendum, except for the United Nations contemporary Administration and even plebiscite at the end.

So, we should set terms in order to ensure the implementation of our authorities, the return of expelled persons and we will have to reject any possibility for the referendum, considering our present positions and the forces that we have. Those terms should be sufficiently decisive in order to ensure our interests, but not like those we had in Geneva when actually, we wanted things to be the way they had been.

It is certain that now the views of America, Russia and Europe are identical, which is something we did not have before. The Russian representative ZOTOV was here after he was in Belgrade and they say that MILOŠEVIĆ proposes the meeting between PERIŠIĆ, MLADIĆ and CHERVENKO in order to discuss the problem of shelling of the Dubrovnik area. We should release water for Herceg Novi in return for that. I said: "Fine, but they will have the water as soon as that stops."

It is interesting that KOHL will meet with Yeltzin in Moscow on Saturday and Sunday and Germans insist that we, by no means, should start a military action in Eastern Slavonia. They will ask from Russia, and it seems like a settlement, to be co-operative with West concerning Eastern Slavonia and Bosnia. That is why Europe and America will give them free hands in Georgia in Caucasus.

It is also interesting that Germany, in its own way, maintains certain commercial relations with Serbia. I had certain information that they were giving...

Dr MATE GRANIĆ:

Ten millions German marks for the construction of a garment factory.

PRESIDENT:

Everybody pursues his own policy. I think we are in the most suitable situation to proceed with our policy as we pursued it until now. It is interesting that we talked to MILOŠEVIĆ, who was saying previously that he could not recognise Croatia but Bosnia first, and now he wants to recognise Croatia first in the context of finding a political solution and he would recognise Bosnia later, because Bosnia would take longer.

All in all, we will pursue something specific, I even think we should not go into details. Let us see what conditions should we set, because we should do it in a day or two. I think we should begin with a request for /sic, missing a noun/, you know that I accept for General DEČAK and their General LONČAR to meet in those attempts to calm down that feelings about Slavonia and Baranja. We achieved the truce over there.

I think we should first begin with the request for disarmament and for the departure of all paramilitary formations from Serbia, as well as for disarmament of paramilitary formations in Eastern Slavonia and Baranja, because that should be...

IVAN JARNJAK:

... demilitarisation at this moment, in Baranja, until...

PRESIDENT:

Yes, this is what it means, but to whom? We can not request it, it is not realistic to request it from us, because that means war, but we should probably request it from UNCRO. (Obviously.) We should request it from UNCRO /United Nations Confidence Restoring Operations/ and UNCRO should give it to Croatia after that.

Eng. HRVOJE ŠARINIĆ:

Although he is completely on that line. /as stated/

PRESIDENT:

Well, good, so...

Eng. HRVOJE ŠARINIĆ:

Someone has to control that.

PRESIDENT:

Yes, of course. Then we could start it.

Further more, they begin with some kind of international administration, I think we should not accept the international administration, but the Government that was before the occupation should be returned and our expelled persons should start returning. I said during the talks with Americans and also with Russians that we are willing to accept – let us see what – the international observers to come instead of them to that Z-4 position, which was suggested by GALBRAITH and AHRENS or how they called the international administration or the United Nations Administration...

Eng. HRVOJE ŠARINIĆ:

That was The United Nations Administration.

Dr MATE GRANIĆ:

That was the Interim Administration.

PRESIDENT:

Yes, but which one – the International, the United Nations or the European Community? (The European Community). It was the European Community Administration. So, what is our standpoint – the thing I said, are we satisfied with that democratically chosen government before the occupation and what is the kind of ... how should we call it, the United Nations international observers or what?

IVAN MILAS:

Before the war there was SKH /sic, probably League of Croatian Communists/ and there was the Party of Democratic Changes in Baranja and in Vukovar.

PRESIDENT:

And that was until 1991?

Dr IVIĆ PAŠALIĆ:

DOKMANOVIĆ was the Mayor in Vukovar before and he is the Mayor now. (Wasn't it a Serb before?) That was a Serb, yes. (Slavko DOKMANOVIĆ).

PRESIDENT:

Then it does not suit us completely, we should see about that.

Dr MATE GRANIĆ:

Mister President, the transitional period can be either under Serb authority or under the authority of the international community, because our people can not return in one day. Vukovar is completely demolished, there are other places down there. So, we have to ensure the return for our people and the police should be proportional to the national structure. So, if we sign the agreement in one period of time, there should be either transitional administration or us...PRESIDENT:

Then it should be this, immediately this, it means that my proposal on the government that was here before is off. (Yes.) Then we must have an interim administration, which should consist of representatives of the Croatian government, local Serbs and the international community. (Yes.)

Yes, it should be something like that.

Dr MATE GRANIĆ:

Something like Mostar, maybe, or the European Community, something like that.

NIKICA VALENTIĆ:

I do not know much about these problems, but I know from our department, because it is often mentioned, that there is a big number of Serbs from Western Slavonia that live in the area of Baranja and Vukovar. (Around 30 000 of them.) So, it means that we should expect the request for their return to Western Slavonia.

PRESIDENT:

That is a special problem and we are going to concentrate on it.

NIKICA VALENTIĆ:

Yes, I am only warning you, because I think this is one of important problems, as well as economic issues.

PRESIDENT:

The next thing I wanted to say is that we should and we could put it like this – Serbs that came from Bosnia and from other places, they should leave. (Yes.)

NIKICA VALENTIĆ:

What, together with our Serbs?

PRESIDENT:

Together with our Serbs and we have to be very flexible about it because of the international community. We should suggest to replace them with Croats in Vojvodina and Serbia (but we can not write it down), what?

IVAN MILAS:

Why? That option has been carried out always after the war.

PRESIDENT:

Look, it is better not to complicate life for them and for us.

IVAN MILAS:

That is a so-called option that exists in all the international agreements after the 1st World War.

NIKICA VALENTIĆ:

I think the most of them will do it, but that should be done in a clever way and I am getting in touch with them. As far as I know Serbs and I know them well, 80% of them will leave. Everyone that has a son fit for military service, everyone that can accept that his son is serving the Croatian army, that one is not a Serb any longer in that nation-building sense of the word. I know that kind of psychosis very well, everyone that has young children fit for military service is not going to stay in Croatia and I am not afraid that a lot of them will stay. But, I also do not agree that we should suggest the exchange immediately, but we should try to play a certain game on a long ball, to say it in sports terms.

PRESIDENT:

Yes, but we have to suggest it, that question is open and they are asking it here.

IVAN MILAS:

Mister President, I thought about it for a while, Baranja had, according to the statistics, 25000 Croats and Vukovar 34000, maybe 50 or 100 more or less, that is in rounded figures. We do not have such acceptable figures, especially with Baranja. A large number of the population found an existence for themselves /as stated/. Almost 85% of the population were Serbian and Croatian immigrants and almost half of them were from Bosnia. You can see that even leaders of our refugees and expelled persons are not expelled persons, the one for Baranja is from Pridraga and Mato is from...

PRESIDENT:

These are the statistics...

IVAN MILAS:

But, these are the facts and we should see now how to bring them back, because you have to do so and if they are inhabitants, we should decide it at the local level. We have to bring them back by force, we have to give them prefabricated houses and we have to calculate how much that would cost and we should simply bring them here, because that is a matter of the state. I would also negotiate with Serbia about an option and between those officers /as stated/. I got the letter from our officers a long time ago, they want to come back to Croatia. I think that this is a historical moment when we should enable those 100 thousand Croats from Belgrade to come back. Some of them are in mixed marriages. There is no reason for Croatia not to be very open with that option.

PRESIDENT:

Good, can we see... (Those are two things.)

IVAN MILAS:

No, no, that is a very important thing, because Serbs are going to accept that, because they want to gather all the inhabitants in Vojvodina, where the situation is worse than it is shown by figures, and I think we can talk to them about this issue without the presence of the international community.

IVAN JARNJAK:

Mister President, if I may say so, I think what has been said until now and what you said in the introduction, we should set some conditions for them to recognise Croatia within the internationally recognised borders. /as stated/ As soon as they recognise Croatia within the internationally recognised borders...

PRESIDENT:

Good, that is not the question.

IVAN JARNJAK:

We will solve it easier like that. Second, it seems to me that the model that was used in Mostar, where you have a joint administration... let it be Serb, Croats, I mean Croats and Serbs and the international community should be...

It seems to me that they are going to accept this model and it will be acceptable for the world and for everyone. All three should take part, so there should be Croats and Serbs and the international community in the Government and that could even be some kind of protectorate for two years, or whatever they would like to call it at this moment...

PRESIDENT:

Protectorate... the territory of Croatia... (Yes, that is right). And I even think that we could ask maybe this about the one.../as stated/

Dr IVIĆ PAŠALIĆ:

By the structure of the population, we could... pure population over there, other minorities and we are absolutely the majority in relation to Serbs. (Yes, relatively.)

IVAN JARNJAK:

At the very first moment when we get inside, we will deal much easier with those problems, when police comes inside, when our population comes inside, then we will

deal much easier with those problems and the things are like that then. I would not even begin with whether they are going, moving or not, we should let it go, the time will show, I would not start now with that agreement, this is our country and we will make arrangements with them.

PRESIDENT:

No, look, I would not be afraid of that, what MILAS just said... because we are already... (That was the agreement.) ... by the end of 1992 they said that people who want should move by their own free will. So, because they were brought here by force...

Dr MATE GRANIĆ:

Mister President, I think that everyone can choose a diplomatic option and with that you made a statement. And we can talk directly with them, as Ivan said. But, we have to, because it will be under the watchful eye of the international community. In any case, our main allies would be very happy if we manage to resolve this and that would mean more economic help if we could solve it in this way.

So, we should consider legally that possibility as well, but we should be very smart about it. But, this transitional joint administration should be established according to the Mostar model, there is a model, I think we could also have another example.

PRESIDENT:

Wait, I would not want that model, there is the European Administration in Mostar. This is a Croatian territory and I would not want that, I would rather have a temporary administration that should be specified. I would even want the two representatives of the Croatian authorities, one should be a Serb and the other should be from the international community, or maybe there should be even two, if you want.

IVAN MILAS:

One can be chosen among the minorities.

IVAN JARNJAK:

Serbs are the minority in Croatia, let us say other minorities as well.

Prof. SMILJKO SOKOL:

I wanted to say that it should be two Croats, one Serb and one person from the international community and what is more important, in the conditions of demilitarisation, local police should be based on the census before the occupation and we will have two-thirds majority, which is very important.

PRESIDENT:

But, how should we call it? A temporary administration...

Prof. SMILJKO SOKOL:

We should call it the temporary administration in the area of Baranja, Eastern Slavonia and Western Srijem. And we should set a deadline.

PRESIDENT:

And something else, can we go...we do not want any unique /missing a noun/ for that area, but within municipalities.

Prof. SMILJKO SOKOL:

Within existing municipalities, because there can not be the new ones. Now, the question is whether that should be within existing municipalities or the ones that were established by us. We would prefer the ones that we...

Dr MIOMIR ŽUŽUL:

I have a proposal on this matter, President, because the situation is quite different than it is in Mostar and all the other examples. There should be one representative from the international community and one from the Croatian Government and one representative of Croats and Serbs from that area, as representatives of local communities. But, we should say explicitly that it is not two Croats or a Croat and a Serb, but there is a representative of Croatian government inside and he takes care about that area to be integrated again.

It seems impossible to me to organise it on the level of local communities' or municipalities. Besides, they will have a problem over there, because there are a great number of municipalities or places where Croats are the minority. So I think it would be more suitable for us if that can cover the whole area.

Prof. SMILJKO SOKOL:

In old municipalities that we had, Croats were the majority.

PRESIDENT:

Then we probably had to make it in old municipalities as well.

Prof. SMILJKO SOKOL:

We have to invoke Article 19 of the Constitutional Law, which says that the members of ethnic and national minorities have the right to be present in the bodies of local government proportionally to their role as the whole population of certain unit of local government. We had the majority in all municipalities in the area of Baranja and Eastern Slavonia and especially in Western Srijem. So, we have the constitutional and the legal base, but I think the most important for the local police is to be proportional to the structure of population as before the aggression, which is also based on the Constitutional Law.

PRESIDENT:

I would agree on that, but at the same time we should say that those international observers should have a certain civil police over there, before it starts functioning.

Eng. HRVOJE ŠARINIĆ:

What Smiljko suggests about two Croats, one Serb and one person from the international community corresponds to the census and ethnic picture from 1991, it is like 42%, 26% and so on.

If we want a peaceful solution, we would say that all the Serbs that came from Serbia, Bosnia etc should leave and I think we would not have any problems about it, because they are not citizens of the Republic of Croatia.

However, all the Serbs that came from Western Slavonia, Knin and so on and that are the Republic of Croatia citizens, we said that we would tolerate them to stay over there for now or to let them choose either to go back to wherever they came from or to stay there. If we let them stay over there, then we would get a completely different ethnic picture.

PRESIDENT:

We will get a temporary one.

Eng. HRVOJE ŠARINIĆ:

Yes, temporary, but the government that we are talking about is also temporary. And I think it will be hard for us to say to the international community that, on the one hand, we let them stay and that on the other, we are creating a government based on a different ethnic picture than in 1991.

Dr IVIĆ PAŠALIĆ:

I think, President, that we should not let those who came from the other parts of Croatia stay there, because they would change our population's structure. Let them go back, and a very little of them will return to Knin.

PRESIDENT:

And what do you want? I think they would return to Eastern Slavonia and Baranja in great numbers.

Dr IVIĆ PAŠALIĆ:

It will be much easier for us to deal with them if they are scattered all over the place, than if they are all gathered at one place.

PRESIDENT:

No, these who are over there just temporary...

Dr MATE GRANIĆ:

Until we have the situation when we would take control over borders. /as stated/

Prof. SMILJKO SOKOL:

We should make an exchange.

IVAN MILAS:

I think it is better for them to stay over there, because they will become consolidated.

GOJKO ŠUŠAK:

First of all, no one from the international community would accept the fact that we do not allow our citizens to live where they want. As MILAS said, we have to decide today what kind of written offer should we give them. Our interests correspond with the interests of Serbs, as well as this matter of relocation. That is the matter that can not be put in writing. We have to define it during the process.

PRESIDENT:

We must determine those principles, because it means that they have freedom to choose.

GOJKO ŠUŠAK:

Freedom to choose is something completely different. It goes without saying. I would do that, President, because neither Europe nor anyone else would accept that no one is present over there. UNCRO /United Nations Confidence Restoring Operations/ has been already there, it can not be helped.

PRESIDENT:

OK, we have already said that.

GOJKO ŠUŠAK:

We have to give them three months within the mandate, in order to create conditions for the Croatian police to take over the control on that territory, considering the international recognition during that process. The police control should be proportional to the population that has been there according to the 1991 census. UNCRO should have a time limit of three months to ensure that. /as stated/

PRESIDENT:

Wait, let us discuss it consecutively. We agree that UNCRO should stay, but I do not agree that we should give them three months to disarm those people there. I would like us to consider giving the UNCRO around 14 days for disarmament, because Washington and the world in general ask for a fast solution.

Dr MATE GRANIĆ:

We should give them a month at the most.

PRESIDENT:

Listen, they are in a hurry right now.

Eng. HRVOJE ŠARINIĆ:

President, 14 days are only for the withdrawal of those who came from Serbia, we should do it and they have to disarm paramilitary units. Those units that are over there, they are local.

PRESIDENT:

Gordan, please write down some issues.

We should make a request for disarmament, which should happen in 14 days. Those who are not armed and paramilitaries, which are not from that area, should leave in 8 days. Then we can see how it goes. Because, these people wants us to find the solution for Bosnia and for everything else in couple of days.

IVAN MILAS:

Armed units and individuals, because he could be in this local /missing a noun/. /as stated/

Dr MATE GRANIĆ:

They think that two months are the deadline.

PRESIDENT:

It is the deadline for everything. Then we could tell the police to organise its structure proportionally to the structure of the population as it was before...

IVAN JARNJAK:

The police should take over their duties, which is very important, that means securing the borders, maintaining the public order, peace and general safety. We have to set it up inside in order to keep them from saying that UNCRO stayed there, at the border. /as stated/

PRESIDENT:

So, the Croatian customs should be at the borders together with UNCRO.

Dr MIOMIR ŽUŽUL:

President, if I may speak in general terms. This matter of UNCRO is quite dubious for me. Not that I am against it, but I am just not certain about this matter.

First of all, the suggestion that has been given by the Contact Group for the implementation does not include UNPROFOR, and UNCRO is not mentioned either. Probably it is not UNCRO at all, but NATO.

Dr MATE GRANIĆ:

That is valid for Bosnia.

Dr MIOMIR ŽUŽUL:

Croatia is not mentioned, that question is open.

But, there is something else that is more important. I am not a priori against UNCRO, but it is completely clear to me that if it is UNCRO then it has to be a new mandate. It can not be by this existing mandate, because according to that mandate they do not have the possibility to carry out that implementation. So, it has to be a new resolution of the Security Council, which has to define a new mandate in operational terms. We will not have these problems then.

PRESIDENT:

That is not true, because UNCRO had a task to disarm them.

Dr MIOMIR ŽUŽUL:

But, they had a whole lot of other elements to refer to all the time.

PRESIDENT:

OK, but that is a different situation. So, if we want it now, we are wasting our time. If we could achieve an agreement with MILOŠEVIĆ and MILOŠEVIĆ says: "My people will sign it now, they are not MARTIĆ's people..." and if they are ready to carry that out, then why waste time on formalities? We already have that agreement with UNCRO for those 2500 thousand to stay. /as stated/

Dr MIOMIR ŽUŽUL:

But, there is a question of units without a new mandate.

IVAN JARNJAK:

We should have the structure of units.

Dr MIOMIR ŽUŽUL:

I wanted to finish it without a new mandate, because it seems to me that the most important question for UNCRO is the structure of units.

IVAN JARNJAK:

So they would not stay only in Osijek. /as stated/

Dr MIOMIR ŽUŽUL:

If there is a new mandate, then the General Secretary can determine the structure of units.

Eng. HRVOJE ŠARINIĆ:

Only these two within United Nations /sic, probably mandates/

PRESIDENT:

I have a suggestion – the Russians and Americans should take the role of peacekeeping forces.

Dr MATE GRANIĆ:

May I say something? It is not likely that they will send, but something else is a problem /as stated/. We want all of this to be over in two months, but a mandate could not be changed without the Security Council. So, we can do it only within the frames of the one that already exists and with a special agreement with the headquarters. That is the only way.

PRESIDENT:

OK, let us not waste any time. We should ask either UNCRO or NATO to implement that within the frames of...

Eng. HRVOJE ŠARINIĆ:

President please let me say something. We should make an agreement and they would implement a new mandate and do everything else, if we make that agreement.

GOJKO ŠUŠAK:

President, except for UNCRO, we will have a second option in a couple of months until we make it, because we are processing it now. /as stated/
The question is does UNCRO have a mandate or not?

Dr MATE GRANIĆ:

It is important for us to make an agreement.

NIKICA VALENTIĆ:

I think, President, this part is unquestionable and we should not be en-thrilled to it. If we resolve the essence, we will get the form.
The essential problem to me is the matter of the great number of Serbs, because Gojko has the point, we can not... to a Serb from Pakrac if he wants to go back to Pakrac. /word is missing/. We should find a smart formulation for it. The Bosnian and Yugoslav Serbs have to leave and they will accept it, but they would probably ask what would happen with 20 or 30 thousand Serbs. We want to bring back our expelled persons, that is OK, but you should bring back the expelled Serbs as well. We have to find a smart way regarding that...to the consequences that could come out of it. /as stated/

PRESIDENT:

We must have an option of homecoming and we must have it in principle, but we should resolve it in a practical way. That means, the right to return for the Croats that are emigrating or the exchange option.

Eng. HRVOJE ŠARINIĆ:

Of course, in this phase they give the priority to those who are citizens of the Republic of Croatia to stay there. They give that priority now.

PRESIDENT:

If is it possible we have to bring our people back.

Eng. HRVOJE ŠARINIĆ:

We must not forget one more thing, President. In all Croatian houses in Baranja today are “Jovas and Simas” /male names/

PRESIDENT:

They have to leave.

GOJKO ŠUŠAK:

There is one more thing, President, concerning these proposals, how many of them should be, three, four or five. There were as many Hungarians as there were Serbs and us. We can not have Serbs as a national minority and not have Hungarians. There are more Hungarians in Baranja than Serbs.

Eng. HRVOJE ŠARINIĆ:

No, no, that is not true.

GOJKO ŠUŠAK:

It is like that in Baranja.

(All speakers are talking at the same time, it can not be understood).

GOJKO ŠUŠAK:

... we have maybe one percent of the difference, so whomever they are representing in that group, it has to be a Hungarian, because of our interest and our relations with minorities. /as stated/

NIKICA VALENTIĆ:

We should not create Hungary around Baranja like it is the case with little Italy, due to their historical ambitions.

GOJKO ŠUŠAK:

If we can not sell two of our people and one Serb, then we can sell us, a Hungarian and a Serb and that Hungarian would be on our side.

PRESIDENT:

Listen, can we suggest it like this? Temporary administration would consist of the Croatian Government and United Nations representatives, a Croat and a Serb and the representative of the minorities.

Dr MATE GRANIĆ:

That is very good.

IVAN JARNJAK:

Mister President, we should define a local government of the former municipality.

PRESIDENT:

We do not want local government, that is a temporary administration for a year.

Dr IVIĆ PAŠALIĆ:

Establishment of the population.../as stated/

NIKICA VALENTIĆ:

We shall see what is better, the old municipalities or the new ones, until we summarise it all.

PRESIDENT:

We should stick to the old ones, for now.

IVAN JARNJAK:

We are the majority in all the old municipalities and as for the new ones... In Mirkovci, we are, for example, the minority, but in the old ones we are majority almost for sure.

GOJKO ŠUŠAK:

I suggested those three months, President, because that is within UNCRO mandate. After that, their mandate expires. Those two weeks that you were mentioning, I thought we should have it all determined within three months. After that, the UNCRO mandate expires and they can remain only as observers. We should take over the power completely within three months and the Republic of Croatia should be there. Observers may remain, but UNCRO should work on that within its mandate.

PRESIDENT:

For how long will that mandate last, two or three months?

GOJKO ŠUŠAK:

It should last for three months, until 30 November.

Dr MATE GRANIĆ:

European observers are offering themselves to do that. /as stated/ I got a phone call today from the Hungarian Minister of External Affairs, KOVAČ. He suggests that his representative comes here to talk and they are offering themselves to do it. There are different possibilities, but we should not lose pace during these three months.

GOJKO ŠUŠAK:

The structure should be also, Hrvoje could deal with that diversity, Argentinians... /the sentence is not finished/ he says that they would like to stay and to leave the structure of the forces as it was. It should be a hundred Belgians, a hundred Argentinians and we would not have any problems.

PRESIDENT:

OK then, we agreed on the government and we agreed on a matter of principle concerning the population and opening of the communications with Serbia and Yugoslavia in that area as well, which is very important to them.

IVAN JARNJAK:

We should discuss the mine clearance as a separate issue.

PRESIDENT:

We should mention the immediate return of Đelekovci to the formation. /as stated/

IVAN JARNJAK:

Mister President, we should discuss mine clearance for sure, because there are a lot of minefields on that terrain and I think that the mine clearance is the basic precondition for them to come back.

Dr MATE GRANIĆ:

One more thing, President, we could easily get the help from the international community for the mine clearance.

GOJKO ŠUŠAK:

They will get involved if we reach this agreement, that is the least they can do.

NIKICA VALENTIĆ:

That should be a decoy for MILOŠEVIĆ. I know from the times when we worked with them a lot, the oil pipeline was crucial for normalisation of the economic life and that could be a very serious (this Eastern branch) ... /as stated, a couple of words are missing/. The other thing is the opening of the highway (and the railway), and with that... and for us would economically... /as stated/

PRESIDENT:

We should list everything by name, railway lines, and even the old things... (I will do it together with other things), telecommunications, oil pipeline, etc.

Dr MATE GRANIĆ:

A referendum is out of the question.

Dr IVIĆ PAŠALIĆ:

We should have the border control in order not to let them bring those Serbs that left Croatia back and we should not let them bring the Serbs into Sector East. Who has the control over the border toward Serbia?

NIKICA VALENTIĆ:

Let us not be too ambitious, I am for the maximum of appeasement, we should only... with their own. (Of course.) /as stated/

IVAN MILAS:

Then we shall carry out the exchange of the population.

GOJKO ŠUŠAK:

The border...we should not ask that question if it says in the contract that they are an integral part of the Republic of Croatia and that the police is functioning according to the Constitution and the Republic of Croatia Law, which only means...

Eng. HRVOJE ŠARINIĆ:

That should be after the transitional period.

GOJKO ŠUŠAK:

During these three months, when they are completely...

PRESIDENT:

No, no, we should form the police during the transitional period and that police should be proportional to the population.

(He reads.) IZETBEGOVIĆ, PARIS ... between IZETBEGOVIĆ, CHIRAC, and... according to the information given by ZUBAK, the President of the Federation, the following happened:

HOLBROOK and CHARET stated that MILOŠEVIĆ would not recognise the Republic of Croatia. That has already become outdated. (That became outdated.) Secondly, there are secret agreements between DE CHARET and SHACHIRBEY, which had begun on 3 August in the Federation. Those agreements have as their purpose to make the Government in Sarajevo agree only to MILOŠEVIĆ's recognition of BiH, because that is in the interest of the peace process. That has also become outdated. (It has become outdated.) DE CHARET is willing to influence MILOŠEVIĆ in that direction, he holds it against IZETBEGOVIĆ because he is uniting with Croatia. He also promises that he will establish the connection with the Minister of External Affairs of Yugoslavia. IZETBEGOVIĆ is not sending a direct answer, but that is fine, we will see about it. All right.

At the meeting with President CHIRAC, SHACHIRBEY mentions that GRANIĆ should also know about that. ZUBAK was also present at the meeting. CHIRAC is offering IZETBEGOVIĆ a direct telephone connection, which means bringing France to the fore and displacing of the American role. He suggests demilitarisation of Sarajevo and he promises securing the road across Igman, as well as the secured communications between Sarajevo and the airport.

According to ZUBAK's information, it is most likely that IZETBEGOVIĆ will return to Split today. Therefore, there is a possibility that he leaves for Turkey immediately, at President DEMIREL's invitation.

Dr MATE GRANIĆ:

That has been confirmed.

PRESIDENT:

What has been confirmed?

Dr MATE GRANIĆ:

Yes, he is leaving for Turkey right now, tonight is...

PRESIDENT:

It is most likely that IZETBEGOVIĆ will not be accompanied by ZUBAK.

At the dinner, held on the 29th ... he organised...(He reads.)... in the presence of the most prominent politicians, IZETBEGOVIĆ explains the history answering certain questions and... clashes in BiH and the Republic of Croatia and he presents his own points of view. /as stated/ Yugoslavia was a good idea at the beginning, but it proved to be a bad reality, a Serb domination. I do not believe in the renewal of Yugoslavia, because Slovenia and Croatia do not want Yugoslavia under any circumstances. He admits by that... he wants it, that is from the very beginning /as stated/

The recognition of Croatia and Slovenia would be good for them and bad for BiH, but recognition of BiH... We do not accept the recognition of BiH that MILOŠEVIĆ is willing to give and he wants to recognise BiH that does not exist. He is not ready to recognise the existing BiH. London menu /as stated/. President TUĐMAN issued an official denial and it is good enough for us. Croatia is our neighbour, there is a certain trust and there are good relations that should not be destroyed, we should not look for troubles.

It is interesting that IZETBEGOVIĆ told me, during our eye-to-eye conversation in Split that he knew it would be impossible to keep the whole Bosnia, but we should emphasise it because of the international community.

So this is what this statement means.

Dr MATE GRANIĆ:

But, that is the continuity, he gave another positive statement before. /as stated/

PRESIDENT:

Clashes between Muslims and Croats are artificial and unnatural. They always had good relations. I am a Muslim, but I am not raised in hatred and I have friends among Serbs. We have two Serbs here tonight in BiH delegation. One of them is KOVAČ who is the Ambassador of BiH in France and LAZOVIĆ who is the President of BiH Assembly. MILOŠEVIĆ will give up the Eastern Slavonia, not just yet, but in 4 months. That is what IZETBEGOVIĆ said.

(He reads.) ... Before the Conference had started, IZETBEGOVIĆ declared that his delegation had arrived in Paris with a delay. It was not certain whether they would come. He never came on time to any meeting and I know him for 5 years, since Belgrade, Brussels and London...

Then he said that they had been expecting a military answer to yesterday's massacre in Sarajevo during the whole day yesterday. Since there were no military intervention and destruction of the Serb artillery positions around Sarajevo, he decided that Bosnia and Herzegovina should suspend its participation in peace process. Except for the President CHIRAC, IZETBEGOVIĆ met with CHARLAMION, the French Minister of Defence, ERVED CHARET, the French Minister of External Affairs and...

MANUELIO, State Secretary for... IZETBEGOVIĆ judged favourably talks that he had with President CHIRAC, who was very direct. IZETBEGOVIĆ added that he had established a new French politics in Bosnia with CHIRAC. When they asked IZETBEGOVIĆ would he go back to the negotiating table if there was a military intervention, he said: "Yes." When they asked him about KARADŽIĆ's acceptance of the American peace initiative, IZETBEGOVIĆ declared that he had never heard about it. He added that only if KARADŽIĆ accepted the plan of the Contact Group and recognised the integrity of Bosnia, would it carry some weight.

When they asked him about the demilitarisation of Sarajevo as a step toward peace he answered in the negative, referring to Srebrenica as an example. Making a comment on the current American plan, IZETBEGOVIĆ emphasised that there was an initiative, but there was no a real plan, because two things were missing: 1) the constitutional and legal system of BiH and 2) the map. He stated that UNPROFOR was still necessary and in spite of all it was bringing more benefit than damage. He adds that CHIRAC promised that he would put in a word with Serbs, he would provide safety for everyone and for Igman road, as well as for the Blue road.

When they asked him... to create an Islam state, in spite of the peace intervention for... Bosnia and Herzegovina, IZETBEGOVIĆ replied that there are one Serb and one Croat among the Bosnia and Herzegovina delegation that is currently in Paris. /as stated/ So, what else do you want, the problem is almost solved.

OK, Hrvoje, what else should we offer in our reply, in our proposal?

Eng. HRVOJE ŠARINIĆ:

I do not know, President, should we give it to them, but I would like to bring your attention to the fact that we should immediately ask the international community to assist us. The winter is coming and they should provide 10000 of prefabricated houses. We will deal with the fact that "Simas and Jovas" are in Croats houses and that will be a problem. If they provide those 10000 houses, then our request that our man comes to his house is much more realistic, because we can tell him – "now you

are in the house of this and that and you should go in one over there, if it stays.” /as stated/

PRESIDENT:

Wait, if you place that /sic, probably “those houses”/ then you are not placing it for “Simas and Jovas” but for ...those are houses of Croats, Vukovar has been completely destroyed.

Eng. HRVOJE ŠARINIĆ:

Yes, it is, but that is in Baranja and I am talking about places where the Serbs moved into the Croatian houses. How will a Croat that returned, look at “Simo” being in his house? Then again, it will be very difficult to throw “Simo” out of the house because of the international community. So, if it is like that, we could establish it faster.

PRESIDENT:

So, I would say it like this: the international community should give us a possibility for accommodating those people who have to move in because of the return of Croatian...

Dr MATE GRANIĆ:

Or for those whose houses are demolished. (Of course.)

Eng. HRVOJE ŠARINIĆ:

Yes, because they can not return to Vukovar, I think. I also think that the international community would loosen the purse strings for it at this moment.

IVAN MILAS:

I think that is the most important thing, when we are talking about global solution and we should set up the terms for the arrival of the full Croatian government. Everything else is less important, because sooner or later someone would see... the majority, but the rest is Croatian, then we should negotiate with Serbia about those options and exchanges. Because they do not want to wait for the Croatian government when they know that the “X – day” will come when the Croatian army has international guarantees to come inside, to stand on its own land which is not demilitarised, to remain under the whole Croatian sovereignty after the transitional... And we should offer to Serbia the economy credentials.

PRESIDENT:

With these proposals, Serbia and Yugoslavia should recognise Croatia. (Yes.) So, to make this concrete, I would say that these five that we put there should establish their own government in a month and we should establish a Croatian customs service as well.

Eng. HRVOJE ŠARINIĆ:

You insist that Yugoslavia and Serbia should recognise Croatia, the both of them.

PRESIDENT:

No, just Yugoslavia.

Eng. HRVOJE ŠARINIĆ:

He is talking about Yugoslavia.

PRESIDENT:

Yes, Yugoslavia, Serbia is not internationally recognised, yes...

Eng. HRVOJE ŠARINIĆ:

Yes, yes, OK.

Dr MATE GRANIĆ:

Mister President, what Ivan said is very important, when the transitional period is over and when the Croatian army is in a position to take over the control.

PRESIDENT:

Wait for a second, the transitional period is something different. No, I think we should establish this transitional administration in a month.

Prof. SMILJKO SOKOL:

What is the time limit for the transitional administration?

PRESIDENT:

As far as I am concerned, I think it should be for a year, because Z-4 was suggesting two years and they would like it to be three years.

So, we will start with a year and if we achieve what we said, I would not mind two years.

GOJKO ŠUŠAK:

If we establish the police administration that will function according to the Republic of Croatia Law within three months, we could give them two years.

Dr MATE GRANIĆ:

That is for sure, President.

GOJKO ŠUŠAK:

But if that is a precondition and if it does not function, then everything else comes to nothing.

PRESIDENT:

But I would start from a one-year period of time.

IVAN MILAS:

Then we could speed up a process within Bosnian solution /as stated/.

IVAN JARNJAK:

Mister President, I would like to suggest a couple of technical details, but it would not be bad to include them. If we accept such an agreement within ten days, we have to form a group of five people that will be functional. It should be ten days before they withdraw.

Second thing is that their headquarters is in Vukovar and it has to be in Vukovar. We have to decide where that headquarters should be.

PRESIDENT:

These are two things, the one is a deadline, because we gave them 14 days for disarmament.

IVAN JARNJAK:

But before that, I would like this Government to be established here, because it has to control, to co-operate, to introduce and to work gradually and it has to be done in ten days.

PRESIDENT:

But then, are they...

Prof. SMILJKO SOKOL:

But it should be the same for every municipality.

PRESIDENT:

Wait a second, do we have that group of five people for the whole of Slavonia and Baranja...

IVAN JARNJAK:

We have it, as well as for the municipalities.

PRESIDENT:

Good, we agree on that.

IVAN JARNJAK:

Look, Mister President, this group for the whole area, has to enter within ten days and it has to establish the same groups in every municipality within next ten days.

PRESIDENT:

I agree. Or let us say, 14 days.

IVAN JARNJAK:

It should be ten days, do not give them 14.

Eng. HRVOJE ŠARINIĆ:

We have to know exactly, because I thought like this: paramilitary units from Serbia should leave in eight days and local paramilitary units should be disarmed in 14 days. You were saying something about establishing of the transitional government. That should be a kind of centralised government for the whole Eastern Slavonia and Baranja and for every municipality. What is the deadline for that?

Dr MATE GRANIĆ:

It should be 14 days...a month for the municipalities.

IVAN JARNJAK:

We should not return before they are disarmed, we should establish our government before that.

PRESIDENT:

It is good for them to have a control.

IVAN JARNJAK:

It should be ten days, Mister President. I suggest ten days.

PRESIDENT:

I agree.

IVAN JARNJAK:

And we should have ten days after that, for the municipalities.

PRESIDENT:

So, we should have a temporary central government in ten days and in twenty days it should be established within the municipalities.

IVAN JARNJAK:

That one should be established in the municipalities.

Dr MIOMIR ŽUŽUL:

President, speaking of recognition, do we ask for the mutual recognition or the recognition by Yugoslavia?

NIKICA VALENTIĆ:

We will probably ask for the mutual one.

Prof. SMILJKO SOKOL:

Absolutely.

Dr MIOMIR ŽUŽUL:

That is better for us, but they were complaining about it.

Eng. HRVOJE ŠARINIĆ:

Our problem is the succession, we have to take care regarding that.

Dr MIOMIR ŽUŽUL:

If there is a mutual recognition, then succession is not a problem.

PRESIDENT:

The mutual recognition and establishment of diplomatic relations should be at the Ambassador level.

Eng. HRVOJE ŠARINIĆ:

I am just playing it extra safe, if there is a succession then...

Dr MIOMIR ŽUŽUL:

In that case we have a protected succession. If we do not have a mutual recognition then we have a succession.

PRESIDENT:

If we have been talking about that already, then they should recognise Croatia, which had already been recognised by the United Nations. Croatia has been recognised by the United Nations within its borders.

So, there are no problems. But we should emphasise the mutual recognition and the establishment of diplomatic relations on that level.

NIKICA VALENTIĆ:

In order to make it easier for MILOŠEVIĆ, we have to... include this economy part. You should specify in that proposal of the agreement that we are ready to open the oil pipeline and roads regardless of the sanctions.

Dr MATE GRANIĆ:

There is one more thing; he will ask us to sign that we support the suspension of sanctions.

IVAN MILAS:

We will cancel it immediately for him.

PRESIDENT:

We could say that Croatia is supporting the annulment of sanctions.

Prof. SMILJKO SOKOL:

Absolutely, that is important.

Dr IVIĆ PAŠALIĆ:

Without the solution for Bosnia. /as stated/

PRESIDENT:

Let go of Bosnia, why are you messing around with it, you should solve your problem, in Bosnia you are military.../as stated/

Eng. HRVOJE ŠARINIĆ:

In that case the Republic of Croatia will not stand against lifting the sanctions for Yugoslavia and Serbia.

PRESIDENT:

I would not even say that they will object it, I think they will support it. Gentlemen, that is in our interest, in the interest of our economy.

Eng. HRVOJE ŠARINIĆ:

I only want to bring your attention to what we are proposing. That is very different from what he is proposing.

PRESIDENT:

Wait a minute, he has three years. /as stated/

Eng. HRVOJE ŠARINIĆ:

Everyone that came to Eastern Slavonia and are not citizens of the Republic of Croatia, are leaving. Good, but Croatian expelled persons are coming back. The citizens of the Republic of Croatia that came from Western Slavonia, Knin etc, have the right to stay, they even have that priority. But, we should give them the possibility to leave and to return.

PRESIDENT:

We have said that already.

Eng. HRVOJE ŠARINIĆ:

It should be six months before three years have expired, so...

PRESIDENT:

No, we said a year.

Eng. HRVOJE ŠARINIĆ:

OK, a year, but that is his position for three years. He was talking about the whole solution and then he accepted the status of Eastern Slavonia within the borders of the Republic of Croatia /as stated/

PRESIDENT:

That is out of the question, we are not talking about it.

Eng. HRVOJE ŠARINIĆ:

When we make an arrangement, he will invite the representatives of Eastern Slavonia to Belgrade. That would be five prevailing presidents of municipalities, HADŽIĆ, MILANOVIĆ, DOKMANOVIĆ as well and we should convince them that this is the only solution. After that, we should sign the agreement with them formally, and he admits...

PRESIDENT:

He is not in the position to set some conditions, but we are. Either this or he will have a new "Storm".

Dr IVIĆ PAŠALIĆ:

So, there are 45% of Croats in that area, 35% of Serbs and 20% of others. Therefore, the others and we, make 65%.

Dr MATE GRANIĆ:

Do you know what the advantage is of this? The advantage is that we want to negotiate seriously about peaceful reintegration.

PRESIDENT:

But we have to emphasise our economic problems. And we should do it not just by saying it in one sentence, like the opening of roads, the opening of Zagreb-Belgrade-Niš highway, the opening of the railway and the oil pipeline etc.

IVAN JARNJAK:

Should we give to our friends in the world everything that we had written and decided? We should also launch the offensive and say through the world "look what we had offered to them, how extensive is that, etc". I am just asking.

PRESIDENT:

Listen, all of them are interested in our agreement with the Serbs, even the Americans and Germans.

IVAN JARNJAK:

If we are finished with that, I would like to talk about two problems that I think are important.

PRESIDENT:

Wait, do we have something else concerning this?

Eng. HRVOJE ŠARINIĆ:

I would only like to... based on this, I wrote everything down, but I am not a lawyer...

PRESIDENT:

SOKOL will make it...

Eng. HRVOJE ŠARINIĆ:

RADIN as well.

PRESIDENT:

PAŠALIĆ will take care about the internal question and then he will come to you and after that to see me.

So we are done with these issues, you could ask the rest.

IVAN JARNJAK:

We should talk about Fikret ABDIĆ, please Mister President, he and his people cost me about 21000 German marks up to these days.

PRESIDENT:

They cost you?

IVAN JARNJAK:

You said when they came how I should see them and how we would pay for his bills but he eats greedily...

PRESIDENT:

Wait a second, I did not think you should feed him. Let him, he has his own villa and company.

IVAN JARNJAK:

I just wanted to ask that, he is in Rijeka this afternoon, "šimeci" /term unknown/ 45 and it is over.

Now I will tell you, we will pay for the hotel bills, which are the basic thing, I mean what you are usually paying for.

PRESIDENT:

But, among us, we are interested to stay in good relations with him, because he would have a great influence in Cazinska Krajina.

IVAN JARNJAK:

But, Fiki is leaving today.

PRESIDENT:

Wait a second, I would like to give him...

IVAN JARNJAK:

Someone else should talk to him on a political level. MIŠETIĆ should go, because he has already talked to him.

NIKICA VALENTIĆ:

Just give him some protection.

IVAN JARNJAK:

He will have a protection in Rijeka.

PRESIDENT:

Gojko, we should not forget to present it to ZUBAK. ZUBAK should tell those people that they should not begin any procedure against him.

IVAN JARNJAK:

And I should mention the other question that became operational now and I have to say it is not a big one, but it appears. The question is about the Serbs that are coming through Hungary and they are coming to knock on our border, because they want to come back.

PRESIDENT:

Do they have our passports?

IVAN JARNJAK:

No, they do not have anything.

Eng. HRVOJE ŠARINIĆ:

They have Yugoslav passports.

IVAN JARNJAK:

I would like us to give them instructions that they should get entry visas in Belgrade in our office, if you agree.

PRESIDENT:

I would not give anything. You have to give instructions to the customs that they should not let people without papers to cross border.

Eng. HRVOJE ŠARINIĆ:

President, let us get inspired the way it is in Western Slavonia. It was very positive for us, because no one came back. Let them report to the international humanitarian organisations and then those organisations should give us...

PRESIDENT:

Wait a second, he comes from another country and the customs officer does not conduct any politics.

Eng. HRVOJE ŠARINIĆ:

We should not let them come here. No way. They were coming like this to Banja Luka as well...

PRESIDENT:

Therefore, you see...

IVAN JARNJAK:

But we should give.../as stated, missing a word/ our people over there, until they get the request, not to let them come in... /as stated, missing a word/

PRESIDENT:

Therefore, we should not have any directions, but just to let them know they can not come inside.

Dr MATE GRANIĆ:

According to the agreement... in Belgrade there are only 204 of them that are registered, and they started to register in Skopje, so they did that as well down there. And the third thing is that they started to come here without any papers.

PRESIDENT:

If we let 204 persons come here, tomorrow you would have 1204 and in ten days 12000. Nothing for now.

NIKICA VALENTIĆ:

On Saturday I was for an hour at a wedding. One of my friends, a very respectable Muslim, was getting married and I was sitting for an hour together with Šefko OMERBAŠIĆ at the same table. What he said against Alija and the leadership, was hard for me to believe. It is a big conflict over there, he is completely on SILAJDŽIĆ's side and he claims that is very important that SILAJDŽIĆ forms a party and that it would be the only salvation for Muslims. They will support him, the big part of their religious leaders and the big part of Europe will support him. I mean, I am just saying what he told me, openly against Alija and all the worse against their Main Staff, against DELIĆ, so that is one information that we have in mind. And SILAJDŽIĆ is coming to see me privately, he asked me to meet at half past two.

Eng. HRVOJE ŠARINIĆ:

And who is taking care about Federation?

NIKICA VALENTIĆ:

He is absolutely pro-Croatian. He says his father got killed in Foča as Ustashas' Captain First Class or maybe it happened in Goražde. I do not know if that is the truth.

PRESIDENT:

That is true, Šefko is the only one for the integral Bosnia.

NIKICA VALENTIĆ:

I am telling you what he told me. I was keeping the fire up a little bit as well, but I am telling you so you should know. He said it in such way about his feeling for Alija, so it is certain that...

PRESIDENT:

This conflict exists, that is true, that is what Americans are saying as well. HOLBROOK told me that conflict between Alija and SILAJDŽIĆ is worse than DOLE and CLINTON and I think that Šefko renounced Alija because Alija became a pragmatic person. That is the whole point. And Foča is not in the Federation.

Dr MATE GRANIĆ:

President, this should confirm it, I talked to KOMŠIĆ according to our agreement and he came to visit me once again before he left. There was a total conflict, he thinks that the only reason for bringing that conflict under control for the time being, was that there was a conflict on Pale at the same time. Therefore, they did not want it, they

were pointing out, but the same thing was happening on one and on the other side. And that will explode.

KOMŠIĆ himself did not make a lot of progress in his thoughts.

And number three, SILAJDŽIĆ is going in this direction, that is visible. He is the strongest one allegedly and he has support in Tuzla, and in the other part... he also has it among officers. However, he says that Alija has the power anyway, the army, police and finances. They have a big clash concerning finances, because Alija has control over it, and SILAJDŽIĆ would like to have it himself. In any case, that is the battle and SILAJDŽIĆ is trying to say it is the battle. He is for a parliamentary and a pro-west approach and Alija is more for a presidential system etc. So, anyway, it completely corresponds with what we heard.

PRESIDENT:

But we have to say, Gentlemen, things developed in that way. Alija was just religious at the beginning, he is a kind of a pragmatic person now, nothing else. Since Germany and America failed, and he also can not get anything from Islam if he does not go through us, he accepted that Federation. Alija also accepted that army and joint staff. On the contrary, SILAJDŽIĆ said at the meeting that the state is nothing without the same army. SILAJDŽIĆ finds allies among former communists, in DURAKOVIĆ, BEŠLAGIĆ, in Serbs from Sarajevo, like PEJANOVIĆ, etc. So, he is on the line of a democratic and middle-class Bosnia.

GOJKO ŠUŠAK:

President, PRLIĆ says that Alija got an official letter in the form of an ultimatum from a group of American senators and from a couple of small countries to leave SILAJDŽIĆ alone.

Dr MIOMIR ŽUŽUL:

That is true. However, now a financial affair appears again, because according to SILAJDŽIĆ's statement, he got 17 million dollars help on his last journey to the United Emirates. According to the statements that came from the Emirates, they gave 61 million of dollars. There was a difference of 44 millions.

GOJKO ŠUŠAK:

The last cheque was on 17 millions.

IVAN JARNJAK:

I think we should support Alija and then carry on with our own business.

PRESIDENT:

In any case, you have to do your job.

Dr MATE GRANIĆ:

If we support their participation in the Contact Group work, Turkey would be happy. They have invited Italy now, and at this moment, Spain, and that is creating big problems for us, because Spain is very neutral. OK, we can not say that Canada is against us as well. Canada was attached to Knin a lot.

PRESIDENT:

If those three were, then Turkey would as well...

Dr MATE GRANIĆ:

Turkey would be radical in that. When I was talking at... Turkish representative radically supported Croatia. He congratulated Croatia and radically supported it. I said it was a surprise that the Russian had a moderate speech. The American spoke nicely, but there was a lot of concern within the European Community and the Turk supported it.

PRESIDENT:

So, we could do it, if Italy, Spain and Canada could have done it, Turkey could do it as well. /as stated/

Dr MATE GRANIĆ:

Turkey would appreciate it if...

PRESIDENT:

Turkey would agree with us, more or less.

Dr MATE GRANIĆ:

A hundred percent that it would, even more with us than with Alija (sic, probably IZETBEGOVIĆ). (Yes, yes). And Alija is travelling there because the Americans asked Turkey to be hard on Alija, as far as the reality of the plan is concerned. That would be America's firm request.

PRESIDENT:

OK, DEMIREL invited me to go there.

Dr MATE GRANIĆ:

Yes, they invited you and it depended on ...

Eng. HRVOJE ŠARINIĆ:

President, we have only one problem in taking those steps. HOLBROOK will come to see you this weekend or at the very beginning of next week, that is what I heard. Should we for this proposal...

PRESIDENT:

We will go with this.

Eng. HRVOJE ŠARINIĆ:

We will go with this, but will you try to win him over for it?

PRESIDENT:

No. He will be for it. By the way, we were conducting our own politics until now. (Good). And I was taking care about...

Eng. HRVOJE ŠARINIĆ:

He is with MILOŠEVIĆ today and MILOŠEVIĆ will try to win him over for his version.

PRESIDENT:

Well, OK, so that means we are going with our thing and we will give that...

IVAN MILAS:

If we resolve our relations with Serbia, our position in Bosnia would be easier...

PRESIDENT:

Yes, and everything we have heard until now... Gentlemen tell me what are we going to do with these administrative and economical problems within liberated areas? Nikica, should we discuss something?

NIKICA VALENTIĆ:

We received it at six o'clock today and that is very important, those four issues are very important. /as stated/. We have prepared a Decree on property, but we have to verify it before we bring it tomorrow. We have the Electoral Law that has been technically prepared, but we must obtain political opinions regarding the proportions. The Constitutional Law is Smiljko's problem and that is the opinion of all our lawyers, including Boško. I cannot delay it without the Electoral Law procedure. (Yes, yes). Therefore, we have to think about it.

Dr SMILJKO SOKOL:

Yes, we will get it...

PRESIDENT:

I was thinking /missing a verb/ Smiljko, PAŠALIĆ and you will come with Bosiljko and, did I mention anyone else? Yes, MILAS and our lawyers. Anyone else?

NIKICA VALENTIĆ:

It will be good if that would be MLAKAR, who was working on the Technical Law and he could work on those technical details. (Yes, he could.) The opinion of those lawyers is...

IVAN MILAS:

The important thing for us is to get the majority.

NIKICA VALENTIĆ:

President, we were thinking about one more topic for tonight – the Government authorisations after dissolution of the Parliament. We have to know what we can do and what we cannot. It will take a month or two after the dissolution of the Parliament before the new government...

PRESIDENT:

... of the Parliament...

NIKICA VALENTIĆ:

Listen, amazing things could happen and we still have to consider the constitutional authorisations of the Government, regarding operational solutions. Decrees on economy authorisation come out of that and we have to get an extension on 15 October, otherwise we do not have any possibilities for the regulations. Those are the topics that I have prepared for tonight.

Dr SMILJKO SOKOL:

No problem, we have to give a general authorisation based on the Constitution, everything except but the organic /as stated/ legislation. The Government can regulate everything with its regulations but the organic /as stated/ laws.

PRESIDENT:

Do we need anything else except for the legislative part?

IVAN MILAS:

Yes, we need economy and proprietary relations.

Dr SMILJKO SOKOL:

Not that, those are human relations.

PRESIDENT:

OK, Gentlemen.

NIKICA VALENTIĆ:

So, I have to mention one more thing; we should resolve a little technical question, considering that we are preparing some deadlines within the next fifteen days when the mandate for the Government expires. We were planning to visit Japan and South Korea because those areas are completely open. That should be at the end of the October, but it does not make any sense for me to go to Japan and South Korea, although we are completely economically open over there. There are many possibilities for...

PRESIDENT:

Why if that is so...

NIKICA VALENTIĆ:

Because this is new and very important area, so I think we should...

PRESIDENT:

Good, take someone with you who will remain in the Government.

NIKICA VALENTIĆ:

Yes, and we must have some preparations and I have to confirm it.

PRESIDENT:

No, no, you should go.

NIKICA VALENTIĆ:

Then we will talk about it some more and there should be a certain continuation in that, because Japan and Korea, and especially Korea, are opening for us enormous possibilities for co-operation and we have a great interest in that.

Dr MATE GRANIĆ:

And they want it.

NIKICA VALENTIĆ:

Yes, they do. I have good relations with those directors of their main corporations and I was thinking to use those contacts.

PRESIDENT:

Yes, yes, you should go.

IVAN MILAS:

And if this agreement with the Serbs passes, you will see how...

Dr MATE GRANIĆ:

President, if this all passes, you know how much this would be worth financially. This cause for Croatia is worth billions of dollars, so if this passes... it is worth billions of dollars. (For Serbia as well). Yes, for Serbia even more.

PRESIDENT:

It is interesting what this person of theirs says during our talks that we should connect Livno and Bihać. OK, OK, about what politics and what Shakespeare we are talking about? It seems that they were, because that massacre in Sarajevo is very strange. /as stated/ (That is unbelievable...) But, it seems that the fall of Krajina was to get rid of MARTIĆ and the bombing is to get rid of KARADŽIĆ. /as stated/

Dr MATE GRANIĆ:

To get rid of KARADŽIĆ and to buy IZETBEGOVIĆ.

Eng HRVOJE ŠARINIĆ:

And to save MLADIĆ and to get him out of it.

PRESIDENT:

And if he was not there...

GOJKO ŠUŠAK:

President, that is something for discussion in the circles of the Republic of Croatia Council for Defence and National Security. Last night on Croatian television, when the bombing of Sarajevo was the main topic on all televisions in the world, no one talked about events in Krajina, about the human rights. For two hours last night, we were... CVJIĆ, Croatian television, for two hours... Austria, America and everyone else, these are the human rights in Croatia. /as stated/ President, there should be some order established.

PRESIDENT:

Yes, it should, but their only excuse is that they fixed a time before that massacre, that was very smart... (They should have shown.) /as stated/
Miomir ŽUŽUL, I gave you this task regarding the propaganda and that should be your reflex. (Good.)

Eng. HRVOJE ŠARINIĆ:

President, I am watching the French television and they were talking for half an hour, 45 minutes about the bombing and we are just talking nonsense.

PRESIDENT:

Kris CVJIĆ, that is the democracy.

Dr MATE GRANIĆ:

President, all of them have already been giving the comments, I think we should welcome it. That should bring back something in this peace process. Everyone spoke about the bombing of Sarajevo.

IVAN MILAS:

Good, but we are the outsiders now, Krajina is now a chapter that ended, that is history, as well as the Second World War.

PRESIDENT:

They will try to establish even today what the effects were of the bombing last night and tonight they will add a little salt and then they will stop. (Yes.) /as stated/

(Finished at 1325 hrs)