

DR JURE RADIĆ:

We have just talked about that today and we shall make that decision tomorrow with the Government, to mobilise the civil defence from other areas in order to bring people over there.

Mine clearance is a drawback and that is going to stay that way. There's simply no way out.

PRESIDENT:

OK, but in a way it is better than we expected it to be.

DR JURE RADIĆ:

Yeah, yes it is, I also think it's better. Sometimes people are afraid more than there's a need for, but here, a guy got killed while fixing the power-transmission line just yesterday. I think that the public companies did a very good job, almost everybody from roads, railways, to electric power industry, especially the electric power industry. In just a few days the electrical energy will be brought to all the liberated places. They need a month more for that big power-transmission line towards Dalmatia, but OK, it's not that much. Once that is finished then a great deal of work will be solved. These hydroelectric power plants that have been liberated are about to be put into operation and that's a good thing.

But the people are the problem. We arranged the returns to be carried out in three phases, three groups. One of them is the people who can return to their homes right away. We provide them with free glass, paint, we formed intervention groups and that is being done.

The second group is the people who can go to the deserted houses near their own houses. We're having a lot of problems here, they are offering resistance. How should this be done, we simply can't find a way to force our people to do it. Some are eager to go, for example Kijevljani in most of the cases accepted to go to Knin. But the people from Banija region won't go to Petrinja. You see Saborski, we had a discussion in Plaški today and Saborski has got nothing at all and Plaški is whole /as printed/. They say "I am not going to move twice..."...

PRESIDENT:

Why would they move twice?

DR JURE RADIĆ:

Today over there, and tomorrow to Saborsko.

PRESIDENT:

Well, let them stay there.

DR JURE RADIĆ:

They wouldn't, people are a bit tough about that.

PRESIDENT:

Wait, is he afraid that he wouldn't be safe?

DR JURE RADIĆ:

He's afraid he wouldn't be safe and he's afraid some Serb might come tomorrow. That's one thing. And second, he would rather go to his own house over there. I would look at it in the same way, but he has to come temporarily. We'll have to come up with some order or something, to be a bit harsher with this in order to take the people there.

PRESIDENT:

Remove him, if he's being offered, he should be removed from the list of refugees.

DR JURE RADIĆ:

And from the list of allowances, and he should be given maximum allowances in the place we're sending him to, as much as we can.

And the third group are people who don't have any possibilities for provisional accommodation near their areas, where the area is completely destroyed, like Drniš and Drniš area.

PRESIDENT:

Wait, it's not quite like that.

DR JURE RADIĆ:

It has been ruined, very much. You have been to the main region only, but Drniš is the second biggest border town in Croatia, Vukovar first, then Drniš, 25 thousand people. There was only one thousand of Serbs there. When I am talking about the town, I

mean the villages as well. Everything around it has been ruined, out of 25 thousands maybe some 5 thousands could return, and 20 thousands can't. That's the situation in Drniš. Drniš is the most typical one. As for Slunj, I think we'll manage to get the majority back to the city, because all the villages around it have been ruined, but we are going to need a year to renovate everything around it.

So, in my opinion one third of 120 thousand shall remain questionable, and as for the remaining two thirds of 120, that is, 80 thousand, we shall be able to either get them back in a month or two months' time or take them off the refugee status.

However, our goal is to take them off the refugee status. The biggest problem is bringing people over there. I sat down and analysed it a bit...

PRESIDENT:

Jure, regarding these returns, we, as Croatia, should go for inviting people to come back and paying for their trips from Argentina, Australia, etc. We should organise some charter flights or ships and tell them they could choose, give them houses, give them land, even take some kind of a poll on what they would be interested in. We have to offer them such a possibility, but the state should pay for that.

DR JURE RADIĆ:

It won't cost us a thing.

PRESIDENT:

That would mean a thousand people, and they would enter the Serb houses etc.

DR JURE RADIĆ:

Correct, correct, the space is empty. That is the main subject I would like to talk to you about now.

We simply don't have any potential for life in that area. Here, the manager of the railways told me today, we shall establish the traffic services now, but I mobilised, as the railways, /as printed/ mobilised people from Vinkovci and from Osijek to work, but there will be a lack of people there once we open it. So, we are lacking people in some branches.

However, one thing I have to tell you is that I visited all this now both by car and by helicopter. Our men torched a lot, they're torching today, as they did yesterday President, it's no good.

I went to Kijevo to see, I know that area very well. There is a village of Cviljane near Kijevo, of equal size, a Serb village where they renewed nice houses and told them everything has been preserved. I got there on the Day of Assumption of the Virgin Mary to find everything has been burned down. Not in the cities because the authorities were obviously more powerful there, but in the villages. It's not the army, it's that 5th echelon which is under I don't know whose, what kind of a banner /as printed/, put on a uniform, wander about, those are the worst tramps torching and looting around /as printed/. That is our property, it's not someone else's, what if he burned down the Serb village near Kijevo where we could accommodate our population? Here, I received a letter of the same content from the cardinal, asking me and saying that he had received a letter from some Cilko guy saying that our men are torching those places over there. I am not telling you hearsay but the things I've experienced myself and seen with my own eyes, torching and looting.

PRESIDENT:

So, we said military police right away and civil police right after that.

DR JURE RADIĆ:

The civil is in but according to my estimate the main problem here is the army-police relationship, because there is nothing the police can do to the army. If someone shows up as the army, then problems will come right after that. We have to have the civil authorities in the villages. ČERMAK is not holding power in Knin, he's not the one who can say who's going to enter which house, who's doing what. This is just an example I'm telling you.

PRESIDENT:

Wait a second, hadn't I sent ČERMAK to Knin, it would have been horrible there.

DR JURE RADIĆ:

I agree, maybe I didn't use the right example, precisely because we're all using it, but the military authority cannot run civil matters in the terrain, military authority cannot decide on who goes to which house.

PRESIDENT:

It cannot. But it can maintain order in these transitional periods.

DR JURE RADIĆ:

I agree with you, but where's the problem? The problem is when the person elected in civil authority is bad, and that is usually the case. Well not everywhere, we have a good one in Kostajnica, but the one in Knin is no good. I do not know where he came from, he's a Serb.

PRESIDENT:

He's a Serb?

RD JURE RADIĆ:

Yes, yes, I was told yesterday that he was a Serb. He's no good for anything.

PRESIDENT:

OK, replace him.

DR JURE RADIĆ:

We discussed that as well today. But since this guy is no good, naturally ČERMAK has to do everything, and then various problems come up, the county executive gives up etc, so there is a lot of mess in the terrain. I am telling you this because I've been through that and seen it all over there.

PRESIDENT:

There is no reason for a Serb being there right now.

DR JURE RADIĆ:

Sure he shouldn't be there.

PRESIDENT:

There's a majority of Croats there, so change that.

DR JURE RADIĆ:

Yes sure, they wanted to put some Serb in Okučani as well, not a chance, a Croat is over there and we did Okučani nicely. A thousand families came to the Okučani area, not just Okučani. People started living normal lives over there. But this transitional

period is a period of robbing, misery and all kinds of things. I do not see a way to prevent all this, but the worst evil is to torch and destroy.

PRESIDENT:

KRPIN's group of representatives should also be sent there.

DR JURE RADIĆ:

All of them should be sent there, I wasn't, I don't have any information, /as printed/ but I wanted to check Grahovo and Glamoč because of this, but they told me Grahovo has been burned down. The man who was in Grahovo right after it was liberated and five days after that says there's not a single house there that hasn't been destroyed. We have to organise ourselves somehow, in order to prevent this.

PRESIDENT:

We talked about preventing this from the beginning.

DR JURE RADIĆ:

We did, everybody's referring to you in a positive context, and everybody's referring to you of all the people because you were saying that we shouldn't do that, but that hasn't been implemented. We have to go for VONS or somewhere, let people speak and submit a report on that. Here, I am, /as printed/ all the county executives are telling me about that, all of them.

PRESIDENT:

Everybody's talking now.

DR JURE RADIĆ:

These five county executives.

PRESIDENT:

They should have solved that issue.

DR JURE RADIĆ:

Sure, put some more pressure and be...

PRESIDENT:

Actually to be in the terrain and select people. Listen, General DEČAK has told me today that a mortar shell that killed this girl and wounded ten people had been launched from Osijek.

DR JURE RADIĆ:

That is the horror we shall solve in this time ahead of us.

PRESIDENT:

In a way these things could not have been avoided, it's simple, but it went too far /as printed/.

DR JURE RADIĆ:

So, if we have to introduce order anywhere in this area, almost a despotism in a way in the beginning, we cannot be without that, because there has to be a boss, one must know who gives orders in each of these segments. And a hierarchy should be established in the authority from the above, regarding colonising and regarding living over there.

PRESIDENT:

That's what I say, that's in all wars, /as printed/ if we didn't abolish the death penalty for robbery the court would shoot them.

DR JURE RADIĆ:

But we should catch some of them now and prevent that because of the relationship with the world and ourselves.

Several of these small cities look good. They're all beautiful cities and very well preserved. Obrovac, Benkovac and Gračac are all beautiful. I am amazed by what it looks like. For example that hotel in front of which they wanted to kill you in Benkovac, it looks better than "Esplanada", it looks better today, that's how well preserved it is. So, it still gives me /as printed/ that those Serbs established some strict authorities over there, probably through that precisely, through these punishments, I don't know what through. We were at the hotel.

PRESIDENT:

They had a tank brigade over there, which means officers.

DR JURE RADIĆ:

It is so well preserved that I simply can't explain that to you.

PRESIDENT:

And, our men were not torching Benkovac?

DR JURE RADIĆ:

No, no, the little towns were not ruined and that is a good thing. I am just afraid they might start today, because, I'm telling you I've been to some villages that weren't burned down several days ago, so it happened in the last couple of days. I flew in a helicopter over the place three days ago and you can still see the smoke over that area. Cviljani was burning on the Day of Assumption of the Virgin Mary, not that it was burned down, but still burning, burning on that day. So, something has to be done about that right now.

PRESIDENT:

There may be something, and not just army, but these neighbours from Kijevo that have been expelled, oh I will...to the people of Cviljani.../as printed/

DR JURE RADIĆ:

They're probably revenging, but he cannot get in there because the police control him. So he puts on a military uniform, because now everybody wears a military uniform. Everybody is walking around the city in them, even those who have never been to army. /as printed/ I think it's primarily the ones who have never even been to the army, the ones who drag that /as printed/, rob, take away etc.

Now look, I have been looking around this area a bit, the biggest centres where we should focus on return, regarding the national interest. I have tried to make a chronological order or some kind of hierarchy and in my opinion I would like to discuss this with you a bit as printed/.

The map of the whole area is of a strategic importance for Croatia. I coloured it with different colours. This is what has always been critical for us in the history, not Knin, we'll manage to do that slowly.

If you ask me the first, /as printed/ I defined 5 priorities according to the urgency of colonising these places with Croats.

If you ask me this thing right here is the first and the second priority, we should bring Croats back here urgently and this area should be urgently colonised with Croats and we should by no means let more than 10% of Serbs be here ever again. Because, that's where we were cut off.

PRESIDENT:

Not even 10%.

DR JURE RADIĆ:

OK, I am talking about 10%. So, the first priority of colonising is this right here, in my opinion Petrova and Zrinska Gora. That's where we have to establish some kind of a city sooner or later. We also have Vojnić and Veljun, a somewhat smaller place, but Vojnić is a bigger place.

However, by our companies, opening factories, just as the Serbs did in Lički Osik. /as printed/ I visited that factory. That looks marvellous. They built apartments for 4000 people, where we can bring people right away it's just that we don't have anybody. Somewhere in this area we must build...

PRESIDENT:

That has been preserved too?

DR JURE RADIĆ:

Everything has been preserved, completely wonderfully preserved.

PRESIDENT:

The factory as well?

Jure RADIĆ:

An ammunition factory, looks great.

PRESIDENT:

It is the only war factory in Croatia.

Jure RADIĆ:

I propose that we keep the name, all of it is Gospić, it is connected. There is no reason to call it /otherwise/, Gospić is our smallest district headquarters, it is a whole, it is a town. They were only developing it, to balance it with Gospić, so that 5,000 Serbs could live there, tomorrow there would be 15,000 etc. I told the district governor about it, we should do this, it is a connected town. All of it should be called Gospić, settlers should be brought in, because it is a little further away from this area.

Let me get back to this, our Lički Osik /as printed/ should be developed within that area, as we stimulate the ones who are abroad, and the temporary ones, as much as we can, so nothing could happen to us here, ever again...

PRESIDENT:

It will never happen again.

Jure RADIĆ:

Alright, but it is empty. Let me tell you how many Croats remain in the area, and how many used to live there before the war. Only 1,400 in Glina, 415 in Topusko, and 51 in Vojnić, only 51 Croats.

PRESIDENT:

In Vrginmost?

Jure RADIĆ:

I did not get it because it is slightly above, but I can get it, there are only a few. There is a village, which used to be called Maja, and was predominantly Croat, marked red, while the predominantly Serb areas are marked blue. It is the key area to start bringing in settlers.

Secondly, Croats are to return to Croat areas.

Thirdly, the third priority is this marked area here, the liberated Croat area, and this one here, which used to be populated by Serbs, this marked area here was populated 90 percent by Serbs, but now it is entirely under our control. Only a few people remain. Altogether it was...

PRESIDENT:

It is from Kupres to Grahovo.

Jure RADIĆ:

Glamoč, part of Livanjsko Polje, Grahovo, up to Drvar, including Drvar itself, and here it is Srb and Lapac, those municipalities. Do you know that ethnically the cleanest municipality in Croatia was Donji Lapac, the cleanest. It was the only municipality in Croatia made up of one nation, 99 percent. There are several others in Herzegovina, but it is the only municipality composed 99 percent of one nation.

PRESIDENT:

Probably none of them remained?

Jure RADIĆ:

Yes, none.

PRESIDENT:

Listen, I am meeting with the army tomorrow, I gave them the set up of areas of responsibility, military institutions and detachments. Do it on a bigger map, so I could show it to them. The army is a priority, followed by development, because with the army we begin at once.

Therefore, I am moving the area of responsibility from Split to Knin, and that already makes hundreds of officers, non-commissioned officers, families etc.

Jure RADIĆ:

In my opinion, Knin is the third highest priority. To us, Knin does not have to have 30,000 inhabitants. Tomorrow it will have 20,000, it was artificially made to be 30,000. There is no reason for so many people to live there. If the rear holds, if we get five in Grahovo, then that's it.

PRESIDENT:

We have to regard it, in connection with that.

Jure RADIĆ:

This green here, it is a very attractive area to develop, and we wouldn't have to populate it, the people would come by themselves, they will want to come to Benkovac, but we have to set up an agency...

... and we do not have to populate it, as they will come by themselves, the people themselves will be asking, many will want to come to Benkovac, but we have to set up an agency, I don't know if it is going to be called an agency, or something to coordinate it with.

PRESIDENT:

One should move immediately, the 1,000 men on these charters, ships, tell them that the state is paying, from Argentina, Gojko has told me, there are 40 families in Paraguay, bring them immediately.

Jure RADIĆ:

And let them settle where they can. Only, what do we do with our people. My first question is, how to shift to Bosnia, should it be the expelled Croats from Bosnia first, there are many of them, I am not thinking about the new ones to be expelled, but those who were expelled earlier. Currently, there are 150,00 Bosnian Croats in Croatia.

PRESIDENT:

Day after tomorrow I will get Herzeg Bosnia, and the army tomorrow... already demanded from us to give them Glamoč and Grahovo.

Jure RADIĆ:

We have to populate such areas with Croats. I am not touching this here, because there are Muslims there, who will become Croats.

PRESIDENT:

But even the 20,000 or 30,000 Muslims, we must bring them back with our army, as a guarantee that it will stay alive etc.

Jure RADIĆ:

It is your strategic decision: Grahovo, Glamoč are ours, but is Drvar? It is perhaps the key point, from which to control everything. It is an important area...

PRESIDENT:

If we were to secure Novi Travnik and Jajce, we would have until Drvar...

Jure RADIĆ:

Jajce is too high up, I think that we cannot count on Jajce, and it will be difficult to connect with, we do not have the men, the biggest problem is that there are not enough Croats.

PRESIDENT:

If we had the intelligence that America and the West had...

Jure RADIĆ:

The thing that you drew two years ago...

PRESIDENT:

If they had given air support to everything, we could have been in Banja Luka by now.

Jure RADIĆ:

I have this piece of information, which is quite important. Out of the Croats expelled from Bosnia - and that is about 250,000 expelled people, 300,000 Croats have been expelled from Bosnia - 140,000 were expelled by the Muslims. It means that they come from the areas that are now under control. Drvar is very important. I will tell REBIĆ to go into those territories, and perhaps I'll even join the reconstruction, if the destruction is extensive. The Serbs were further away from Čelebić, meaning Livansko Polje, Glamočko etc., but the territories are small in terms of the number of people, they did not have many people, a small number, and I am asking you concerning Herzeg Bosnia, to let us co-ordinate from here, or control...

PRESIDENT:

Meaning, that you present this information etc.

Jure RADIĆ:

There were 1,600 Croats in Knin, while there were almost 30,000 Serbs. In Drniš, 18,000 /Serbs/ and 700 Croats. The town is a centre in a way, but Knin must not be...

PRESIDENT:

We now have to create Croatian... and also because of the situation in Istria, which will remain a constant problem to us, I want them to give Istria itself, one area of responsibility, the Istarsko-Goranska, we have space in Pazin...

Jure RADIĆ:

Let there be more areas of responsibility, it does not have to be six.

PRESIDENT:

We do not need any more areas of responsibility, but the deployment of forces, there will not be an area of responsibility in Gospić, but we can /have/ a school over there, a brigade etc.

Jure RADIĆ:

Any institution that rallies people, that attracts people. I have talked a lot with the Cardinal lately, and not only with him, SINČIĆ was also there..., they were in Croatia, setting up dioceses. They have accepted for Gospić to become a diocese, and that is one place. Yesterday the Bosnian assistant bishop came to see me. On /the island of/ Bol, they have their school and are asking for space. I said to them: "You will get it immediately, but in this area. You will be given a building immediately - in the area that we are liberating, where there is no logic of development, no logic of life - in which to set up your own theology school, until your return to Sarajevo."

We have to shift the economy, we can no longer say, everything is the market, because in Lapac, there is no market. The state has to invest in Lapac, like the Serbs have, we must learn from them, and that is where the market parameters are being lost to some...

PRESIDENT:

I have read their concept. Or, one could deploy one company, with 10 non-commissioned officers, officers etc.

Jure RADIĆ:

Yes, and they would come together with their families etc. I will outline for you the towns, which, in my opinion, should immediately, I have a list here, and it includes the following: the first column lists Croatian villages requiring immediate reconstruction for the /people to/ return. Some are even symbols, like Škrabinja,

Kijevo, we have to place an immediate emphasis on it, but the others, look, Lovinac, Saborsko, Slunj, and around Plitvice, all inhabited by Serbs, and this is where we need to find a real director, this...

PRESIDENT:

It is the Croats who must buy hotels over there...

Jure RADIĆ:

A national park, normally, national parks are owned by the state, the same as the Briuni /isles/, the law stipulates concessions on the use of hotels, but normally they are never sold, which is only logical.

PRESIDENT:

But the Croatian administration, one has to change it.

Jure RADIĆ:

Those are Croatian territories, but these ones here are predominantly Serb, and the Croats should return there.

PRESIDENT:

How much electrical power are we getting from Obrovac?

Jure RADIĆ:

We have liberated three power stations so far.

PRESIDENT:

It is probably more than Krško.

Jure RADIĆ:

About the same as Krško. Obrovac, Manojlovac and Golubić, those were the three occupied power stations. Obrovac is not an important producer of energy, it rather keeps the energy during the night, when it is not needed, it is very important, also in the sense of improving the waterways etc. We had the strength and the intelligence to start building a tunnel, but we'll start building it from the other side as well. Sveti Rok is liberated, and there are not any...

The next concept is developing the roads in the area, which we can look at differently than in previous conditions. Railways employ a lot of people, around 20,000 from Ogulin to Split, almost like an army, and those were Serbs mainly. I have extracted information by myself, regarding the number of staff. Let us say, in this area, if you take this map, which was predominantly Serbs, the rate of employment was much higher than in Hrvatsko Zagorje. Lapac had a higher employment rate than Klanjec, and those were all state /sponsored/ jobs.

PRESIDENT:

Though four is probably enough, they built 14 railway tracks in Knin, a school, they worked.

Jure RADIĆ:

Knin does not need such a school, it could become a school for officers, there is also another building suitable for housing both elementary and secondary schools, and perhaps for non-commissioned officers, and also one of the state, something that we can control, the same as HEBRANG. I confronted him even in the Government session, and told him that I would put one-half of Knin hospital to other uses. I told him, let's build a military hospital, because we do not have one yet, the only one that is better is in Zagreb, but it has already been equipped. Let's say, a hospital specialising in the needs of the army. We have said it, our system is such, but a war veteran, today he is being treated anywhere, why not treat him in Knin, and we are going to have such cases from Bosnia. If we had to start building in Knin, which I am against, because they already have too much over there, but especially if we are going to have this developed, even we need to start building new systems at once, using what we have over there to get people attached. For example, widows of the homeland war, with children, it is a crazy idea to accommodate them in Zagreb. Let's build flats for such, which we can donate, and we do not need to build anything else over there.

PRESIDENT:

Istria as well.

Jure RADIĆ:

Istria as well, I agree. It is not on this map, but it is definitely one area, we have to work on it a lot. Let me pull it out, it is a whole pile. I was thinking, and it is not being done anywhere, perhaps an administration at my Ministry related to this, but it is delicate, however, I have to have one assistant, I have to create one, think of one who knows about organised settlement, long-term, using incentives. We have to grant special tax benefits, with different rates for Benkovac and for Lapac. In Benkovac, life will go on, it will develop. Benkovac and Obrovac, in my opinion, Benkovac and Obrovac have a better potential to develop than most other areas in Croatia's interior, Ravni Kotari, with tourism at the front, the Zadar, Biograd and Šibenik Riviera, all together, the entire agriculture, well preserved.

PRESIDENT:

What I have seen, the agriculture, good work, because they lived there...

Jure RADIĆ:

Even they have accommodated people in cities, the ones we have expelled, the ones that went away from us, they were accommodated in those houses, and they worked.

PRESIDENT:

Do you have any information about their numbers before /operation/ "Storm..."

Jure RADIĆ:

Difficult to say. We know how many there used to be, according to the census, but how many there had been just before "Storm," I do not know.

PRESIDENT:

One hundred thousand.

Jure RADIĆ:

It is not 120,000, 50 or 60,000, that is a lot. And now even the little Vlačka /as printed/, this part, it becomes a lesser priority because all we need to do is bring settlers, and even that is not so important, to inhabit, Okučani we have, pretty well, but Stara Gradiška is a problem, it is a border area, and over there we also have enough flats, in which to shelter a border patrol detachment, or a place where people can come to with their families. This is where you have to play a role both toward the

police and customs systems. One gets a job in Gradiška, but also a flat, and has to leave Zagreb together with his family, and stay there.

PRESIDENT:

One should spend, like in the foreign service, three or four years doing such services, meaning, three or four years in such flats, and then on to another place, if the flat is no longer available.

Jure RADIĆ:

If any flats are left over, one could have a better opportunity than here, and there is nothing there. National interest is one thing, the market is another. Market logic must not exist in this area, in the first three ones here, including the wider area. I have marked more areas than were occupied, because in a way, to us, the whole of Lika is an empty space. There is as much space as in Glamočko, even that area is empty. There is nobody there.

PRESIDENT:

Drvar, we have to take it, Lički Petrovac, Bosanski Petrovac.

Jure RADIĆ:

Definitely Petrovac, it would be ideal, it has a good road, the shortest route from Zagreb to the coast. This is the area that Miro has mentioned to you, which they had taken after, much after the war, the borders were not AVNOJ /Anti-Fascist Council of Yugoslav People's Liberation/, and this thing with Bihać, it is quite important because our road from Zagreb to Split via Knin has to pass through there. Any other route would be much more difficult. Those are the options for the Zagreb-Split connection, the roads and the main road to Split, it has to pass through here, because Pljevišica is over there, it would have to go around a lot. If it doesn't work, one must relinquish such a route.

PRESIDENT:

Where is the airport?

Jure RADIĆ:

Right here in that area, roughly around here.

The President:

They say it's mostly in the Croatian area.

Dr. Jure Radić:

The airport has 5 runways, 4 are in Croatia.

The President:

That should be taken. I told to MUDRINIĆ about the railway through Bihać to...

Dr. Jure RADIĆ

You can do it now, it goes through Bosanski Novi, Serb area, here, along with Una. Railway goes through Sisak-Sunja, the same is with Bosanski Novi. Therefore that railway is not... for us unless situation changed, but it is here in Bosanski Novi. It goes through Sunja, Kostajnica, Bosanski Novi, it goes through many parts of Bosnia. PAVELIĆ started to build...

The President:

... should, they have given

Dr. Jure RADIĆ

In the independent State of Croatia, PAVELIĆ started with the construction of Korana railway Zagreb – Split. It had not been passing through this area, it split behind Karlovac and joined here. Direction Karlovac-Knin, not Sisak-Bihać-Knin has been used. That is the best connection Zagreb-Split, through the valley of Korana, the route which now goes through Plitvice. One day we will probably get that railway built. We have to focus on that. That is the shortest link between the Zagreb and Split, it doesn't go through a foreign state.

The President:

We have to bear in mind to get half of Bosnia in some way.

Dr. Jure RADIĆ

Look at the railway we have, it goes around, Korana railway goes straight. It is 100 km shorter, it is more important for the nation and it's profitable. The construction started. Lika railway is fine but it is not electrified.

The President:

Is that a problem?

Dr. Jure RADIĆ:

That is considerable investment and it takes at least 2 years to finish it. Bihać-Knin line is electrified. It is electrified all the way to Knin, yes, that is Lika. Goranska is approximately this red line, it has better conditions and makes the route shorter. This one does not have it at all, it goes in direction of Rijeka and splits at Oštarija. Valley railway Zagreb-Rijeka is under construction and it will probably go until this plateau and then in the direction of Rijeka. These are the most realistic options. It is important to reopen the traffic. If it has been in function for 150 years, it can be in function for the next 20 years.

The President:

Yes, but this west for the valley railway...

Dr. Jure RADIĆ

We have to start with the "Valley" because Zagreb-Rijeka is the priority, highway too. I think that we are ready for that project, also for some concessions. We have missed a lot /as written/ out of discussion. French, they are 20 % lower than during initial progress. Since it is freedom now, that will certainly move forward.

The President:

We have to take care of it.

Dr. Jure RADIĆ

Yes, I agree with you and what is possible to do with our own resources should be done. Construction of the road will attract people. Secondly, we have to focus on return of the Croat refugees from Germany, 50 000 of them. They still have refugee status over there.

The President:

Do they have refugee status over there?

Dr. Jure RADIĆ

In Germany, yes, they do.

The President:

Granted by Germany?

Dr. Jure RADIĆ:

By Germans.

The President:

We can go with that. Germans will really gladly offer to organise a planned return.

Dr. Jure RADIĆ:

We can do that with Germans. I talked to their Minister SCHEIBER. He even offered us some money for each returnee.

The President:

That is all right.

Dr. Jure RADIĆ:

Those relations can be strengthened and they can be returned.

The President:

Jure, create a project now, say, we offer apartments, land in this and this areas etc., come back.

Dr. Jure Radić

Ok, we will take care of it in accordance with instruction of the government. They have soften it just a little bit because obviously the legal aspect of that is...

The President:

Which one?

Dr. jure RADIĆ

According to present instruction it wont be given in possession but in use because the world...

The President:

For how long?

Dr. Jure RADIĆ:

To use it for 10 years, which is not bad. During that period man has to live there, because someone might want it to sell it. After 10 years man would become owner. There is a point in that. Now, the crucial issue is to agree upon division in the Bosnia, what belongs to Croat, what belongs to Muslims. We have to offer an accommodation here for the refugees from Muslim areas. So, what are we definitely giving up in Bosnia? I believe we are not definitely giving up on Posavina, aren't we? Most of the people are from Posavina, we talk about 100 000 Croats.

The President:

Between us, it is almost illusionary to expect that we regain some areas of Posavina, it is important that we keep under control what we have now.

Dr. Jure RADIĆ:

So, one problem is Posavina, other is the central Bosnia from Tuzla all the way to Vitez, including Sarajevo. That is hopeless.

The President:

Therefore, we are focusing on Busovača, Bugojno, Novi Travnik, if we can get that.

Dr. Jure RADIĆ:

Look, we can get Kupres back. It is unreasonable that they do not want to return but still stay in the hotels. They say that some hill above them has not been liberated yet. They call it Demirovac, which is directly above Kupres. As I was told, there were Serb villages in this area, which are now being settled by the Muslims. Our people refuse that. We have to find a way to return people over there. Kupres, it is not strategically my priority but this hinterland of Dubrovnik, that is also important question. We have to keep Stolac Croat, probably Trebinje if... This is the priority just as Petrova Gora, as Banovina.

The President:

If we could do something with Jajce...

Dr. Jure RADIĆ:

That will be difficult with Muslims.

The President:

The best solution is to make a deal with Muslims. On the other hand, our strategy has to focus on keeping them close to us and convert them to Croats gradually. That will be very difficult but not as with Serbs today, because Serbs had Belgrade and power, they won't.

Dr. Jure RADIĆ:

They won't, they will have support of some Muslim countries. We need two options, one is clear Croat option, it's existence is certain and the other is to use any opportunity to take more where we can. Then, on top of all that our demographic program comes. Of course, it is pushed aside because of the war and all troubles. Still, I will always support it. Considering the state budget, we have to allocate more funds for it.

The President:

We have to. Besides mentioning it, even NIKICA does not know if it increased. All right, national resources enlarged.

Dr. Jure RADIĆ:

Look, at the last session of the government, I was the only one that voted against the state budget, not because of the renewal but because of the demographic policy. We even have not fulfilled our lawful obligations towards children. I have told that in public. I had voted against and that was recorded. NIKICA accepted that. We already have laws regulating that matter, how much we pay for maternity leave. We do not pay even that. That is why I voted against.

The President:

So far I have been patient with that Government policy because of the general situation, therefore the coalition... That is history. We are going into elections and Government has to carry out its function, not to be some kind of opposition with bigger responsibility.

Dr. Jure RADIĆ:

It is good when we agree and adopt something. I have to defend my position in public and I did. We adopted more then it had been before but we even have not fulfilled our lawful obligation. On the long run, that is the most important.

The President:

We have empty country now.

Dr Jure RADIĆ:

What are we going to do with it?

The President:

Especially regarding the Bosnian issue.

Dr. Jure RADIĆ:

People are willing, I can see that. I have been abroad often and I noticed that people were also willing but they still have fear of bureaucracy, fear of spending hundreds of months for preparations to open a company. We have to be very efficient in this. There are situations when there is no need for purchasing at all. In Lapac, you can simply get a land and a company if necessary. It would even be necessary to pay to move this project forward.

The President:

We should pay them. Planes and boats can immediately transport at least thousand of people from Chile, Argentina and Australia here.

Dr. Jure RADIĆ:

Correct, but here it is important, as always, they will be accommodated in Zagreb, that is the problem. That has to be strong hierarchy, I insist on that. Obrovac is not important to us at all, that is one town that will successfully develop. That is one of the most beautiful towns of Croatia, on the mouth of the river Zrmanja, nicely preserved, nicely built and with good traffic connection. Pontoon is not that important to us any more, we have the bridge in Obrovac and it can be used, that is 15 km longer. We are building big bridge now, work on it is going just fine. That will be finished until the next year, until the Statehood day. Mobilisation slowed everything down a little bit, but it doesn't matter. That is the picture of construction sight now. I wrote that because journalists write nonsense. This is interesting, out of 16 largest concrete bridges in the world, 5 is in Croatia. We are really good in this, much better than in other activities. So, there is the list of 16 largest reinforced-concrete bridges in the world.

The President:

What, which one is that?

Dr. Jure RADIĆ:

Land St. Marko in the direction of Krk. These are two bridges, one until St. Marko and the other from St. Marko to land.

The President:

That is very interesting.

Dr. Jure RADIĆ:

So, out of 16 largest concrete bridges, we have 5 and along with the construction of motor road in Šibenik area /as written/ will probably be constructed. Okay, I have to organise a group of four, five competent people in the Ministry, which will deal only with the Croatian strategy. Consequently, we have to create

organisation according to the strategy. In regard what REBIĆ did, day before I had talked to him and instructed him to move...

The President:

Okay, why?

Dr. Jure RADIĆ:

He is such a good man, he wants to help people. He had said that people would go to Glamoč and Grahovo. After that I heard on the television that people got settled in Varaždin.

The President:

Or Laoac or Gračac.

Dr. Jure RADIĆ:

Yes, it is clear, this part down there, I wanted to say for the first group.

The President:

All right, get this prepared for me. It is the same problem with whole Croatian army, for Bosnia I also ask...

Dr. Jure RADIĆ:

Strategic areas and Croatian back...

The President:

Let's establish the politics.

The President:

Have you started on the level of Government as a whole or the cabinet, some discussions regarding the elections?

Dr. Jure RADIĆ:

Pre elections, yes, we have, in Government as a whole, no. In cabinet, we had discussions almost every day. We had discussion this morning, MIŠETIĆ was present. We will have Government on the 30th; we have tomorrow but it is about these problems, about creating conditions for the normal life in these areas. Then, on the 30th we have laws regarding the elections, which have to be prepared for the parliament. We discuss about that every day. We try to solve it without the administration and to keep it among us. I was surprised that we managed because there was the Presidency and you said that at the Defence and National Security

Council. Still, it did not appear in public, it did a little bit, but not as much as I thought it would.

NIKICA is about to leave. You will decide on that but I think that he should stay some more time. But in this context, depending on how the parliament will be...

The President:

Ok, The parliament will be more determined than before.

Dr. Jure RADIĆ:

Yes, I also believe in that, but I would like it to be of greater quality.

The President:

In my opinion the Government should be smaller, completely depoliticised and inside the Croat Democratic Union, the Government of the implementation politics.

Dr. Jure RADIĆ:

I agree with you. The Government can be reduced by one third. We often made compromises, we don't need so many vice presidents either.

The President:

The vice presidents have to be leaders of the main Ministries.

Dr. Jure RADIĆ:

Yes, that is like in Germany. I agree with you. In that sense, we have to reduce the Government and increase the responsibility and to have better relations with the Parliament. There were two political options, the Government and the Parliament. You were the only one who united these two options, who was above that. I hope that the Parliament will be more competent and more professional. / As written/ , what we call extreme right, but that is not important, under this war circumstances it had to be like that. As for Government, it needs to be more focused on the development, we have create investments not to break even losses. Who is going to break even INA debts? I don't care about that. If someone wants to break even, let him do so. We discussed the debts of Kutina in Government, but if you ask me whether we are going to build the motor road Zagreb – Rijeka or to consolidate Kutina, I vote for construction of the motor road Zagreb – Rijeka because that road will bring profits which can pay off Kutina debts some day. Ok, I speak generally, the best option is somewhere in the middle. The crucial thing is to go after these investments. Now that we gain freedom and all of this, we need investments. Without them we will be nowhere. At this point I anticipate one Government for the short period and then one more stable and on the long run. I don't know why but I have that feeling. Also, try as much as you can to avoid sending people who will go in government to the parliament. This way we are weakening the parliament. There are 15 or maybe eve 20 of us holding some positions but we have actually elected for the parliament.

The President:

Or on the other hand to make possible by election law to let this deputies from the state list to...

Dr. Jure RADIĆ:

You put on the top. It is logical to put on the top of the state list people of best qualities. These best people go to the Government and then less qualified people come to the parliament. Still, four years are behind us, some names are not under doubt. Probably, it is going to be easier to create state list then three or four years ago. Why should someone protect himself by being a parliament deputies, being this and that. We have to deal with that. What are these personal reasons that someone should /as written/. We don't need triple cover for some persons. Why does the executive of the big company have to be in the parliament? Recently KATIĆIĆ involved in the parliament discussion exclusively as the director of the bank, not as the parliament deputy. I was present on this session. Therefore, the executives of the big companies are not needed there, we can find enough competent people.

The President:

Because he is not among...

Dr. Jure RADIĆ:

Exactly, in that case, he is nowhere. He can not carry out both jobs capably. I strongly believe that we are going to have two third parliament majority now.

The President:

I think that too.

Dr. Jure RADIĆ:

Then, many things could be implemented.

The President:

On saturday we will go with that train Zagreb-Split, with send off in Zagreb and welcome in Split, with stops in Karlovac, Gospić and Knin. Then we will have Croatian Democratic Community elections.

Dr. Jure RADIĆ:

Pre-election cycle started. I think that we have no fear, there is no need to go with de-nationalisation at this moment, but let's say that is one of the first jobs to be done.

People do not understand why was that not possible before. Still, we are really going to do that and finish that process. Why should not we carry out a de-nationalisation?

The President:

We have to do all we can.

Dr. Jure RADIĆ:

We won't make bigger injustice then it has been up to now.

The President:

We will correct that partially.

Dr. Jure RADIĆ:

You will have all clear before the party elections. It would be proper that vice presidents of the party become presidents of the parliament and Prime Minister. You have to decide on that.

The President:

Candidate has to be at least a member of the Presidency or the vice president.

Dr. Jure RADIĆ:

Maybe it is even better if he's the vice president.

The President:

I have to go on the Presidency.

Dr. Jure RADIĆ:

As for party elections, I do not have any too positive expectations, but Ok.

The President:

We are getting Split.

Dr. Jure RADIĆ:

I know, I know.

The President:

Five counsellors and GRBIĆ are coming to the Croatian Democratic Community.

Dr. Jure RADIĆ:

GRABIĆ is in Zagreb, he is waiting for my invitation to meet me.

The President:

He was here already. We agreed about all of that. Five of them have already signed admission. Moreover, he has some respected university professors by his side.

Dr. Jure RADIĆ:

These people have to be appointed in the Presidency of the Croatian Democratic Community because our Presidency of Croatian Democratic Community in Split was not competent.

The President:

Osijek is the problem.

Dr. Jure RADIĆ:

Osijek is very difficult, Šibenik is also problematic. We don't have staff problems in Brod, county head is very good, very good. I am often in Okučani, he is very good. I think he is one of the best county heads.

The President:

Seriously.

Dr. Jure RADIĆ:

Seriously.

The President:

PITLOVIĆ?

Dr. Jure RADIĆ:

Yes, out of 21 that we have, he's one of the best. Are we going to, I prepared for this a little bit too, to change the borders of the counties or are we going to postpone it for a while?

The President:

I think that this would be difficult at the moment, these two months, hardly...

Dr. Jure RADIĆ:

In that case, we should postpone it. There are four problems so I wanted to draw that, at least that part down there.

We have been forced to put in counties following recent logic. Knin has to join Šibenik, these are approximately the borders of the Šibenik diocese. So, that is history and they have done it before. Until recently Knin was cut off, until now Zadar county was up to Plitvice. Lika should get that. It is not logical that Pag belongs to Lika. I was in Pag yesterday and talked to the people there. They think the same but the question is...

The President:

Something new might come...

Dr. Jure RADIĆ:

Maybe it can be seen a little bit, Zadar will not be a small county considering that all islands and that area will be a part of a county. Coastal area is questionable, Karlobag, I think that Karlobag belongs to Zadar too, even though that is the question.

The President:

That is connected with Lika.

Dr. Jure RADIĆ:

We shall see about that. The question of Senj, does Senj belong to Rijeka because that is Croat and will support Rijeka region which borders Lika until Velebit, like it is geographically, not at the sea, I do not...

The President:

I think that Lika-Senj...

Dr. Jure RADIĆ:

Lika will be satisfied because it's getting half, half of its size comparing to what it had before /as written/

The President:

However, it is connected with Karlobag, politically and geographically.

Dr. Jure RADIĆ:

Ok, area down to Starigrad including Senj can belong to it but Pag has to be...

The President:

It has to be enlarged a little bit.

Dr. Jure RADIĆ:

Lika, Zadar and Šibenik counties would change. The only question is whether we should create a new county Moslavina or to join it. I am more in favour of Bjelovar. Also the northern part can be adjusted with Virovitica and Križevac.

The President:

What to do with Sisak?

Dr. Jure RASDIĆ:

It is enough. This down there should be clear.

The President:

In fact, there would be no enlargement but change of the borders.

Dr. Jure RADIĆ:

The number remains the same.

The President:

Less Zagreb.

Dr. Jure RADIĆ:

Split functions satisfactory down there, there was a question whether Lastovo joins Dubrovnik, Split. It belongs to Dubrovnik and should probably stay like that.

The President:

In your opinion, where we have problems?

Dr. Jure RADIĆ:

Are you talking about Croatian Democratic Community?

The President:

The Croatian Democratic Community and the county.

Dr. Jure RADIĆ:

There are problems in Dubrovnik, relations between Men from Herzegovina and Dubrovnik natives. Herzegovina stream prevails in Croatian Democratic Community, especially this BRNADIĆ, he is a little bit to aggressive, He is the man from Herzegovina. BURIĆ is the man who knows how to adopt, Dubrovnik people do not held anything against him, but it is different with BRNADIĆ. Dubrovnik natives feel pushed aside.

The President:

We have the same problem in Osijek.

Dr. Jure RADIĆ:

Even more emphasised.

I expected Metković to force on Dubrovnik which is strong Croatian center, but it did not, they are out, Metković and Ploče. That is lost, it should be more from that area... I was watching Dubrovnik and there were problems there. I think that some people from here are bad. PAŠALIĆ is in good relations with BRNADIĆ, they played some games. Split will improve; still, some things have to be done. That can be done with the mayor. Šibenik is bad. There is good new sub-governor in Šibenik, he was also the president of the football club. He could have been a head of the county. We were friends back in college days. Drniš is now here, soon Knin will be in that county. Šibenik will not be big problem, it is more problematic regarding the county then the Croatian Democratic Community even though there was one group which became an outlaw and constantly blocked the work of the parliament. Person named ŠKUGOR and two more, and despite the fact that we have the majority, we can not reach al decisions at the Parliament because these three men vote as they wish. We have 22, 20 is the majority. That is the similar problem as the one in Brod.

The President:

Regarding the party and the state we have to / as written/. GLAVAŠ creates state problems. The other thing is we make decisions, they do not carry them out.

Dr. Jure RADIĆ:

The Presidency has to efficiently work more often, maybe only the leadership but it has to be the written conclusion and everybody should get it. I feel responsible for that when I had been the main secretary. We had some other troubles too.

The President:

Not only other troubles, this political situation.

Dr. Jure RADIĆ:

You did a perfect job, history will be the judge of that. Still, the coming period is very important. You have to prepare Croatia for the future time, that is the main task. Croatia has to avoid facing the situation like Yugoslavia did after...

That often happens after the period characterised by the strong personalities. That is very important. We have to create conditions to prevent Croats from... It was a beautiful picture to see the people from Varaždin and Split entering the Knin together. On the one wall in Kupres, the message "Čedo, you will not come back" can be seen. Our future has to be built on such things...

The President:

We have to return 1000 people this year, until the next year 200 000, 300 000 people. In that case, from the political point of view, we solved the problem.

Dr. Jure RADIĆ:

It is not good in Rijeka, speaking of Croatian Democratic Community. We have to win the cities that we have not won so far, especially Rijeka and Osijek.

The President:

There is weak possibility for Dubrovnik.

Dr. Jure RADIĆ:

Overt there, the mayor is a man from Dubrovnik, we should get more focus on him. We do not have to eliminate those, if the mayor and county head are together, that is all right. North, it would be good to win Varaždin, Koprivnica, Bjelovar, the elections are on the way, that is the reason.

The President:

Political situation is like this.

Dr. Jure RADIĆ:

It is good for the Parliament, but it is good that we do not have the local elections now. There are several departments in the town, which do not function well, new men

should be appointed, more competent. You made compromise and choose GažI but he's not the minister. I speak openly, that is weak. The cattle is problem, it was not collected from the field. That has to be done in an organised way.

The President:

All right, I will ask from all of you, vice-presidents, proposals and organisation and composition of the government.

Dr. Jure RADIĆ:

Whoever takes the next mandate.

The President:

I will ask the opinion from all the former presidents who remained with us. I am not going to persuade Nikica as I did it the last time...

Dr. Jure RADIĆ:

He is determined to leave, as I understood he has reasons, he is sick. Still we have to keep him in mind. He will work against if he is not involved in this...

The President:

He is a good Croat but also has this developed liberal views...

Dr. Jure RADIĆ:

The fewer people we loose...

The President:

Therefore, I will ask for his opinion, also I'll ask Šarinić, Gregurić, each of you vice-presidents regarding the proposal of organisation and composition. I will think of something. Get ready for tomorrow and next tomorrow.

Dr. Jure RADIĆ:

We won the main battles but these are long term and delicate battles, which need our involvement.

The President:

We won the battle for the sake of future of Croatian state.

Dr. Jure RADIĆ:

Correct, but we have to direct it wisely because if we stay away...

The President:

Now we also have to use it for the development.

Dr. Jure RADIĆ:

That has to be done on the long run, implementation of this take 50 years, not 3 years...

The President:

There has to be the understanding for this, for this problem.

Dr. Jure RADIĆ:

State organ that will be responsible for that is going to have all it needs.

The President:

Thank you and good by Jure.