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 Subject: Conversation held on 12 October 1991
 between Gojko ĐOGO and Radovan KARADŽIĆ

Telephone intercept:
 Code name: "LATAS"

Ljilja KARADŽIĆ:	Yes.
Gojko ĐOGO:	Hello.
Ljilja KARADŽIĆ:	Yes.
Gojko ĐOGO:	The KARADŽIĆ residence?
Ljilja KARADŽIĆ:	Yes, how can I help you?
Gojko ĐOGO:	Ljilja?.
Ljilja KARADŽIĆ:	Yes, speaking.
Gojko ĐOGO:	Gojko ĐOGO.
Ljilja KARADŽIĆ:	Ah, hello Gojko, how are you?
Gojko ĐOGO:fine. What are you up to?
Ljilja KARADŽIĆ:	Ah, we're just sitting down. We're watching some film, actually we're resting.
Gojko ĐOGO:	Ha, ha. Are you?
Ljilja KARADŽIĆ:	Tell me, how's your family?
Gojko ĐOGO:	Well, all right. My mother-in-law's not, she's a little ...
Ljilja KARADŽIĆ:	And your son's OK?
Gojko ĐOGO:	Yes, my son is, he came back 20 days later. He came back to Novi Sad last night. I actually saw him last night.
Ljilja KARADŽIĆ:	A-ha.
Gojko ĐOGO:	You know, so he can get a few days to rest, and only God knows what will happen then. Indeed ...
Ljilja	Please God, I just hope he ...

KARADŽIĆ:	
Gojko ĐOGO:	...to such an extent that I don't know what to tell you ...
Ljilja KARADŽIĆ:	Yes. And your mother-in-law has that problem with circulation, right?
Gojko ĐOGO:	Yes, yes, yes. That problem ...
Ljilja KARADŽIĆ:	A-ha
Gojko ĐOGO:	I'm actually worried that ..., but she's getting better, hopefully she won't ...
Ljilja KARADŽIĆ:	A-ha.
Gojko ĐOGO:	Something about that
Ljilja KARADŽIĆ:	A-ha. Here, here's Radovan. OK, say hello to Beba, and to everyone. Bye.
Gojko ĐOGO:	OK ... (Radovan KARADŽIĆ comes on the line)
Radovan KARADŽIĆ:	Hello.
Gojko ĐOGO:	What are you up to?
Radovan KARADŽIĆ:	Well, I'm back. I was at the negotiations and now I'm here to rest a little.
Gojko ĐOGO:	What kind of negotiations? I heard you were brilliant last night, I tell you, was it last night?
Radovan KARADŽIĆ:	Yes. At the ...
Gojko ĐOGO:	Everybody says, well done! Afterwards, they ... /?typographical error/, but they say that you ... was that in the Assembly or what?
Radovan KARADŽIĆ:	In the Assembly, yes. Alija IZETBEGOVIĆ spoke two-three times and then I had to respond, you know.
Gojko ĐOGO:	Excellent. They say that you told them, "Gentlemen, we will not, and you can do whatever you want."
Radovan KARADŽIĆ:	We let them, but they are preparing for war. They will try to, to, to wage war here.
Gojko ĐOGO:	They will?
KARADŽIĆ Radovan:	Probably as soon as next week.
ĐOGO Gojko:	What ... where's he going to go to war?

Radovan KARADŽIĆ:	Well, he's crazy. They're, they're totally crazy, you know. They ...
Gojko ĐOGO:	Where ... what's he thinking, to start a war in Sarajevo? Is he crazy?
Radovan KARADŽIĆ:	He's, I think that they, exactly, they should be thrashed if they start a war, they will ... they... they'll disappear...
Gojko ĐOGO:	There'll be rivers of blood, but ...
Radovan KARADŽIĆ:	They will disappear, that people will disappear from the face of the earth if they, if they start now. Our offer was their only chance. Even that was too much, what we offered them. But ...
Gojko ĐOGO:	You offered them what I never would.
Radovan KARADŽIĆ:	Yes. They were offered more than Serbs should ever have offered, but still they wouldn't take it, and now the only thing left for us is, we can tell them: whoever wants to leave Yugoslavia, let them formulate their wish. Let ...
Gojko ĐOGO:	Let them say ... where ... who ... where to ...
Radovan KARADŽIĆ:	To go to the assembl... yes. To go to the Yugoslav Assembly and to try to make it happen there. There is no way he'll make it happen here.
Gojko ĐOGO:	And he is going there, right?
Radovan KARADŽIĆ:	No, no, that's what we told him. It can only be done there.
Gojko ĐOGO:	A-ha, a-ha, a-ha.
Radovan KARADŽIĆ:	Only in a constitutional manner, and then we'll see which territories and ... historical and ethnic and how you can make that happen.
Gojko ĐOGO:	Excellent. This ... that, you go on founding states, man. Over there, proclaim this Herzegovina a state the quick way, who gives a fuck, say, we simply have nothing. Of the direct roads like Trebinje – Belgrade, Mostar – Belgrade ...
Radovan KARADŽIĆ:	Yes, yes. No, they are ... they, they, I mean, TUĐMAN ... they encourage TUĐMAN and TUĐMAN encourages them. They ... that is an entirely Ustasha matter, both with them and with TUĐMAN.
Gojko ĐOGO:	Yes, yes.
Radovan KARADŽIĆ:	And what did ... didn't the TV broadcast it there?
Gojko ĐOGO:	Yes. It was not broadcast, but one of those... KOVAČEVIĆs of mine, one of my brother-in-law's friends in Sarajevo, informed me, /?he's/ an engineer up there. He's up there at Pale ...
Radovan	A-ha.

KARADŽIĆ:	
Gojko ĐOGO:	And then ...
Radovan KARADŽIĆ:	Yes, it was broadcast and you know, I am glad that I told the Muslims and the Serbs ... Ljilja tells me, they didn't call here last night, no one called, no one called to harass. Serbs called to congratulate and a Muslim also called to congratulate..
Gojko ĐOGO:	No, no. They say, very well done, that you were fair, they say you were polite to them, but extremely clear, precise, great job, man.
Radovan KARADŽIĆ:	No...
Gojko ĐOGO:	And here no one knows if they're coming or going, fuck ...
Radovan KARADŽIĆ:	Yes, no. Well, the Europe issue is clear. They can just go fuck themselves.
Gojko ĐOGO:	Fuck, do you see what this Europe is trying to do ...
Radovan KARADŽIĆ:	Europe has been trying to do this all along. France alone ...
Gojko ĐOGO:	Yes, to tell you the truth, I'm not happy with MILOŠEVIĆ's stammering, either. I don't know ... this tactic of his can turn into ... petty scheming ...
Radovan KARADŽIĆ:	You know that he's lost /?certainty/ in Serbia, you know, and that he ...
Gojko ĐOGO:	It's Europe, Europe is /?doesn't/ respect a firm voice any longer. Europe would have accepted it if he had only stated the case firmly, this is the way things are, and this and this.
Radovan KARADŽIĆ:	Yes, yes...
Gojko ĐOGO:	And /?these are/ interpretations.
Radovan KARADŽIĆ:	Yes, interpretations...
Gojko ĐOGO:	Reports and then all kinds of interpretations.
Radovan KARADŽIĆ:	You know though, so far they have ... they are afraid that, that, that they will block /?them off/ and so on. And he doesn't feel very safe there.
Gojko ĐOGO:	Yes.
Radovan KARADŽIĆ:	He's afraid that in Serbia ...
Gojko ĐOGO:	Yes, yes, he ruined ...
Radovan	You know, that is why the opposition parties should support him in

KARADŽIĆ:	this, you know, in this. That would be very important.
Gojko ĐOGO:	He's afraid of an economic blockade.
Radovan KARADŽIĆ:	Yes. It would be very important that the entire opposition back him in that respect.
Gojko ĐOGO:	Yes, yes, yes. I know it would be important, and that it would be crucial, but fuck him, his men are making moves, making ...
Radovan KARADŽIĆ:	Alright then, the party, his party should not be spared, they need to be kicked where it hurts. I mean, it would be very important to back him and his ... I meant his mission as a statesman.
Gojko ĐOGO:	He would be a Napoleon if he were to distance himself from his party.
Radovan KARADŽIĆ:	Yes, yes. Now here would ...
Gojko ĐOGO:	He could get all the opposition with him in two ... Look, I would in two hours, if he would, if he would listen to three pieces of advice he'd have the entire opposition on his side in two hours.
Radovan KARADŽIĆ:	But he's afraid, he has certain, certain information on some ... of the opposition, it's very little, but it is very alarming, so he can't hold himself back ... for that to be the benefit of Ser... Serbia and the Serbian people, but rather /?would be/ used as his weakness, you know, that is why he can't be left fully ... he can't be left without specia... without especially complete protection and party backing. .
Gojko ĐOGO:	No, no, no. He has to go, he will, he and his party will get screwed, he and those (?) combinations of his. He should have raised and relied on the people, that all ... that three times he /?was/ I am (?), the president of all the Serbs, gentlemen, do you understand, that would ... and he won those elections twice. What more does he want ...
Radovan KARADŽIĆ:	Yes, yes.
Gojko ĐOGO:	/?If he were/ to win now, too.
Radovan KARADŽIĆ:	Yes, yes.
Gojko ĐOGO:	And that would /?give him/ enormous strength, you know.
Radovan KARADŽIĆ:	Yes, yes.
Gojko ĐOGO:	And enormous strength in the opposition, because he has no real opposing candidate in the opposition, that...
Radovan KARADŽIĆ:	Yes, yes, that's true.
ĐOGO Gojko:	He doesn't. And he, and he, I have to tell you, he relies a little on the ŠEŠELJ variation of this-and-that, which at a certain point may seem

	attractive, but could boomerang back on him badly.
Radovan KARADŽIĆ:	Yes, that's not really, that's not ...
Gojko ĐOGO:	It will turn into the complete opposite of you.
Radovan KARADŽIĆ:	This SEŠELJ thing is not really serious.
Gojko ĐOGO:	It's not, it's your SDS /Serbian Democratic Party/, it's not that.
Radovan KARADŽIĆ:	Yes.
Gojko ĐOGO:	And he could be burned again.
Radovan KARADŽIĆ:	Yes, yes, I don't know, but I think that France is really afraid of Germany and is prostituting itself ...
Gojko ĐOGO:	Yes.
Radovan KARADŽIĆ:	The only one not prostituting itself is England and that is our only hope, that Spain and Greece, that they, put ...
Gojko ĐOGO:	Between us, this thing with GORBACHOV isn't clear to me, either.
Radovan KARADŽIĆ:	That's all American, that's, it's all ... he assumed certain commitments towards America, to act like that. But, we shouldn't overestimate the international ..., in general.
Gojko ĐOGO:	Of course, of course, only our own guns ...
Radovan KARADŽIĆ:	Our own...
Gojko ĐOGO:	Destroy the terrain as soon as possible, what kind of information (?)...
Radovan KARADŽIĆ:	There's nothing there, that's clear now, this is completely, I mean, they are going after the Serbian people, its life, its very foundations.
Gojko ĐOGO:	My God, down there, let them clean it out, let them go, let just one night ... they killed eight of their men, why didn't they ... eight men, why didn't they attack Dubrovnik after that, last night.
Radovan KARADŽIĆ:	Yes, and they were killed on the Bosnian side, too.
Gojko ĐOGO:	The first eight people in Ravno, that's ... Is that Ravno in Popovo?
Radovan KARADŽIĆ:	Well, yes, on the Bosnian side, that's in BiH.
Gojko ĐOGO:	You know what should be done ... that was reason enough for them to enter Dubrovnik tonight.
Radovan KARADŽIĆ:	Yes.

Gojko ĐOGO:	And to clear it all out. Did you hear that they killed MILIŠIĆ, the poet?
Radovan KARADŽIĆ:	Yes, he was killed by the Ustashas, there's no question about ...
Gojko ĐOGO:	Fuck ...
Radovan KARADŽIĆ:	Where will <i>krkotina</i> /splinters/ go in, they took advantage of it and killed him.
Gojko ĐOGO:	Ridiculous, of course, of course.
Radovan KARADŽIĆ:	Took advantage of it and killed him, you know.
Gojko ĐOGO:	It must be .../stand/ to them ... at their throat ... and it must be resolved, and secondly they can't keep that area in the long term, you know. It has to be covered for a month ... /by/ this peace.
KARADŽIĆ Radovan:	No. They don't understand ... that the Serbs are at boiling point, that Serbs are slow to ignite, but that they burn for a long time, they don't have a clue, they ... I can't tell our, I mean, our Muslim partners, for crying out loud, don't you understand that Serbs will fight for their state, not to lose their state, down to the last man.
Gojko ĐOGO:	A-ha.
Radovan KARADŽIĆ:	I put it to them, privately I told them a hundred times, don't fool yourselves, there is no way we will sign anything for you now, all of Bosnia would rise up in two hours, and, and be on fire. Absolutely no way.
Gojko ĐOGO:	Are there any among them who are a bit softer, who have a bit of intelligence?
Radovan KARADŽIĆ:	No. They are, they have inflamed irresponsible deputies with the notion that they should get a state. They're afraid of Serbs, as if anyone's ever had a bad life with Serbs, I mean, and, and then they took this commitment on themselves which now ... and then this Miloš ... this, what's his name, IZETBEGOVIĆ took on this commitment to TUĐMAN and TUĐMAN to him and now they're encouraging one another, you know, because M... and IZETBEGOVIĆ promised TUĐMAN all of Bosnia, and TUĐMAN encouraged ... and promised him that the Muslims would rise up against the Serbs to fight.
Gojko ĐOGO:	You just keep lying to them, keep sweet-talking them until the work piles up there, establishes, until they clean out this terrain that ...
Radovan KARADŽIĆ:	A-ha, no, they, they have to know that there are 20,000 armed Serbs around Sarajevo, that's insane, they will, they will disappear, Sarajevo will be a <i>karakazan</i> /black cauldron/ where 300,000 Muslims will die, they're not right in the head. I don't know, now I will have to talk to them openly, people, don't screw around, there are three, four hundred thousand armed Serbs in BiH. What are you thinking of, plus there's the army and the hardware and everything, do you think you

	can just secede like Croatia. And they are literally going ... yesterday they told us, at these negotiations of ours between the Assembly sessions, that a sovereign Bosnia means an independent Bosnia, if Yugoslavia doesn't ...
Gojko ĐOGO:	What Bosnia, does he mean how they are to cross the Neretva river, that Nevesinje, Gacko, Bileća, Trebinje, that /?all of/ that will be Bosnia?
Radovan KARADŽIĆ:	Yes, yes, he, he's insane ...
Gojko ĐOGO:	That he's going in there with the Army, is he crazy or what?
Radovan KARADŽIĆ:	We, we're not banning them from establishing certa...
Gojko ĐOGO:	And then (?) in the end they will enter Banja Luka.
Radovan KARADŽIĆ:	Yes, to ..., to ..., to Ozren, that Doboje, anything, he can rule over half of Sarajevo, Zenica and half of Tuzla, and that's it, it's finished, Gračanica and the small ... But he ... they don't understand that /they'd/ be up to their necks in blood and that the Muslim people would disappear, the poor Muslims would disappear, who don't know where he is taking them, where he is taking the Muslims.
Gojko ĐOGO:	Yes, yes, yes, yes.
Radovan KARADŽIĆ:	That, that, I think that he, that he has to ... that a lot will have to be resolved next week
Gojko ĐOGO:	Yes, yes.
Radovan KARADŽIĆ:	Next week, a lot will ... That they shot at a warehouse this evening ... here near Sarajevo.
Gojko ĐOGO:	Really?
Radovan KARADŽIĆ:	Yes, yes, but now ...
Gojko ĐOGO:	Where?
Radovan KARADŽIĆ:	Faletići, here above, above Stari Grad, above Vasin Han. But the warehouse has been completely mined, they can only use the one narrow path, and there they're sitting ducks for weapons. And there' ... there's no way they can take it. And the army here ... it's quite clear to them, even the MUP /Ministry of the Interior/ is working against the Army, and they know very well who ... who in the MUP is actually working against the army. They monitor army movements and analyse /?them/ ... They did prepare, they have some weapons, the MUP gave them weapons, and we did tell IZETBEGOVIĆ that we don't mind it at all if Muslims have weapons, but not to use them against the Serbs, unless you're crazy, and it would be hard for the Serbs too, but you'll see how it'll recoil on your own heads. You have

	no chance to, to ... sever your ties with the Ustashas, let go, have your own policies and your own cares, but it's difficult for them to say that. They like the idea of having some kind of state of their own so much, it's insane. Hello!
Gojko ĐOGO:	Yes, I can hear you.
Radovan KARADŽIĆ:	But the negotiations continue tomorrow and we will try to come out with one more option acceptable to all, that, that we would have nothing against them separating out their own areas, but what will they make /?of them/, I mean, they can't even make that. They can only make, er, a somewhat greater authority vis-à-vis the federal state from the Serbian parts. Let's say they have something ... we could accept them creating, let's call it, a Muslim district in their area, within Yugoslavia, where they would have less to do with the federal state than ...
Gojko ĐOGO:	Autonomy?
Radovan KARADŽIĆ:	Yes, no. A somewhat greater, greater autonomy to ... not to say a confederate link with Yugoslavia, but Serbian ...
Gojko ĐOGO:	But they would need five autonomies. How would he set up an autonomy in Kladaša, for example?
Radovan KARADŽIĆ:	Well, that would be difficult, he'd have to have several autonomies, several enclaves.
Gojko ĐOGO:	Yes, well, auto... would be alright then, that's a better option.
Radovan KARADŽIĆ:	We will not force them to do anything, but they simply don't have any way to carry out a secession, I think that this is clear to the Army, and clear to everyone. It will be a real bloodbath, this time the Army won't use only two planes any more, of the five hundred it has, it will use twenty for each assault. And that would be it then, if Bosnia goes up in flames, Sandžak will follow, and Kosovo, you know.
Gojko ĐOGO:	Yes, I know.
Radovan KARADŽIĆ:	And there's no ... there will no longer be ...
Gojko ĐOGO:	No, no.
Radovan KARADŽIĆ:	He's talking with Europe.
Gojko ĐOGO:	It'll be terrible ...
Radovan KARADŽIĆ:	And Europe will be told to go fuck itself, not to come back until the job is finished.
Gojko ĐOGO:right.
Radovan	We shouldn't mollycoddle (?), I think MILOŠEVIĆ has lost his

KARADŽIĆ:	certainly a little somewhere, you know, that he ...
Gojko DOGO:	Yes.
Radovan KARADŽIĆ:	Because, so far everyone's attacked him for lack of tactics, for not being flexible. I think it was good when he said, excuse me we're at war, go talk to the Serbs from Croatia as your equals, you know ...
Gojko DOGO:	Yes, yes.
Radovan KARADŽIĆ:	I think that's where BABIĆ made a mistake. Still, according to our information, MILOŠEVIĆ wasn't up to the mark there.
Gojko DOGO:	What wasn't sufficiently ...?
Radovan KARADŽIĆ:	This Mića, Milo...Miša MILOŠEVIĆ.
Gojko DOGO:	Yes.
Radovan KARADŽIĆ:	Wasn't up to the mark.
Gojko DOGO:	Yes, but that Mića is an idiot.
Radovan KARADŽIĆ:	Well, yes, he wasn't good.
Gojko DOGO:	He, Miša's an idiot. I met him twice, his premises are underneath ours ... Have you met him?
Radovan KARADŽIĆ:	I also think he is ... yes, yes I have.
Gojko DOGO:	He is an idiot.
Radovan KARADŽIĆ:	Yes, yes.
Gojko DOGO:	He's got the brain of a chicken, he's a gangster.
Radovan KARADŽIĆ:	Yes, yes. BABIĆ was supposed to go and this one, they should have left him behind.
Gojko DOGO:	Why didn't he, when he was going after the world community, why didn't he send BEĆKOVIĆ who is the president of that community?
Radovan KARADŽIĆ:	Yes, yes.
Gojko DOGO :	And a writer, it would have been just the right thing.
Radovan KARADŽIĆ :	Yes, yes.
Gojko DOGO:	He sent an idiot. Well, I mean, how far do they mean to go, at one time CVIJIC and PUPIN fought for the Serbian borders there, and now he sends idiots to ..., policemen, agents, gangsters ...

Radovan KARADŽIĆ:	Yes, yes. BABIĆ made a big mistake with that, he should have ...
Gojko ĐOGO:	BABIĆ himself is not very intelligent and the other one is even less so ...
Radovan KARADŽIĆ:	That's right.
Gojko ĐOGO:	And now he's going to send a third idiot.
Radovan KARADŽIĆ:	Yes.
Gojko ĐOGO:	Well, that's out of the question, they're foxes over there, they think that their cunning little peasant ways will fool the entire world.
Radovan KARADŽIĆ:	Yes, one of our people works more ... than the other one here, with one of the delegations over there, they brought a guy called PUPOVAC, and then, our man from Bosnia said, OK let's establish exactly what capacity this PUPOVAC is there in. Then they said that he was there as part of the Croatian delegation.
Gojko ĐOGO:	Tsk, tsk, tsk, tsk
Radovan KARADŽIĆ:	However, when this PUPOVAC explained everything, our man said, Right, so this is the position of the Croatian government. Then the Croats objected, they said it was out of the question, that these were not at all Croatian but Serbian positions. Excuse me, but the Serbian /?positions/ were not present there.
Gojko ĐOGO :	Yes, yes.
Radovan KARADŽIĆ:	And this man is not a party member at all, he is an expert.
Gojko ĐOGO:	I know, and at the same time, those people in Krajina started ranting about Slobodan receiving PUPOVAC here.
Radovan KARADŽIĆ:	No, I don't believe that.
Gojko ĐOGO:	Well, they say he did.
Radovan KARADŽIĆ:	No, no, I don't believe that. No, MILOŠEVIĆ would have told me if he had received him, that's out of the question. You know what Serbs are like, they should all go fuck themselves, they must obey, they must obey, there will be no screwing around, no ...
Gojko ĐOGO:	That's what I think, but you know for that /you/ need a few people, a few smart people, to take matters into their own hands and set out decisively. Radovan, this battle must be won in the army, it has to be won by arms, there's no other way.
Radovan KARADŽIĆ:	No, no, as far as the army in BiH is concerned, it's quite clear, the army clearly understands that this is an Ustasha attack against the Serbs and that Yugoslavia, as a state, ...
Gojko	No, they urgently have to resolve this issue in Croatia, not at half-

ĐOGO:	strength.
Radovan KARADŽIĆ:	I think they have resolved the ... they are mostly in possession of what ...
Gojko ĐOGO:	Well, partially they are.
Radovan KARADŽIĆ:	Yes, mostly, in ...
Gojko ĐOGO:	That damn Vukovar sticks in the throat.
Radovan KARADŽIĆ:	OK, that's not important, it's surrounded, there are only rats there in holes. But the important thing is that Bos..., Bosnia is full of soldiers, you know.
Gojko ĐOGO:	That still has to be established, it has to be established now, to ... dig trenches, no, he's /establishing/ buying a border for the next hundred years, not even a bird can fly over it, do you understand.
Radovan KARADŽIĆ:	Yes, yes.
Gojko ĐOGO:	He has nothing further /?to do/, let ... this is the border he established, you've finished, you'll go off down (?) pockets, /unintelligible/, don't you start fighting for Jasenovac now.
Radovan KARADŽIĆ:	Yes, yes. Here, there are Muslims here in the army, and, and even in the reserves and some of them fight pretty well and ...
Gojko ĐOGO:	A-ha.
Radovan KARADŽIĆ:	And that's very important ... they will succeed in preserving this Muslim majority, which, which will be the loser in all this, to still save it from the position of being /?the loser/.
Gojko ĐOGO:	Yes.
Radovan KARADŽIĆ:	They ... because you really can't, you know, you can't say that there aren't any, there are ordinary people out there, and I think that they should be welcomed with open arms. But the leadership, there will be no hesitation, they must know that, that if they want to secede they will have to ... to start a war against us and to hit us, to fight us, and then they will get our response, that goes without saying.
Gojko ĐOGO:	Oh, my God. That should have been cut short down there, Dubrovnik /would/ reduce the front line, you know.
Radovan KARADŽIĆ:	Yes.
Gojko ĐOGO:	It should be cleared out and simply made ours ... clear it all up and finish with it, because it /?would/ reduce /it/ /. It's extremely long, there's about a hundred odd kilometres ...
Radovan KARADŽIĆ:	Yes, yes. They should have ... they should have done that and established a military administration, and have done with it.
Gojko ĐOGO:	Open ...

Radovan KARADŽIĆ:	When the people of Dubrovnik were not strong enough to ...
Gojko ĐOGO:	Of course, of course.
Radovan KARADŽIĆ:	Proclaim it an open city and have done with it.
Gojko ĐOGO:	Case closed, that's it.
Radovan KARADŽIĆ:	But what's very important is that they did chase them from <i>Boka Kotorska</i> /the Gulf of Kotor/ ...
Gojko ĐOGO:	Yes, yes, I know, true, true. Listen, the thing is that, I mean, there they keep dragging on with the ...
Radovan KARADŽIĆ:	OK, OK, we'll ...
Gojko ĐOGO:	/With/ this part here ...
Radovan KARADŽIĆ:	Let them finish off whatever they can, let them.
Gojko ĐOGO:	Well, I'd like to send you down a man.
Radovan KARADŽIĆ:	All right.
Gojko ĐOGO:	And ...
Radovan KARADŽIĆ:	Have him bring it in writing, maybe someone's listening in and then ...
Gojko ĐOGO:	A-ha.
Radovan KARADŽIĆ:	Pro... !?!
Gojko ĐOGO:	I would like him, you know, I'd like him to be some sort of coordinator.
Radovan KARADŽIĆ:	All right.
Gojko ĐOGO:	Let him take over and survey the entire situation and let him do it in a way that ... it could be resolved here as well.
Radovan KARADŽIĆ :	All right, OK.
Gojko ĐOGO:	You know, I'm going away tomorrow, I mean, Monday I'm going to London to a, to a meeting and I'll stay there until Friday.
Radovan KARADŽIĆ:	But ... send me, have him bring me a note with your ... I know your handwriting.
Gojko ĐOGO:	A-ha, a-ha. A-ha, OK, OK.

Radovan KARADŽIĆ:	Agreed then.
Gojko ĐOGO:	OK, I ... he will ...
Radovan KARADŽIĆ:	Tell me, where's your son?
Gojko ĐOGO:	Well, he was up at the ... near Palanka and he came back to Novi Sad the night before last, after spending twenty days in the trenches and to tell you the truth I am more worried about that than ... He's back at the Novi Sad barracks to rest for a few days, and I don't know what'll happen next.
Radovan KARADŽIĆ:	Yes, well everything will be all right, God willing.
Gojko ĐOGO:	Fuck it all, God only knows, you don't know what to do, that's what. I thought, you know four or five months and he'll be able to hide somewhere, and this, that ...
Radovan KARADŽIĆ:	Yes.
Gojko ĐOGO:	There are the reservists, but that's ...
Radovan KARADŽIĆ:	Yes, yes. They should keep /?back/ the young soldiers (?), I mean this is an unfortunate situation that in Bo... in the territory of BiH there are Ustasha ambushes, otherwise the Army down there didn't have any losses so to speak, it goes /in first/ with the artillery, protects every soldier.
Gojko ĐOGO:	Yes, yes.
Radovan KARADŽIĆ:	And they really work well, but the, our Montenegrins are ... playing the hero a little.
Gojko ĐOGO:	But who, they died like fools, in an ambush, you can see that they're all ambushes, how is it they pay no attention to it.
Radovan KARADŽIĆ:	Just ambushes, just ambushes. They don't get killed in combat ... they don't get killed because they're very good at it, the army goes /if first/ with hardware and equipment and then ...
Gojko ĐOGO:	Yes, yes.
Radovan KARADŽIĆ:	And when, when it comes to fighting, the soldiers don't get killed at all, but they die /?like flies/, there are at least 40,000 dead in this war already, the estimates are between 40,000 and 60,000, of which not even 1,000 are Serb.
Gojko ĐOGO:	Did you see what that Major did up in Bjelovar, that's ...
Radovan KARADŽIĆ:	What, I don't know, that he handed over ...
Gojko ĐOGO:	That he blew it up...

Radovan KARADŽIĆ:	A-ha, yes, that's the new guy, SINDELIC.
Gojko ĐOGO:	Yes, yes, 700 men, they did a portrait of him on Belgrade Television this evening, he was an only child, they showed his father, nice gentleman, you know, his wife and daughter and son, a Major, he ... they sneaked in there and he activated, I don't know how much, fifty, five hundred kilos of explosive, he blew it all up, 700 of them.
Radovan KARADŽIĆ:	Yes, yes.
Gojko ĐOGO:	Fantastic.
Radovan KARADŽIĆ:	It was SINDELIC, no one should forget that.
Gojko ĐOGO:	That is ... really ...
Radovan KARADŽIĆ:	No one should forget it, that's what I think.
Gojko ĐOGO:	Horrible.
Radovan KARADŽIĆ:	But still, I think that, that, I think that they shouldn't really ... on Europe that much ..., and I'm afraid that TUĐMAN doesn't have the strength, nor would he dare, while the army's still exists, he doesn't dare negotiate. Therefore, they should have /?/, his armed forces ... but now a good defence of Yugoslavia can be established, so that when they attack even more of them would get killed, you know.
Gojko ĐOGO:	Do you know what I think, I, I, to tell you the truth, I think that we have to get through to, they more or less did break through to ... if this, if they /unclear/ destroy this, they've reached Osijek, /?they've plotted a line along/ the Drava river ...
Radovan KARADŽIĆ:	Yes.
Gojko ĐOGO:	They did break through, they're at the Kupa river, let them should stop at Karlovac which is more or less the plan ... now it has to be /?fortified/.
Radovan KARADŽIĆ:	Yes, yes and then let, let them negotiate, otherwise if they continue to attack Europe should be told nicely ...
Gojko ĐOGO:	That's one thing, on the other hand all theirs has to be drawn everywhere for Europe, you know /unclear/.
Radovan KARADŽIĆ:	Yes, yes.
Gojko ĐOGO:	Drawn, you know, so that they can see what it is like from one side, and that on the other TUĐMAN will never negotiate. Because, you know, he can't negotiate because he's losing his state.
Radovan KARADŽIĆ:	Yes, yes.
Gojko	He's losing ground, they ... their own people will kill him, remove

ĐOGO:	him, you know.
Radovan KARADŽIĆ:	Yes, yes, he promised them the Drina, but you see how it ...
Gojko ĐOGO:	No, well yes, he can have it in Zagreb.
Radovan KARADŽIĆ:	Yes.
Gojko ĐOGO:	So that not even his (?) ... isn't safe and he simply cannot negotiate because only ... only his army must be crushed, that's the only hope.
Radovan KARADŽIĆ:	He just, for the nego..., for negotiations he has to be left without any military strength.
Gojko ĐOGO:	That's right, that's right.
Radovan KARADŽIĆ:	And, our ambition is not to kill them all, I mean, the army treats civilians properly, but I mean, there really is nothing to discuss until, because as long as he still has these armed gangs, he doesn't ...
Gojko ĐOGO:	That is true, although I, I think differently, to be honest, I think that these people in Dubrovnik must clear up one area, our people from /?Herceg Novi/ from below.
Radovan KARADŽIĆ:	Yes, yes.
Gojko ĐOGO:	Excuse me, if they said, you know, this is a matter of strategy, two or three villages, you know, like they do here. I commend them for doing what they did in, in, barbarity, burn everything and be done with it. They must clear out that area around the border.
Radovan KARADŽIĆ:	Yes, but that's awful, it's in the stomach!/, to control <i>Boka</i> /the Gulf/, that's, you know ...
Gojko ĐOGO:	Exactly, exactly ...
Radovan KARADŽIĆ:	...does control <i>Boka</i> ...
Gojko ĐOGO:	You know, they didn't cut it off by accident, Herzegovina used to have access to the sea there at one time, they just had to meddle with everything ...
Radovan KARADŽIĆ:	Yes, Dubrovnik never belonged to them.
Gojko ĐOGO:	No of course it didn't, that's ...
Radovan KARADŽIĆ:	It was never, Dubrovnik was never Croatian.
Gojko ĐOGO:	Well, cut short the Dubrovnik thing ... to finish it, and just at the place where they stopped now, at the little bridge near Cavtat.
Radovan KARADŽIĆ:	Yes, yes ...
Gojko ĐOGO:	Finished there at Cavtat ... (conversation interrupted)

Gojko ĐOGO:	...up north of the Dubrovačka river, they should all be killed.
Radovan KARADŽIĆ:	Yes, yes.
Gojko ĐOGO:	Kill them all ...
Radovan KARADŽIĆ:	Because that, this kind of Ustasha persistence, slaughtering, I can't ... and that's it.
Gojko ĐOGO:	Now, Ravno, Ravno is, they're pure Ustashas ... the other day ...
Radovan KARADŽIĆ:	I know, it was the same in the war ...
Gojko ĐOGO:	The other day, Božidar said to me, Božo VUČURO?! ... he said, we're levelling everything with the ground, they're pure Ustashas, and there aren't even 500 of them, on the other side.
Radovan KARADŽIĆ:	Yes, yes, pure Ustashas.
Gojko ĐOGO:	That's like 10,000 Ustashas.
Radovan KARADŽIĆ:	Pure Ustashas, pure Ustashas. OK, Gojko, thanks for calling, just have the man bring me the paper and then we'll talk.
Gojko ĐOGO:	He will, he will, sometime during the week at night. You won't be leaving Sarajevo, right?
Radovan KARADŽIĆ:	No, no, I won't.
Gojko ĐOGO:	A-ha, OK, he'll call you, I'll give him the party telephone number so that he can call when he gets there and arrange it with you ...
Radovan KARADŽIĆ:	OK, OK.
Gojko ĐOGO:	When he gets down there.
Radovan KARADŽIĆ:	Say hello to Vera and the children.