

Milan Ljepojević

Dodik

guardian of

Srpska



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INTRODUCTION

In order to try to understand the relations in BiH established by Dayton and, later, by Paris Peace Agreement as a community of two entities: the Republic of Srpska and the Federation BiH, and three constituent nations: the Serbs, Croats and Bosniaks, it is necessary to remind ourselves of some notions which have been in use since the disappearance of one-party system and the introduction of multiparty system. Democracy, democratic authority and opposition have replaced socialist self-management and delegation system. Social and political information have been taken over by media, and International Community has replaced Non-aligned nations. Many things have been rapidly changed (when social relations and processes are concerned), and we shall start from democracy.

It should be recalled that Winston Churchill in 1494 stated, “democracy is the worst form of government, but less worse than other forms which are tested from time to time “.

Democracy (Gr. demos – people kratos – authority) originated in Ancient Greece and did not have a good reputation. Aristotle and Plato, two greatest speculators of Ancient Times, called it “bad government of the mob”. This definition had been kept until the end of 19th century. Nowadays all are “democrats” regardless of their political ideology and practice.

Modern Age and political reality are characterised by democracy and democratic values. Almost everyone states that “democracy is a good thing” and the knowledge about what it means is implied. General popularity of democracy has endangered rational use of this term. In order to find out about its essence and meaning, we need to ask a question: What is democracy?

The term democracy is defined in different ways, and we will mention only some of them:

- government of people through elected representatives who are source of sovereign authority protecting general interest;
- decision-making system based on majority;
- an electoral system of the establishment and control of government;
- a society based on equal opportunities and individual abilities;
- a system of tolerance and respect for human rights and freedom.

Thus, democracy is a form of political organisation of a state government which starts from the bottom-up, from pluralism of interests and equality in freedom of decision-making.

PEOPLE

People in political terms means all full aged citizens of a particular state with equal right to political decision-making. In

democratic decision making process there is a principle of majority ruling over with the respect for minority, which functions as the opposition and has a critical and control role. Inalienable right to vote based on which people are constituted as an electoral political body, has been fought for throughout political history. Thus, in Ancient Greece, slaves, women, children, foreigners and men under 20 years of age did not have the right to vote. However, in 20th century, in Western countries, in which democracy was established as a government system, the right to vote was not adopted everywhere. Some interesting examples are Great Britain, Switzerland and the USA, which introduced universal right to vote only in: 1928, Great Britain for women; in early 60s of 20th century, the USA for Afro-Americans in some states; and Switzerland for women in 1971.

People can rule in two ways: directly and indirectly (through their representatives). Direct government of people existed in Ancient Athens, i.e. in a polis with a small number of citizens, whereas representative democracy was practiced in Modern Age and in large states.

There are various models of democracy, which differently define government of people. A generally accepted model of democracy is the one based on modern political tradition of liberalism which succeeded in linking two fundamental values: freedom and equality.

Freedom and equality were separated and opposed in classical liberal and socialist ideology. Liberals overemphasized freedom as the basis of individuality, but the socialists stressed equality as the basis of society and collectivism. Therefore, democracy is today more than liberalism because it also adds social and economic content to the political one.

A democratic model represents a legitimate and responsible authority elected by the majority votes of citizens at periodical

and free elections. Elections are based on political pluralism and competition of different political programmes and parties representing different realistic interests of citizens. This assumes the difference between the state and civil society. State is a public sphere, i.e. an organized instrument of authority whereas civil society represents a sphere of private interests, autonomous groups and associations independent of the state.

Nowadays democracy is an open political project that faces not only the possibilities of improvement but also of abuse.

FACTORS

Basic factors, which constitute a political life of modern democratic society today, are: authority, opposition, media, non-government organisations and international community i.e. their institutions.

What we mean by authority, is mainly political authority, which constitutes a basic form of rule in a society (but it is not the only one, there are other forms of authority such as parental, party, church, etc.). It is reflected in social relations in which one side (potentate) can determine the behavior and activities of the other side (ancillary) with the help of actual and potential use of organised forces. What makes authority different from other relations, in which one side consciously influence the direction of behavior of the other side towards achieving their goals, is the ability to apply sanctions as a tool which ultimately compels submission.

Opposition (Lat. *oppositio* – opposite, contrary, resistance) denotes a phenomenon of the existence of two opposite attitudes or movements in relation to dominant, formal or officially prevalent ideas.

In a special political meaning opposition means political parties or organized groups that do not participate in the government, but acting against it in the Parliament and out of it. In this context, we can talk about parliamentary and non-parliamentary opposition whether public or “invisible” but real.

Modern democratic society means a high level of development of media (newspapers, radio, television) and other information technologies whose rapid development has started with the Internet. As the word or term democracy is exploited every day, perhaps even more than that in all “democratic activities” are the terms: free information, free independent media, free access to information and the “democratisation” of all and everything.

What has been forgotten is that freedom does not mean anarchy. Free information means responsibility for public announcement or transferred information. Western democracies are strict and rigorous in imposing fines worth millions of dollars for all inaccurate or tendentious information based on court verdicts.

Information, in the Republic of Srpska and BiH, is not within their scope of remit like many other competences. Democracy represents a strict code of conduct with clear responsibilities and sanctions for all disobedient. Public information also implies responsibility for true information. Media, which do not comply with this in a democratic world, are quickly eliminated and closed down after proper sanctions. The rule is simple – taxes have to be paid to the state and information has to be concise and accurate.

What the international community was yesterday and what it is now is difficult to explain without a detailed analysis. Year by year, day by day or hour by hour the international sovereignty have been taking precedence over the national sovereignty. National legal norms – constitutions, laws, declarations, have to comply with international legal documents such as the Convention of the United Nations and others.

In the past 20 years, the Republic of Srpska and BiH have experienced, perhaps more than others have, the power of the international community. BiH as a sovereign community of three constituent nations, the Serbs, Croats and Bosniaks, was created on a different continent, in a US military base in Dayton, on 21 November 1995, not in Bosnia. By Dayton Agreement, a High Representative has been appointed in BiH, who has been acting all the time as a sovereign with unlimited rights without any responsibility. This is just one indicator of the importance of the international community.

PART ONE

Year 2006

PROBLEMS

The Serbian Nobel laureate Ivo Andrić said that wars begin because of one or more problems, but they resolve neither relation. They just give them a little shake and leave them, like all other social relations, for the future generations to deal with them in peace and in a much complex and complicated situations.

Until 1992, BiH had some problems, but after the war, which lasted from 1992 to 1995, those problems had been multiplied dozens of times. The list of problems is long. If we count positive things, there will be few of them. The enumeration of negative things would take a long time and it would be difficult.

Since it was founded on January 9, 1992, many have marked the Republic of Srpska as a problem. The Bosniaks, the Croats and a part of the international community has seen it as the problem.

By Dayton Peace Agreement, the Republic of Srpska has been recognised as an entity within BiH, but up to now, it has remained a problem for many, just as it was in 1992.

During this time, the Republic of Srpska has changed several presidents, governments and prime ministers.

CRITICISM

The criticisms of the SDS government had been “lukewarm” until the first post-war elections for the Republic of Srpska National Assembly. It is a rare example in a parliamentary life that someone criticises his own work. It was so with the SDS. The only criticism of the Republic of Srpska Government in its first Parliament came from the independent parliamentary group and Milorad Dodik who led it. A well-known proverb says, “Not even Hercules could contend against two”. The SDS had majority of votes then. Dodik’s vote could not have overcome so many votes of the SDS parliamentary majority.

Public media were under the control of the SDS authorities and under the threat of “immediate war danger” which obliged the media to be loyal and obedient to the authority like true patriots. Non-governmental sector did not exist, and contacts with the International Community were rare. The Republic of Srpska was isolated from the international community.

After the first post-war parliamentary elections, the relations between the authority and the opposition were changing. The opposition had become stronger and parliamentary struggle was becoming tougher.

After the former president of the Republic of Srpska, Biljana Plavšić, had announced the early parliamentary elections in 1997, the situation in the Republic of Srpska parliamentary and political life completely changed. The election of the Government

of the Republic of Srpska led by Milorad Dodik made the SDS an opposition party. The task of any opposition party is to criticise the authority and this party did that together with the SRS in the parliament of the Republic of Srpska.

There were already many media that criticised the government led by Milorad Dodik, as well as many non-governmental organisations which had sprouted “like mushrooms after the rain” that joined in the criticism of Dodik’s government. The presence of the international community became more evident each day, and its actions were generally not in favour of the government which opened the Republic of Srpska to the world. It came out of isolation and improved the image the Republic of Srpska had had because of the SDS. Therefore, the Government of the Republic of Srpska headed by Milorad Dodik from January 1998 to January 2001 was criticised by many actors not only by the opposition.

It is logical that, in a democratic society where there are the authority, the opposition, free media and non-governmental organisations, the authority is primarily criticised by the opposition, and free public media reports those criticisms.

The task of the government is to find a solution to any problem, and the task of the opposition is to find a problem in every solution of the government.

When we observe the relation between the authority and the opposition during the period 2001-2005 when three governments and three Prime Ministers were changed, evidently that the period of the RS Government headed by the Prime Minister Mladen Ivanić, who was marked as “persona non grata” by the international community, was a way for the SDS to return to power through the so-called expert government (as Ivanić called it). The only true opposition during that period was the SNSD, which had 11 representatives after the parliamentary elections in 2001, and before that, it had had six representatives.

The RS citizens and the international community met Ivanić's government with great expectations.

Two years later, in 2002, the citizens gave further trust to the SNSD at regular parliamentary elections, because the number of this party's representatives increased from 11 to 19. However, it was not enough for the parliamentary majority, because the SDS formed the parliamentary majority with the PDP, a part of the SRS RS and the SDA, and they gave the mandate to Dragan Mikerević from the PDP.

The international community did not give a "green light" to the SDS to lead the RS Government, but the SDS, this time without hiding, had their own ministers in the RS Government. Dragan Kalinić was the President of National Assembly. Milorad Dodik, as an MP, entered the Parliament of the Republic of Srpska and the SNSD, with 19 MPs, became fiercer opposition to the ruling structure.

Paddy Ashdown as the High Representative of the international community also marked that period. That time was distinctive because of the so-called reforms which implied the transfer of jurisdiction from the Republic of Srpska to the joint institutions of BiH. Ashdown's methodology was very simple and straightforward. When he wanted to carry out a so-called reform, i.e. to abolish a certain competence of the Republic of Srpska, he tried to reveal an affair in that area and used it as a motive and justification for carrying out the so-called reform. Free media unanimously covered all affairs and the so-called reforms.

The Republic of Srpska, as defined by Dayton Peace Agreement, was gradually vanishing every day, and the RS authority, which consisted of the Serbian Democratic Party, the Party of Democratic Progress and the Serbian Radical Party, together with the Party of Democratic Action, was very "cooperative" with Paddy Ashdown. Considering the fact that

this authority “teemed with” organised crime and corruption in every segment of society, Ashdown did not have any problems to reveal affairs. They accepted the abolishment of authorities and the RS institutions through so-called reforms in order to keep their own positions. Every important personnel of the ruling oligarchy had a file in Ashdown’s archives which he used to blackmail them. If they had to choose between the Republic of Srpska and their own positions, the authority always chose their own positions. The number of transferred jurisdictions from that period is the confirmation of this.

Ashdown’s strategy included the so-called reforms which supposedly had been creating the conditions for European and NATO integration, i.e. Partnership for Peace Integration. Everything was defined periodically depending on the meeting of EU ministers and NATO.

After rejecting acceptance to NATO or signing an “agreement” because of allegedly unfulfilled conditions, i.e. so-called reforms, Ashdown threatened and punished everyone.

In December 2004, the Prime Minister of the Republic of Srpska, Dragan Mikerević, resigned and in early 2005, Pero Bukeylović replaced him as the Prime Minister of the SDS minority government. Namely, the PDP did not have ministers in the government, but they supported it. At all other levels of authority – from assistant ministers to directors of public companies and other positions – the PDP was still in the governing bodies. After 1998, this was the first SDS government headed by their own Prime Minister.

THE FALL

After all the so-called reforms, in early 2003, the preparation for the crucial reform, called police reform, began. That reform

actually meant a constitutional change in an unconstitutional manner. This reform should have given the final blow to Dayton Republic of Srpska, and after the reform, the RS would be nothing but an empty shell.

Police reform began on May 20, 2004 and lasted until April 2008. We can say that this reform was just a farce, full of threats and blackmails characteristic of all other systems, but not of the democratic ones. The fact is that all of it happened in Europe in 21st century.

The Government led by Pero Bukejlović was thrown down on 26 January 2006 because it was pressed by numerous problems within the SDS, conflicts between the President of the Republic of Srpska and the SDS, Dragan Čavić, and the RS Government of RS. In addition, the PDP did not support the Government in the RS National Assembly during the adoption of budget for 2006. The budget adoption failed and it was just a tip of an iceberg, essential reasons were much deeper.

Bosniak parties in Sarajevo and a part of international community had put strong pressure on the government led by Pero Bukejlović and the SDS, the ruling party, to adopt police reform, which was, as we have already said, the reform of the constitution in an unconstitutional way and which actually meant the end of Dayton RS. Being aware of the situation, the SDS wanted to leave the responsibility of “undertakers” of the Republic of Srpska to someone else. That “someone else” was Milorad Dodik and his party, the Union of Independent Social-Democrats.

On March 1, 2006, the National Assembly of the Republic of Srpska elected new government of the Republic of Srpska headed by Milorad Dodik.

ATTACKS

Being the authority means to be criticised with and without an argument by many, but mostly by the opposition, media critical-minded towards the government, non-governmental organisations and a part of international community, which was a unique feature of the Republic of Srpska and BiH. Milorad Dodik had been criticised in the period after non-confidence vote against Pero Bukeylović's government, even before he was not appointed mandatory of the new government, and not to mention the criticisms that ensued after the election.

On January 27, 2006, after Pero Bukeylović's government had been thrown down, and before the appointment of the mandatory of the new government, the former president of the Republic of Srpska, Dragan Čavić, said that for him the conditions under which Party of Democratic Action would endorse a candidate for the new Prime Minister were completely unacceptable.

"In a telephone conversation, Tihić confirmed that he had met with Dodik in Doboj on August 22. At the meeting, they agreed on joint privatisation of Telecom and Electric-power utility in BiH. Under that condition, the SDA representatives have signed the appointment of the SNSD candidate for the new Prime Minister and for the election of new RS Government. It is unacceptable for me", said Čavić.

Reacting to Čavić's statement, the President of the SDA, Sulejman Tihić, said that Dodik and he had not agreed on anything in particular since Dodik's party was the opposition and the SDA was in power.

Milorad Dodik rejected Dragan Čavić's statement as a lie, and said that he believed that Electric-power utility of the Republic of Srpska should not be privatised at all, and that a reasonable

price of the “Telekom RS”¹ should be 10 annual profits of this company. He pointed out that they had currently worked on selling “Telekom” for 350 million BAM. Dodik said that the SNSD had enough signatures of the delegates to support the new mandatory and that he expected a call from the RS President, Dragan Čavić, to consult and agree on the structure of new RS Government.

On the same day, the SDS Presidency requested from Dragan Čavić to entrust a mandate to the candidate of this party to form a new RS Government, because it was the strongest Serb political party. The change of Pero Bukejlović’s government was the result of suspicious political deals and parties’ exchange. They were concerned that the new coalition would – in a struggle for political power at any cost – lead the Republic of Srpska into a dangerous and uncertain period, on the grounds of secret agreement between the SNSD and the SDA in Doboj.

“The SDS considers that the way the Government of the Republic of Srpska has been thrown down shows the existence of a new political structure, which has been founded on the unprincipled political agreement, the content of which serves only to realise personal and group interests, and as such, it would inevitably undermine the position of the Republic of Srpska in the implementation of delicate reforms,” announced the SDS.

MANDATORY

On February 4, 2006, the President of the Republic of Srpska, Dragan Čavić, appointed the leader of the SNSD, Milorad Dodik, the mandatory for the new RS Government. According to the RS constitution, the mandatory has to propose the structure

¹ Mobile and telecommunications company

of the government and future concept to the National Assembly within 40 days.

Media in Sarajevo assessed Dodik's appointment as an opportunity to implement his own programme priorities, privatisation audit, the fight against organised crime and to continue the cooperation with the Hague Tribunal, as well as to privatise two most profitable companies in the RS, "Telekom RS" and the RS Electric Power Utility'.

"The duty of redistribution of a multimillion-worth cake, on which the members of the SDS couldn't agree, went to Dodik and his coalition partners", commented media in Sarajevo on February 6.

Interestingly, that Dragan Čavić and Bosniak media in Sarajevo "saw" the same problem in Dodik's appointment; whereas the SDS expressed concern and fear that the SNSD would lead the Republic of Srpska "into a dangerous and uncertain political period". They intentionally forgot that the Republic of Srpska had entered dangerous and uncertain political period when they had been in power as "steersmen of a ship" which had already begun to sink under Ashdown and Bosniak's blows.

The mandatory, Milorad Dodik, said that the SNSD stood behind his future government and programme, as well as behind their success or failure. "This government won't have a hundred days, but three days to start working." Dodik announced that he would resign after first few months if they failed.

A representative of the SRS 'Dr Vojislav Šešelj', Milan Lazić, said that this party would not support the election of government proposed by Milorad Dodik. "Since 2002 we have been firmly committed not to enter a coalition with the SNSD and the SDS. We resent their and PDP voting for the abolition of the RS Army and for police reform, which is bad for the RS."

Commenting Dodik's concept of the fight against crime and corruption, Lazić said, "We will support every action related

to the fight against corruption and crime.” Dodik announced the establishment of Special Court, enactment of the Law on the Revision of Privatisation, establishment of special funds, and these are all normative assumptions in the fight against crime. “The question is whether he will have the will to implement it”, said Lazić on February 20, 2006.

Speaking about the other SRS led by Milanko Mihajlica, Lazić claimed, “They are profiteers who have deviated from the programme goals.” They were given seats in the Assembly because of the confusion at polling places. People voted for them because they had thought they were a branch of Šešlj’s radicals. All facts indicated that Mihajlica and his company were venal and corrupted. It was said that each representative received 15,000 BAM in order to support Mikerević’s government in 2002, but it was nothing compared to the managers’ privileges.

Lazić concluded that Mihajlica “is only a public player from the third league, north-west division.” He represented interests of Nikola Poplašen and Pantelija Damjanović, who had deviated from the party’s programme ideas because of a piece of power.

CONFLICT

On February 22, 2006, the SDS announced that they would go into opposition, which would free them from “ears-long and exhausting partnership with the Party of Democratic Progress.”

The SDS Presidency announced that by acting in opposition, transparently and with arguments, the SDS would unmask false greatness of the PDP leaders and their alleged reforms, and would indicate the political involvement of this party in anything and at any cost.

Responding to the allegations, the PDP said that the partnership with the SDS had been broken up because that party

had kept the authority by using up the interests of the Republic of Srpska and Serbs. The SDS leaving the authority was the best thing that happened to the Republic of Srpska and the Serbs. If anyone sold the interests of the Republic of Srpska, then it was the SDS during their self-rule. While the SDS leader, Dragan Čavić, was keeping his seat instead of keeping the Republic of Srpska, the RS Army disappeared, and the existence of police was in question, the PDP pointed out.

“The SDS problem was not the PDP, but the used-up concept of rule in which everything was business – even national interests,” underlined the PDP.

The SDS Presidency announced that they believed that the price of the PDP, the SDA, the Party for BiH, the SDP BiH and the SNSD coalition, which would elect the new RS Government, would be paid with the interests of the Republic of Srpska. They were also concerned that the SDA would take over the Ministry of Refugees and Displaced Persons, because they believed that in that case the new minister’s policy would be bad to the interests of this most vulnerable population of the Republic of Srpska.

ČAVIĆ – IVANIĆ

On February 28, 2006, the President of the Republic of Srpska, Dragan Čavić, accused the minister of Foreign Affairs of BiH, Mladen Ivanić, of contributing to the beginning of a process before the International Court of Justice in The Hague by BiH lawsuit against Serbia and Montenegro for the aggression and genocide.

“When a member of BiH Presidency, Borislav Paravac, applied to the Constitutional Court of BiH to review the constitutionality of the complaint, I asked Ivanić to inform the International Court of Justice in The Hague about it, but he didn’t

do it”, said Čavić. He added that Ivanić had not informed the Court because, in order to preserve his “personality and seat”, he had sent the letter to the BiH ambassador in The Hague, who forwarded it to the complaint’s agent. But the agent had never sent it to the Court.

Responding to Čavić’ statement, Mladen Ivanić said, “Dragan Čavić is an ordinary political manipulator and a liar faced with huge problems in his party. He is trying to restore his completely degraded authority by attacking the others. It is a typical policy of the SDS, which has performed the most responsible positions since the lawsuit against Serbia and Montenegro was submitted, and now they are trying to pass the buck on others”.

CHOICE

After Milorad Dodik’s government was elected on 1 March 2006, the SDP BiH representatives, Zekerijah Osmić and Slobodan Popović, reacted by stating that the new RS Prime Minister had deliberately deceived the inter-party agreement with the SDP, by providing another parliamentary majority. If the SDP had accepted Dodik’s proposal not to have their Serb representative in the RS Government, but only Bosniak and Croat, they would have sent a bad message to the most numerous electoral body in the Republic of Srpska and thus would have limited their activities only to FBiH.

The SDP position was that the first problems in a new “illogical” coalition could occur with the revision Kristal Bank privatisation, in which the PDP and Mladen Ivanić took part, and the Republic of Srpska was damaged for about 50 million BAM.

The US Ambassador to BiH Douglas McElhaney did not comment on the election of Milorad Dodik’s government, but on March 2, he said that in the process of constitutional change it was

very important to solve the way of electing the President of BiH and his deputies as soon as possible, because the deadlines for reaching agreement were very close.

“We are preparing all the paperwork on the issues already agreed upon, and when everything is finished, it will be necessary to urgently provide the procedure for their adoption in the BiH Parliament. We are very impatient”, said McElhaney.

McElhaney was not interested in how the new elected RS Government would propose and provide the support for the RS budget in the RS National Assembly, which is a basic document for the functioning of any democratic society,. He was interested in constitutional changes, i.e. the way the President of BiH would be elected. McElhaney knew very well that BiH did not have the President but the Presidency, but he deliberately ignored that. Although McElhaney should have cared for a common man, i.e. his basic needs, salaries, pensions, social security and healthcare, education and for other social areas relevant to the citizens’ lives, McElhaney’s only concern was the President of BiH which implied unitary and centralised BiH, not decentralised Dayton’s BiH.

This McElhaney’s statement was in fact a message to Dodik and his government what to expect from the international community or from the particular structure of the international community which was represented by McElhaney.

COMPLAINTS

On March 3, 2006, the Prime Minister of RS Milorad Dodik filed two complaints to District Court in Banja Luka against John Doe in connection with the privatisation of state capital of Kristal Bank AD Banja Luka, today’s Hypo Alpe Adria Bank, and Banjaluka Bank AD Banja Luka, today’s Nova Banjalučka Bank.

The Prime Minister of the RS Government Dodik announced that he would demand a criminal responsibility of the Chairman of the Indirect Taxation Agency Governing Board, Joly Dixon, for the decision to stop the transfer of funds from indirect taxes which belonged to the Republic of Srpska.

On March 5, Dodik said that he had no intention of delaying and respecting anyone who did not respect the Republic of Srpska. Dixon's explanation that there was an agreement, but nothing was signed, was completely amateur. "Dixon has a serious problem called the RS Government and Milorad Dodik. We will not give up demanding his criminal responsibility for this situation, because he, as the chairman of the Governing Board, had to respond on time, instead of losing 30 million BAM.

PRESSURE

On March 7, the RS President Dragan Čavić accused the Minister of Internal Affairs of the RS, Stanislav Čadjo, of putting pressure on seven chiefs of police departments to resign. He also intended to apply the same "recipe" to a number of heads of public security centres and to the commander of Special Police Forces of the RS Ministry of Internal Affairs. He warned that this pressure of the new government could lead the Republic of Sprska into a precipitation and endanger police refrom. Čavić said that the key principle of the European Commission for BiH police reform was the elimination of political influence.

The SDS Vice Ppresident Dušan Stojčić called Čadjo's alleged actions as "the expression of naked political pressure and interference of executive authority in the work of public administration." The SDS believed that it was clearly the violation of laws on labour which reminded of the worst time when a moral and political affiliation had been investigated and determined.

The SNSD high official, Nikola Špirić, said, “Dragan Čavić and the SDS attitudes indicate that the SDS is afraid of losing parallel systems of governance and security which have been “a bone in the RS and its citizens’ throat”. We have expected the support from the RS President Office in fight against organised crime, but, unfortunately, their reaction indicates that the SDS is in panic”.

Špirić added that there were parallel party security systems which were used to extract money and to support the organised crime.

“This could cost the Republic of Srpska most of all, because it doesn’t matter whether we will pay the price for failing to cooperate with the Hague Tribunal or we will perish in the organised crime”, said Špirić on March 11, 2006.

On March 14, the Minister of Internal Affairs, Stanislav Čadjo, said that he was determined to resist all pressures on the work of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, whether they came from certain institutions or outside them. Čadjo urged all members of the MIA to report to him if there was any pressure.

“There will be no compromise with those who violate the law. In the MIA, a great majority of honest, diligent and qualified people work here who must not be silent. It is clear that there is always a place for such people in the MIA”, pointed out Minister Čadjo.

The SDS Vice President and the president of the Commission for monitoring the privatisation of the RS National Assembly, Dušan Stojčić, said that he would propose that the representatives demand from the RS Government to consider the Law on audit of state capital privatisation in companies and banks in draft form, not as a matter of urgency. After the session of the Commission on March 28, Stojčić said that that was the opinion of the majority of members of that parliamentary body, because it was necessary to inform the public about the modalities of implementing the law.

EXCLUSION

The SDS would offer unconditional support to the RS Prime Minister, Milorad Dodik, providing that he excluded the SDA and the Party for BiH from the ruling coalition. "We don't want to be in the government structure", said the SDS president, Dragan Čavić," or, God forbid, to replace the PDP in the government. However, we offer our support, because it is unacceptable that representatives of parties that have pleaded for the abolition of the RS symbols form the government. Until the elections, the SDS won't pull the moves which will shake the government, because the Republic of Srpska needs stability now more than ever", said Čavić on March 5, 2006.

The Prime Minister, Dodik, doubted the sincerity of the SDS President Dragan Čavić's offer. "If the SDS has a formal position, it should be addressed formally not in the press conference", said Dodik, and added that he also had remarks on the SDA attitudes when they talked about the Republic of Srpska. "I have a clear view about that and I also talk about it publicly: in the RS Government there will be those who will work for its welfare and will implement the republic laws."

The RS Government worked perfectly and had the support of public. Parties which formed the RS Government implemented laws and regulations in the interest of the RS stability. "Wherever I notice that someone isn't working in the interest of the RS and is in the Government, he will immediately be removed, whether he is a Serb, a Bosniak, a Croat or a Martian", said Dodik and added that Čavić's statement was given for daily political purposes. That "great offer" could be a scenario for someone who was too naive to accept it. In a couple of days, they would set off series of demands, disputes, imputations and outvoting. "Perhaps it wasn't offered by chance during the parliamentary debate on the Law on crime

prevention in order to endanger the parliament majority to adopt the law", said Dodik.

"While the SDS challenges the laws on the prosecutor's office and on privatisation audit, there is nothing we can talk about with them", said Dodik.

CRIMINAL ACTION

On April 28, the RS Government filed criminal action against the chairman of the Indirect Taxation Agency Governing Board, Joly Dixon, and ITA director, Kemal Čaušević, with BiH Prosecutor's Office because they damaged the Republic of Srpska for more than 50,000 BAM by violating laws, regulations and the ITA Governing Board decision.

The Prime Minister Dodik said the law stipulated that if the damage exceeds 50,000 BAM, the criminal charge is filed, and if the damage is less than this amount, then misdemeanor charge is filed. In this case, it was a few tens of millions of BAM, for which the RS was damaged, but the exact damages would be determined by the court.

The Ambassador of Great Britain to BiH, Matthew Rycroft, said that it was possible that European Court of Human Rights appeal could challenge the results of the elections in October, the announcement of which was expected that day. On May 3, 2006, Rycroft said that, given that BiH was in the Council of Europe, that protocol 12v of the CoE was expiring and that Dayton Peace Agreement was not in accordance with the European Convention on Human Rights, it was possible for someone to appear and to ask an opinion of European highest legal instances.

"We have already knoww that certain electoral procedures applicable in BiH did not meet the standards of human rights. For this reason the Venice Commission supported the reform of BiH

constitution and therefore a part of the amendment addressed just those issues,” Rycroft specified.

On May 13, the SNSD Secretary General, Rajko Vasić, said, “the SDS is a creator of organised crime in the Republic of Srpska and they want to prevent the RS Government from fighting against crime, establishing and putting in operation the RS Special Prosecutor’s Office.”

A member of the SDS Political council, Ognjen Tadić, responded to this statement and said that the SNSD was in serious staff and political crisis when Rajko Vasić, as the Secretary General of that party, burdened the political scene with statements which were appropriate to some earlier times, and which had been deleted from the vocabulary of contemporary politics.

“Vasić has practically been giving guidelines to the RS Special Prosecutor’s Office, in the form of labeling the SDS and its members as people who are responsible for the organised crime in the RS. I am afraid that his statement represents an orientation of a part of the SNSD to conduct a campaign of hatred,” said Tadić.

DISPUTING

On May 18, the RS Prime Minister, Dodik, said that the BiH High Judicial and Prosecutorial Council had strengthened criminal community by disputing the appointment of prosecutors in the RS Special Prosecutor’s Office.

Avoiding a dialogue with the RS Government, the HJPC had just strengthened the criminal community. “I can’t believe that the institutions of the system have such a large number of people who want to stop the fight against organised crime and corruption. Obviously, everything is being observed through the prism of whether the Republic of Sprska can do something alone or not. The concept of the Special Prosecutor’s Office and the Court

has not been disputed here, but we have a struggle for who will appoint who”, Dodik pointed out.

He pointed out that in the information coming from the criminal community someone might have found out earlier that something like that could happen, which was unacceptable. “Law is applicable and in force,” reminded Dodik.

Recently appointed Chief Special Prosecutor of the RS Special Prosecutor’s Office, Milan Tegeltija, resigned on May 18, 2006.

“After the latest BiH HJPC’s decision, because of professional and moral reasons, I can no longer perform the duty of Chief Special Prosecutor to which I was appointed by the Chief Republic Prosecutor’s decision on May 5”, said Tegeltija.

RECONSIDERATION

On June 11, the SBiH invited all parties represented in the RS Government to reconsider the justification of further support to the current cabinet because of the SNSD leaders’ statements in connection with the referendum.

According to the SBiH, statements about the possible inclusion of the right on self-determination and secession in the new BiH constitution were not only a part of pre-election campaign, but also a long-term strategy imposed by Milorad Dodik, with defeatist structure gathered around Sulejman Tihić and Zlatko Lagumdžija.

Moreover, the SDP leader, Zlatko Lagumdžija, said that the SNSD led by Dodik was unacceptable coalition partner for his party, although the story about the referendum was “a secessionist game doomed to failure”.

Dodik said that mentioning referendum on the independence of the Republic of Srpska was the consequence of the desire for

equality in BiH, because the Republic of Srpska had to be a partner not an entity disputed by some structures. The theoretical possibility of referendum referred to the fact that people in the Republic of Srpska did not want to put up with constant bad estimation and qualification by the other entity, what sparked a huge reaction in the region and the international community. "We have clearly stated that we want to build BiH through the partnership, but we will not work with those who persistently present the Republic of Srpska as a genocidal and criminal creation", said Dodik.

On June 20, the Prime Minister Dodik accused the BiH High Judicial and Prosecutor's Council of preventing the fight against organised crime in the Republic of Srpska. "The heaviest blow to the fight against organised crime was given by the HJPC; acting like an outlaw power centre that thinks it is self-sufficient and lives in clouds. They have been mediating and thinking that criminals have been waiting for their decisions." Dodik reminded that the HJPC BiH had had two years at their disposal but had not done anything. Despite the fact that HJPC had disputed the appointment of prosecutors in the RS Special Prosecutor's Office, The RS Government would not give up the fight against organised crime.

NONSENSE

On June 30, 2006, the SDS Vice President, Milo Mičić, joining the criticism of the RS Government and Milorad Dodik, said that the motorway Banja Luka-Laktaši was being constructed because the Prime Minister Dodik lived in one place, and worked in another, and it was 100 million BAM-worth investment.

After the police had raided the construction companies "Gradip" and "Ljubić" in Prnjavor on August 30 and had taken the business records in order to determine if there had been

irregularities in business activities, the SDS responded severely by saying, "the police raid in these companies has been carried out for the purpose of the SNSD political campaign and has been aimed at discrediting the SDS."

On the same day, the SNSD announced that the RS Ministry of Internal Affairs and state bodies operation was a real example of the functioning of the rule of law and its institutions. Prnjavor's public was well aware why SDS identified itself as a target. The SNSD would ask the competent authorities to clear up all affairs in Prnjavor.

"BiH Central Election Commission will have to initiate procedure of banning on participation for candidates or political parties in the upcoming elections if during pre-election campaign, they continue with their demands for referendum in the RS or for abolition of the entity", said a member of the CEC BiH, Lidija Korać, on September 1, 2006.

The OHR spokesperson, Chris Bennett, said that the High Representative in BiH would not use the Bonn powers to remove politicians who were talking about the referendum and the abolition of the entity. There were national institutions that should monitor the election campaign and respond to cases of Electoral Law violation or anti-Dayton activities.

On September 5, the former members of BiH Presidency (1992-1996), Nijaz Duraković and Ivo Komšić, and the former chairman of the so-called RBiH Assembly, Miro Lazović, asked the High Representative to sanction Milorad Dodik and his party because of the statements on the separation of the Republic of Srpska from BiH.

On the same day, Dodik said that the SNSD believed that foreigners should leave the BiH institutions on January 1 next year. Their presence was unacceptable, especially in BiH Court and Prosecutor's Office, which he criticised for not filing charges

against the Army general of the so-called RBiH, Atifa Dudaković. "If no adequate action is carried out, we will review the decision on the transfer of entity's authority to BiH when it comes to the work of BiH Prosecutor's Office."

Dodik said that he highly doubted the correctness of BiH Prosecutor's Office, because he thought that there were enough evidence to initiate legal proceedings.

EQUALITY

On the occasion of the announced signing of Agreement on Special and Parallel Relations between the Republic of Srpska and Serbia, the SBiH leader, Haris Silajdžić, had sent a letter to the High Representative, Christian Schwarz Schilling, asking him to prevent another act on degradation of BiH statehood, which had been planned on September 26, in Banja Luka. Silajdžić stated in the letter that the Dayton Agreement, the protection of which Schwarz Schilling was also responsible for, envisaged the establishment of such relations between BiH, Croatia and FR Yugoslavia, but not Serbia, and asked the High Representative to prevent the signing of that agreement.

In response to the allegations of the OHR communications director, Chris Bennett, Milorad Dodik said in an open letter, "A part of BiH cannot be ethnically cleansed and then ask for the referendum. The Republic of Srpska hasn't been cleansed ethnically and it is a stereotype served from Sarajevo, the city in which even a tenth of the Serbs who had been living there for centuries are not allowed to return."

On September 19, Dodik said that the Republic of Srpska had made great efforts to provide the opportunity for all the Bosniaks, Croats and others to return, and the implementation of the amendments to the RS Constitution enabled the Bosniaks and

the Croats to adequately participate in the authority, which FBiH had not done yet.

UNHCR data indicated what the Republic of Srpska had done, and according to them, until June 30, 2006, 162,230 persons had returned. The RS had been doing everything to make its citizen feel safe and to decide where they wanted to live. "It was our interest to facilitate the return of all inhabitants to their pre-war places of residence, both in the Republic of Srpska and FBiH," said Dodik in the open letter to Bennett.

MACHINATIONS

While staying in Brussels, on September 19, 2006, the High Representative, Christian Schwarz Schilling, said that he would have to remove Dodik unless he calmed down. This statement provoked a sharp response in the Republic of Srpska, with a clear conclusion that it reflected a part of international community's fear of the election results, according to which the SNSD would win.

The SDS Vice President and its candidate for a member of BiH Presidency, Mladen Bosić, accused the RS Ministry of Internal Affairs of using the police for political purposes. According to his words, the police had mistreated citizens during the SNSD campaign in Sokolac on September 20." During and after the meeting, there were many local and special police forces, there were provocations, and eventually fight broke out after which the citizens of Sokolac were apprehended. This made people upset," said Bosić.

The Police station in East Sarajevo announced that four men already known to the police were brought in custody in Sokolac because they had tried to impede the SNSD pre-election meeting by provoking incidents.

Talking about the public opinion research carried out by the agency "Strategic Marketing" from Belgrade, according to which

the SNSD and its candidates had the support of more than 50% voters at all levels, Bosić said that it was a manipulation so that the SNSD would achieve the best possible election results.

The SDA did not speak about abolishing the Republic of Srpska because it had been abolished day in day out, stated Sulejman Tihić, the president of that party on September 21, 2006. He wondered what the abolition was if not that the fact that the Republic of Srpska didn't have an army, intelligence service, customs, taxes and, God willing, the police of Republic of Srpska.

On September 28, Christian Schwarz Schilling threatened Milorad Dodik to replace him if he decided to hold the referendum or to initiate any action in this regard. He told Belgrade media, "If the stories about the referendum are a reaction to threats to the abolition of the Republic of Srpska based on fear that someone wants to abolish that entity, I say that there are no strong forces that could do that."

CHECK

On October 6, the RS Prime Minister Milorad Dodik requested from the District Court of Banja Luka to give him the information about the stage of proceedings concerning criminal charges against John Does on suspicion of having committed felony of abuse of authority in the process of privatisation of state owned capital in "Autorad" in Trebinje, Kristal Bank in Banja Luka and Banjalučka Bank in Banja Luka.

In a letter sent to the Prosecutor's Office, Dodik said that seven months had passed since the filing a criminal complaint. "Given to the fact that they are very important cases in the field of crime committed in the proceedings of privatisation of the state capital, I kindly ask the Prosecutor's Office to inform me whether anything has been undertaken in these cases and at what stage the process is."

While Dodik was checking the Court, the SDP BiH was checking the Social Democrats. On October 9, 2006, the Vice President of SDP BiH, Slobodan Popović, said it needed to be cleared up how many social democrats there were in BiH. There was one social democratic party and others but only using the term in their names. Those who observed the last election campaign saw national socialism. It was an empty story which said that I would defend you from the one who wanted to abolish you; and the other one said I would defend BiH so that the Republic of Sprska could not secede.

BiH is known as an irresponsible society in almost every aspect, but to be so much irresponsible as Slobodan Popović was, was unacceptable. To call someone a national-socialist, especially a political party that had received the support from more than 50% of people in the Republic of Srpska, was not a special kind of irresponsibility, but impudence. It was the mildest word for the SDP and Popović because the SNSD was not at stake, but about more than a half of the RS citizens who went cast their ballots and gave their votes to that political party.

Do we have to remind ourselves of national-socialism and crimes they committed? It is enough to mention the genocide of the Jews, the Serbs and the Romas committed by the same national-socialists. Popović and similar individuals are of minor importance, but democracy implies the responsibility for everything including uttered words.

DECEPTIONS

District Prosecutor's Office in Banja Luka would not conduct an investigation in connection with the privatisation of "Autorad" Trebinje because no felony of abuse of authority had

been committed, and criminal prosecution for misconduct of official duty had become overdue.

The Prosecutor's Office informed the Prime Minister that on October 9, 2006, shortly before the sale of Kristal Bank that the Ministry of Finance should assess the value of Kristal Bank, because all previous attempts to determine if the bank had been sold for undervalued price, through independent audit, had failed. Their assessment would prove the criminal liability in this case, Prosecutor's Office responded to RS Prime Minister Milorad Dodik's letter.

However, the Ministry of Finance claimed that they had not received any request from the Prosecutor's Office to assess the value of Kristal Bank. "There is no such a request", said the spokesperson of the Ministry of Finance, Radmila Mihić.

The Prosecutor's Office complained that, because of the pressure from the Austrian Hypo Alpe Adria Bank, the new owner of Kristal Bank, no one wanted to give an expert opinion of the case. The 'Price Waterhouse Coopers', the audit company engaged in the assessment, in one report stated that the selling price of one euro wasn't unrealistic, whereas, in the other one, they said that they hadn't been sure it had been a realistic price.

These statements of Banja Luka District Prosecutor's Office should not be commented at all, but they should only be read carefully. When we looked at them, we could see the lack of desire to do anything serious about the criminal charges in cases of "Autorad" and Kristal Bank. More specifically, it is obvious that they were looking for ways to do nothing and to maintain the status quo. It showed the state-of-affairs in the society, but mostly in the judiciary.

The Prime Minister performed activities of the Prosecutor's Office, and when his criminal charges were received, then, seven months later, at his insistence, he received an answer that nothing had been done.

INTERFERENCE

Before the end of his mandate, the RS President, Dragan Čavić, pardoned 32 convicts, among who there were killers, tax evaders and forgers.

Judges, prosecutors, the RS Government and even many lawyers did not agree with Čavić's decision. The RS President pardoned some convicts despite the opposition of District Courts and the Ministry of Justice of the RS. The RS Government believed that the decision could significantly hamper the work of the security services.

The RS Deputy Prime Minister, Anton Kasipović, said that the RS Government fully understood the constitutional position based on which Čavić made those decisions. However, they considered it was wrong to completely ignore the opinion of the RS Ministry of Justice, penitentiaries where convicts had been serving their sentences, and as well as of the Commission for pardon.

The President of HJPC, Branko Perić, said that the RS President pardoned the convicts at a time when the public had already been dissatisfied with mild sentences.

STATE-OF-AFFAIRS

On October 7, 2006, commenting on the performance of judiciary, Branko Perić said that public criticism on the work of the judiciary was justified and suggested that prosecutors and judges in BiH couldn't excuse themselves by saying the public hadn't been familiar with the facts.

"Society is obviously full of crime and everybody is expecting prosecutors to resolve that problem. It is your task. You cannot wait for the police report on pilferage of publicly owned forests, while trucks with illegally cut-down wood pass by all of us."

Dissatisfaction of the citizens with judiciary extended to the political level. Such a situation was potentially dangerous because without political support there was no independent judiciary. Perić told the prosecutors to open several investigations on organised crime and to deal with the problem in order to justify their mandate.

“Prosecutor’s new role requires defining new work philosophy and focusing on the biggest and most important issues. They themselves should initiate investigations, and they must not wait for the police initiative, because they have excellent means. Everything is in their hands,” said Perić.

Perić stated he would ask for a meeting with the RS Prime Minister Milorad Dodik due to his recent announcement that he would reduce prosecutors and judges’ salaries “because they work slowly and hand down mild sentences.” “I am very surprised by his statement and a threat to cut the budget of judiciary authorities. This can only cause a chaos in judiciary, and eventually citizens will suffer again.”

The President of Supreme Court RS, Želimir Barić, said that Prime Minister Dodik’s announcement on budget cuts of judicial authorities could be seen as a direct influence on the work of judiciary.

“He doesn’t have legal authority to do that, but if he does it, the judicial system would collapse and it would be in of favour criminal milieu, against which Dodik is fighting,” specified Barić.

On November 12, the High Representative Christian Schwarz Schilling responded to Dodik’s statement and said that if Dodik realised his threat, he would endanger the RS capacity to fight against crime. If he had been serious about fighting crime, as he had promised during the pre-election campaign, Dodik would not have been threatening like this.

“The HJPC has the means and authority to decide on sanctions if there is dissatisfaction with the performance of judges and prosecutors. If we take into account Dodik’s announcement that he will request withdrawal of the RS from HJPC, it seems that his interference in the work of judiciary endangers the rule of law. Dodik thereby exposes himself to criticism that he is willing to use methods of control which were common in Eastern Europe 20 years ago,” said Schwarz Schilling.

Dodik said that he did not threaten anyone, but he just suggested the decrease in judicial salaries by 30% to the RS National Assembly, and that it was up to the RS Parliament to accept or reject it. “I don’t want to influence the judiciary by decreasing the salaries, but I just want them to do their job.”

DEVELOPMENTS

On November 30, 2006, the RS National Assembly elected the new RS Government led by Milorad Dodik.

On December 5, 2006, the RS Government decided to sell 65% of the state capital in Telekom Srpske to Telekom Serbia at the price of 646 million Euros.

EXCUSES

The RS Chief Prosecutor, Amor Bukić, rejected the criticism of prosecutors’ inefficiency, claiming that all Prosecutor’s Offices in the Republic of Srpska had achieved the best results in BiH judiciary.

On December 5, 2006, Bukić said that the situation was much better than it had been before the reform of judiciary. “There has been no crime we haven’t dealt with”, pointing out that they

were slow when it came to economic crime, but the results would be better when the RS Special Prosecutor's Office took over most of those cases.

On December 7, 2006, Delegation of the High Judicial and Prosecutorial Council of BiH visited Basic Court in Banja Luka, after the RS Ministry of Justice had ordered an investigation on the information about the enormous increase in open cases. The President of HJPC, Branko Perić, said that he was informed in the court that "the problem isn't so huge as originally presented."

The court claimed that the problems were not big and that they continue with their usual work.

According to unofficial data, the number of backlog cases in Banja Luka Basic Court, the biggest court in the Republic of Srpska, had gone up from 53,000 cases in February to 75,000 cases in early December 2006.

On December 8, 2006, the Chairman of Transparency International Board of Directors, Boris Divjak, claimed that judiciary, prosecutor's office and especially the police were subordinate to political parties and that they were controlled by few people from the government. This delay in constituting the governments indicated that politicians had been trying to ensure influence on other authorities. As long as they did not succeed in that, BiH would not get the new Council of Ministers or the FBiH Government.

Transparency International estimated that the aim of politicians in BiH was to provide themselves with "wide control over the government and so-called independent institutions in order to continue with irresponsible work," said Divjak.

Banja Luka Basic Court data on the increase in number of backlog cases from 53,000 to 75,000 in ten months indicated the efficiency of that judicial institution. The second fact was that the investigation about this alarming situation was initiated by the RS

Ministry of Justice, not by BiH Court and Judicial and Prosecutorial Council. This confirmed and complemented the overall picture of situation in judiciary in the Republic of Srpska and BiH.

Evidently, the HJPC BiH had been trying to conceal the poor conditions with Branko Perić, Schwarz Schilling, Zilić, Amor Brkić and Transparent international's statements. Instead of demanding the responsibility for judiciary negligence and inefficacy, Divjak and "his pals" had been accusing politicians of controlling the judiciary. Who in this world has a privilege of not being controlled? It seemed it was the judiciary. Everybody has to be responsible for their work or negligence, even prosecutors and judges in the Republic of Srpska and BiH.

The facts were so obvious that no comment was necessary. The High Representative, the president of the HJPC BiH and the Supreme Court BiH and Transparency International covered up negligence instead of advocating the judiciary performance and its efficiency pursuant to law and justice. The conclusion was that the irresponsibility suited them.

There is no efficient fight against organised crime and corruption without the efficient judiciary. Only Prosecutor's Offices can initiate investigations and courts can judge, it cannot be done by any democratic government. The government's task is to create conditions for judiciary's unhindered execution of work, and the RS government did that. Everyone has to justify the money and resources invested, even the RS judiciary.

PRIVATISATION

On December 22, 2006, at a closed session, the National Assembly of the Republic of Srpska approved the privatisation of the RS oil industry through the method of direct selection of a buyer.

PACK

Speaking about constitutional changes in BiH, a representative of the European Parliament, Doris Pack, said that the discussions about them had to go back to the beginning, and that the principle of entity voting in the BiH Parliament should be abolished.

Responding to Pack's statement, on December 26, 2006, Dodik said that he did not want to meet her ever again either formally or informally, and asked her to spare him and the citizens of the Republic of Srpska of her presence.

"You have been and are an example of how an international official shouldn't behave in complex and delicate situations, and because of your behaviour, you have deserved the title of the enemy of the Republic of Srpska and the Serbs," said Dodik in an open letter to Doris Pack.

Dodik pointed out that through her overall engagement in BiH and around BiH, Pack had proven to be one-sided, malicious, lumpish, and that her only goal was to discredit the Republic of Srpska, its institutions, the highest political representatives and Serbs in general.

PART TWO

Year 2007

DECEPTION

New Year's celebration still had not calmed down and the British Ambassador Matthew Rycroft on January 2, 2007 said, "The Republic of Srpska is not a state. It is a part of the state of BiH, and it is essential that entity leaders know that. This the only way that the whole of BiH progresses. This progress did not occur last year, but this year should be used to correct it. In order for that to happen, entities will have to transfer some important competences to the state of BiH so that this country could progress towards membership of the European Union as quickly as possible. "BiH priorities in this year should be accelerated reforms," said Rycroft.

Rycroft had apparently "forgotten" that the elections in BiH took place in October last year and that the people chose their

representatives who would decide on their behalf what priorities would be in that year.

There is no doubt that the way towards membership of the European Union is important but certainly, it is not the only one. The Republic of Srpska citizens have many commitments and, certainly, the most important one is the defense of the constitutional position of the Republic of Srpska and its institutions.

The Republic of Srpska Constitution can be changed only by established constitutional procedure and the Constitution itself, which Rycroft obviously did not read, stating that there are no state institutions but only the common institutions of BiH.

BiH path towards the European Union should not be exploited by conditioning that includes the so-called reforms which mean the elimination of authority of the Republic of Srpska and its institutions. This policy of "falsehood" had not been working with the leadership in the Republic of Srpska, led by Dodik, since 2006. Obviously, it was not been clear to Rycroft and a part of the international community.

Sarajevo (read - Bosniak) media announced on January 5, 2007, a possibility that Schwarz-Schilling would use his Bonn powers and show his teeth to Dodik and to the authorities of the Republic of Srpska, because, among other things, of non-cooperation with the Hague Tribunal. The Minister of Internal Affairs of the Republic of Srpska, Stanislav Čadjo, or the President of the Republic of Srpska, Milan Jelić, would be the scapegoat for that.

CONFESSIONS

The SNSD Secretary General, Rajko Vasić, announced on January 1, 2007 that the leader of the SDP, Zlatko Lagumdžija, during the meeting with Milorad Dodik and Nikola Špirić, asked

for the replacement of Grand Mufti (Reis) Mustafa Cerić and the owner of the newspaper "Dnevni avaz", Fahrudin Radoničić.

The Cabinet of Grand Mufti Cerić responded that they were surprised to hear that there were some politicians in BiH, who at secret meetings, as it used to be, negotiated who could or could not act Grand Mufti (Reis-ul-ulema) of the Islam community in BiH.

The task of the opposition is to criticize the government, but it sometimes happens, as on January 17, that a delegate of the opposition party SRS, Grujić, said, "My support to Milorad Dodik is sincere in all areas where he defends, develops and promotes the Republic of Srpska. My critics will be also public and honest if it happens otherwise, but one thing is undeniable that Dodik has become the undisputed leader in the Republic of Srpska." Grujić was the only delegate of this party in the National Assembly of the Republic of Srpska together with its leader Mihajlica.

ABOLISHMENT

On January 27, 2007, the Constitutional Court put ineffective the coat of arm and the anthem of the Republic of Srpska and the coat of arm and the flag of the FBiH. The decision was made because no entity had fulfilled the earlier decision of the Court or complied with the deadline of six months, which expired in early October, during which these symbols should have been harmonized with the BiH Constitution, so that they represented all three constituent peoples in BiH.

Both the request of the RS Parliament to extend the deadline for changing the coat of arm and the anthem and the request for reconsideration of this decision was rejected by the Constitutional Court.

The RS Prime Minister Milorad Dodik reminded that the RS National Assembly formed a committee to implement the earlier

decisions made by the Constitutional Court, and he believed that the Court should have taken into account the activities related to the elections and to the establishment of the government. Dodik said that it was not correct from the Constitutional Court to have made the decision on the abolition of the national anthem and the coat of arm of the Republic of Srpska on St. Sava's Day.

SALE

On February 2, 2007 a Russian company "Neftegazlnkor", which operates within "Zarubezhneft", became the owner of Oil Refinery in Brod, Oil Refinery in Modriča and Banja Luka "Petrol".

The sale contract for the oil industry was signed by the Prime Minister Milorad Dodik, the President of "Neftegazlnkor" Vladimir Kušnjеров, and the chairman of the Board of Directors, "Vnesh economic bank", Vladimir Dimitrev. This bank was behind all the financial transactions.

Having signed the contract, Dodik said the new owner would invest around 970 million Euros on different bases.

DEFENSE

On February 12, 2007, the Prime Minister Dodik said he "will not accept the verdict of the International Court of Justice, in the case of BiH against Serbia and Montenegro".

This statement in Sarajevo Bosniak circles caused series of accusations, because they, even before the verdict, had decided to their advantage and "opened champagne" long time ago, which Dodik's statement baffled.

Reacting to this statement, the SDA Vice President, Bakir Izetbegović, urged the international community to put an end to

radical and agitating politics of Milorad Dodik, and a member of BiH Presidency and the leader of the Party for BiH, Haris Silajdžić said that Dodik demonstrated a basic ignorance of international law. A “would be” constitutional law expert, Kasim Trnka, apart from prejudicing a positive verdict for the Bosniaks, said that no one asked Dodik what he had to say about the implementation of decisions of the Court, because he did not represent BiH.

First Deputy High Representative, Raffi Gregorian, commenting on Dodik’s statement “between the European Union and the survival of the Republic of Srpska police – he would choose the police”, said that Dodik did not think that and wondered what the RS police meant: one or more local police areas within the state police forces?

“Well, how you would call it is less important than how they are organized and who their commander is. The budget will be at the state level, legislation at the state level, and the state police will be supervised by the BiH Parliament and the Council of Ministers,” claimed Gregorian on February 14, 2007.

On that occasion, Milorad Dodik said he was aware of the importance of police reform, related to the European integration, but he looked at the situation realistically. We would never give up the Republic of Srpska as an integral part of the unified police structure. (January 22, 2007).

“People in the Republic of Srpska consider police reform as a question of to be or not to be. I am not at all interested in gratitude of some of the ambassadors. I do not let anyone to put pressure on me. No authority can change the decisions that we have made. I understand what Europe wants, but mega political projects in which by the abolition of the police of the Republic of Srpska would also raise the question of the existence of the Republic of Srpska, will not be allowed. My task as the Prime Minister is to defend the interests of the Republic of Srpska. “

JUSTICE

The International Court of Justice in The Hague, in the case of BiH against Serbia and Montenegro, concluded on 26 February 2007 that Serbia had not committed genocide, it had not participated in conspiracy to commit genocide or encouraged its execution, and had not been an accomplice in committing this act.

The court concluded that Serbia had violated the obligation to prevent and punish the perpetrators of genocide in Srebrenica in July 1995, mainly because Serbia had not extradited Ratko Mladić to The Hague, and violated the obligation to comply with the temporary measures that the court had ordered in 1993.

Except for the events in July 1995 in and around Srebrenica, the Court did not find that in other cases of widespread crimes in BiH there was a necessary measure for the genocide.

Bosniak Presidency member, Haris Silajdžić, commenting on the verdict, said, "Europe has recognized that it is closer to Great-Serbian fascism than to the democracy of the Bosniaks in BiH". Obviously, based on the indictment of the International Court of Justice in The Hague, the embargo, the behavior of Europe, and the minimization of victims and so on, today there are prejudices against Bosnian Muslims which has caused damage to them," said Silajdžić.

PORSECUTION

The RS Prime Minister, Milorad Dodik, announced on 1 March 2006 that he would undertake legal actions against the former High Representative, Paddy Ashdown, as the Constitutional Court of BiH concluded that his decisions had violated human rights, and that he did not know why everyone remained silent about it.

“It is quite natural that institutions initiate the question of responsibility,” said Dodik. Unfortunately, the institutions of BiH did not want to do that, and since the violation occurred in the Republic of Srpska, we could not help reacting.

The OHR stated that with this announcement, Dodik actually declared a direct challenge to the international law, the UN Security Council, the Dayton Agreement and to the authority of the OHR.

The Peace Implementation Council noted with a concern that domestic factors in Bosnia challenged the actions taken based on the Dayton and the UN Security Council resolutions.

It was evident that the Prime Minister of the Republic of Srpska, Milorad Dodik, worked systematically with clear arguments, respecting legal norms and democratic procedures, what any other leader, or any other political or legal entity, individual or institution in Dayton BiH had never done.

Obviously, Dodik had carefully read the Dayton Agreement and did not wait for its interpretation from the Bosniaks, Croats, the High Representative or some structure of the international community.

Dodik is the first Serb who clearly understood what is written in the Dayton Agreement and acts accordingly, strictly respecting all legal norms and political procedures. His only “weapon” is the Dayton Agreement and the institutions established under it, and all the political procedures and processes resulting from this international agreement. Dodik is not interested in either a rifle or a gun; his “howitzer” is law and legal norms, democratic procedures of the Republic of Srpska, BiH and the international community. Any problem should be discussed and positions should be clearly expressed with arguments and in accordance with the national and international law.

Obviously, 10 years after Dayton BiH, new “winds” started blowing and many of them were from the Sarajevo market place

including the untouchable and in many cases self-proclaimed OHR, the High Representative and a few Embassy representatives, which had caused a terrible headache. They should not have been looked for since they appeared after each addressing of the Prime Minister on the violation of Dayton Agreement and other legal and political procedures. Sometimes in chorus, simultaneously and sometimes individually in sequence, one after the other, in their always the same media.

By a plain “fuss”, with ordinary threats and typical deception without clear arguments, the Prime Minister and the Republic of Srpska were tempted to be intimidated. What was the meaning of the sentence that Dodik had sent a “direct challenge to the international law, Security Council, the Dayton Agreement and the OHR?” It was a typical “blowing smoke”. The right answer with arguments and facts would explain – what articles of the Dayton Peace Agreement, and which decision of the Security Council Dodik had violated. It happened just opposite. The Prime Minister indicated with arguments that Paddy Ashdown had violated the international law and the Dayton Agreement. But Dodik was accused because of that indication. Therefore, if you show someone that he is guilty, he blames you for having caught the guilty in unlawful and illegal activities. It is a typical deception figured out long time ago, in the style “Get the thief.”

If the facts had not been so obvious, it would have seemed almost absurd that such serious things like the implementation of Dayton Agreement and the constitution of a country were led by irresponsible people in such high positions. They have been trying to implement the spirit of Dayton and not the letter of Dayton, and this is a problem.

The spirit of Dayton implies the implementation of the so-called Dayton reforms which usually mean the transfer of competencies from the Republic of Srpska to BiH, allegedly

because of the need to fulfill the necessary conditions required for European integration. Such conditions no other state that joined the European Union had to meet. The ultimate goal is actually to eliminate the Republic of Srpska and to create a unitary and centralised BiH. The war had been waging because BiH was unitary and centralized.

The formula was simple and easily recognized by the leadership of the Republic of Srpska.

DISSATISFACTION

The President of the Union of Agriculture and Food Industry of the Republic of Srpska, Jovo Jovanović, said on March 2, 2007 that the privatisation of companies in agriculture and food industry had not led, as promised, to economic recovery and the improvement of economic and social status of employees. Instead of changing for the better, most of the companies had not been working or run into bankruptcy.

Apart from trade unions, the Bosniak returnees to the municipality of Srebrenica published a proclamation asking from international institutions to provide guarantees that Srebrenica would be separated from the constitutional order of the Republic of Srpska, or otherwise, they would collectively move out to the buildings of BiH institutions, OHR and foreign embassies in BiH.

The Prime Minister Dodik said that the proclamation of Bosniak returnees was completely politicised and that this was to put additional pressure on the Republic of Srpska. "There is no reason for these activities. In the last three months, nothing has happened that would worsen the position of the returnees. If anyone from the Federation urges those poor people to exile, I invite them not to do it. I am aware that it is difficult for them to understand the situation and that they are frustrated by the verdict

of the ICJ, but this is not a solution”, said Dodik and added that the RS Government will do everything in the future to improve the economic situation and living conditions of all other citizens in Srebrenica, including the returnees. Tens of millions of BAM will be invested in this region for the revitalization of the economy,” said Dodik.

The President of SDA, Sulejman Tihić, who was dissatisfied, on March 17, 2007, said that the police of the Republic of Srpska was not acceptable for him. “There are two reasons. If we would accept the further existence of the entity police forces, we would take a step back compared to other reforms in BiH. Defense reform, OSA, SIPA, indirect taxation and others do not recognize entity borders or entity organisation. Moreover, there is a indictment of the International Court of Justice and it cannot be swept under the carpet. The fact is that The Court adjudicated that the authorities of the Republic of Srpska, including the police, were responsible for the Srebrenica genocide and crimes against humanity throughout the country. In that form and under the title of police of the Republic of Srpska cannot remain. There was an attempt to use police reform to get constitutional changes through the back door. And any other insistence on the entity structure of the police means the support to the organisation for which we don’t think is good,” said Tihić.

ANALYSTS

One of the biggest frauds of Dayton BiH and the Republic of Srpska is certainly political analysts who overflowed the media. No one knows how to become a political analyst under these circumstances. What do they really do, what is their job description? Who promotes them? Who and how are they are? What is their professional profile?

The simplest answer that defines a political analyst is just contained in its name. They are experts, top experts, who analyse political processes.

What is definitely known is that they have come and appeared along with the Dayton Agreement and its implementation, and that they are usually financed by foreigners, since they are linked with certain foreign foundations, which are mainly responsible for the promotion of "democracy and human rights." It is known that they criticise the government and sometimes opposition, but never the international community, which is logical, because no one will give money to be criticised.

When we say a "fraud" we refer to the so-called political analysts, not to the professional, constructive, argumentative political or any other analysis done with a clear goal according to professional methodology.

Political, economical and all sorts of analysts are a part of a mosaic of democratic society in BiH and are complementary with non-governmental organisations. There are about 1,300 NGOs in the so-called civilian or non-government sector in which many individuals of suspicious morality and qualification, partnership groups and even whole families are involved and live well on this job. Simply speaking, the projects are designed to criticise everything, without asking for arguments and desire to improve relations and promote social and moral values and all institutions of the system.

Local political analysts and NGOs have their own media which publish their criticism and analyses. They also have journalists and editors who publish their articles without any responsibility using these "formal and informal" groups as a cover.

There are numerous examples of various reviews but we will mention only one written by the same journalist and published

in the same daily newspaper. So, on March 19, 2007, a so-called analyst, recommended Dodik to “urgently devote himself to his Prime Minister function and to find fifteen experts who will be recognizable by the public and to stop going to all meetings on behalf of the party, if he wants to lead successfully and qualitatively the Government of the Republic of Srpska till the end of his mandate...” These were only some of the recommendations given by the analysts who believed that Dodik had imposed himself to the citizens as a man who held all the strings in his hands, and who could resolve everything.

The President of the Union of Republic of Srpska, Ranka Mišić, said that almost every letter she received from the employee said, “I believe only you and the Prime Minister Dodik and, therefore, we ask you to make for us an appointment with him.”

Non-governmental organisation Transparency International pointed out that the Prime Minister consciously or unconsciously created a cult of personality, which was contrary to his promises of building and strengthening the system institutions.

The establishment of institutions to fight corruption and organized crime was pompously announced. If there were results, the public would know about them. It all came down to the fact that the RS Committee for the Revision of Privatisation forwarded their reports to the Special Prosecutor’s Office, and the story ended there.

Thus, a political analyst Tanja Topić said that the Prime Minister of the Republic of Srpska knew well the mentality of the people in this region, who every ten years had a need for a leader who would be idealised.

“Dodik has the attribute of an authoritarian personality, because he wants to rule but no one to criticise him, because it bothers him. It is dangerous for the institutions and democracy that operate on different opinions. Currently single-mindedness rules

- one party is in power, there is no opposition, the civil movement is weak, and media are controlled by the government, some have even voluntarily agreed to it," warned Tanja Topić.

Topić thought that the space for democracy would be narrowed over the next four years, unless there was a break down of homogeneity within the SNSD.

This is a typical example of an analysis of non-governmental organisations led by political analysts and NGOs, out of which Transparency International is a representative example. Namely, how these so-called analysts concluded that Dodik worked a lot, attended all the meetings and gained people's confidence? The President of the RS Union said, "Workers believe him." This meant that the Prime Minister did a good job and gained confidence but he did not, as it was said, go in the wrong direction and tried to build his personality cult.

By working days and nights, Dodik had built a "cult of work, a cult of his results and of the RS Government", what the citizens had recognized. This is positive and should be noted as an example of good practice to everyone else not only to the government, but also to the citizens, to each individual so that they start to work together day and night, and only then to criticise. He who works has the right to criticise and a person who is mucking around does not have the right to do it.

The claim that Dodik had not been building the institutions of the system, especially those for the fight against organised crime and corruption was not true. He promised a review of privatisation and the establishment of the Commission for its review and he did it. He also fulfilled the promise to establishing a RS Special Prosecutor's Office and the creation of conditions for its work. Dodik kept the promises in spite of numerous obstacles: opposition led by the SDS, which tried to prevent him from doing it in every possible way, High Judicial and Prosecutorial Council

of BiH that denied the appointment of the RS Special Prosecutor, and many others including the so-called political analysts and civil society.

The prosecution and the courts, not Milorad Dodik, should perform the fight against corruption and organised crime. Transparency International should know what the three pillars of power are: legislative, executive and judicial. The first two had done their job, and the third one, judicial, was in “deep sleep.” The task of civil society and the so-called analysts is point out to the inefficiency of the prosecution and courts and not to Dodik’s allegedly building a personality cult.

The only critic of inefficient prosecution and courts was Milorad Dodik not strong non-governmental organisations or analysts, who instead of criticising the judiciary, headed by the High Judiciary and Prosecution Council, criticised Dodik because he had criticized the inefficient judiciary. BiH is a country of absurdity. It appears that it is in everyone’s interest for organised crime and corruption to flourish, except for Dodik.

“Analysts” and various “Topićs” should ask if they do not know how to criticise what is wrong, so that it would be good, what is good to become even better, not to criticise something, such as the authority, the RS and Milorad Dodik, just because they are in power. One should criticise the work or negligence rather than an institution at any costs. This does not exclude the right to criticism but with arguments and a reason.

The judicial system should be criticised, but apparently, this was not done because it would endanger the independence of the judiciary, which is incorrect. Reasonable criticism does not threaten the independence of anything including judiciary. The essence is that it was a project of some structures of the international community and the “legendary” Ashdown. It is a pillar of authority that cannot be criticised.

Political analysts as top professionals and experts for political relations analyse political relations in general not only as the so-called analysts of the Republic of Srpska and BiH, who criticise only the Republic of Srpska Government.

There are numerous examples that confirm the behavior of these local political analysts and it is absurd to waste time and space for all their manipulation and deception, and for those non-governmental organisations.

For instance, how these so-called analysts could claim that there were no opposition, when there were, that there were no free media, when they were all in the hands of private owners and in public service of the citizens. Where in the world, except perhaps in Biafra, there were programs such as '60 minutes'. We have not heard that the so-called political analysts, NGOs and other organisations analyse such journalism.

FEDERALIZATION

Milorad Dodik announced that he intended to organise a debate on which the idea of "complex organisation of BiH as a country with federal units" would be promoted. He stressed that it was not disputable that the Sarajevo politicians wanted a unitary BiH, but it could not be disputed either that Republic of Srpska asked for the federalisation or the end of all further discussions. "Bosniak politicians have been trying to blame the Republic of Srpska for everything, but the Republic of Srpska now has two lobbies in Washington and Brussels, which have been successfully changing the image of the RS. We have been patient and persistent in the preservation of the Republic of Srpska and its competences," said Dodik on March 19, 2007.

A day later, the SDA President, Sulejman Tihić, said that there were no such lobbies in the world that could preserve the

Republic of Srpska for long, no matter how much Milorad Dodik paid them.

“BiH needs to be arranged in the form of multi-ethnic regions, not in mono-ethnic, federal entities, as Dodik wants. Federalisation would also imply the ethnic division that would further have impact on the resettlement of people,” said Tihić.

The PDP President, Mladen Ivanić, thought that throughout the country there was great anxiety and that the political situation had never been worse since the Dayton Peace Agreement.

GENOCIDE

On March 24, 2007, The Municipal Assembly of Srebrenica adopted a resolution on the special status of the municipality.

On March 23, 2007, The RS Government strongly warned the officials of the municipality of Srebrenica that, “in case they continue to disrespect the Constitution and laws of the Republic of Srpska, the government will not hesitate to discharge, in accordance with its responsibilities, the local authorities in Srebrenica, thus ensuring the rule of law throughout the Republic of Srpska.”

The Office of the High Representative was concerned about the risk of the possible unilateral adoption of the resolution on demanding independence from the Republic of Srpska. If the Municipal Assembly would do that, the High Representative would have no choice but to undertake “strong measures”.

The Government of the Republic of Srpska expressed concern over statements given by Reis Mustafa Cerić that all ethnic and national groups of former Yugoslavia had achieved the right to have their own country and a national state, and only the Muslims, who were the majority in BiH, had not. Such a statement questioned the constitutional order of BiH, the Government of the Republic of Srpska concluded on March 27, 2007.

“It is clear that by this statement Cerić has clearly indicated that, in his opinion, BiH is the home country of Bosnian Muslims and the national state of the Bosniaks. It is also perfectly clear what role in this scenario the Serbs and the Croats play in BiH: the role of national minorities, which can find their place in the Articles of the Constitution related to minority rights and freedoms,” announced the RS Government.

Cerić did not only retain the thesis of BiH as a Muslim home country, but additionally emphasized his frightening message to other nations in BiH, saying it was unfair to oblige the Bosnian Muslims to reconcile with those who had committed genocide against them.

It is quite clear that Cerić by the perpetrators of genocide he did not mean individuals responsible for crimes, but the institutions, bodies and nations as a whole, overlooking the fact that during the last war in BiH crimes had been committed by individuals, members of all the nations at war. He was even less interested in strict opinion of all the stakeholders that there could not be collective responsibility, but only individual guilt of the perpetrators.

The Director of the Institute for Research of Crimes against Humanity and international law, Professor Smail Cekić, said, “The crime in BiH and on the Balkans was committed at the beginning, in the middle and at the end of the 20th century. Last century began and ended with the genocide and many investigators agree in the assessment that the 20th century, unfortunately, was the century of genocides.”

The story about crime and genocide, obviously, was abused for daily political purposes. Thus, the presidents of the association “Mothers of Srebrenica and Žepa enclaves” and “Women Victims of War”, Munira Subašić and Bakira Hasecic, stated on April 06, 2007 that the first Deputy High Representative Raffi Gregorian, had promised to have common police at the state level.

“We have told him that on the list that out of 814 individuals on the list for whom it has been determined to have been in and around Srebrenica in July 1995, 504 are police officers who have been “protecting” people returning to the Republic of Srpska, and even 25 of them work in SIPA.”

PRIVATISATION

On April 13, 2007, the Prime Minister Milorad Dodik said, after the thematic session of the Government of the Republic of Srpska, which considered the Report of the Commission for the privatisation of state owned capital in enterprises and banks in the period between May 29, 2006 to March 15, 2007, “the Republic of Srpska, in the process of privatisation of state owned capital in enterprises and banks, has been damaged for several billion BAM and the Government will persist in its efforts to expose all irregularities in this process.”

“Privatisation of state owned capital in enterprises and banks has not achieved its objectives and, during the process, there were many misuses. The institutions of the legislative, executive and judicial authorities of the Republic of Srpska failed to effectively combat misuses in the privatisation process and further passiveness in this area would mean the legalisation of illegal acts that were committed in this process, what the Government cannot accept as a standing practice,” noted Dodik.

The RS Government created a legal and institutional framework and other systemic preconditions for the energetic action in reviewing of suspicious privatisation, and would continue to do so in the future.

Dodik emphasised that they were motivated by the fact that organised crime, with elements of the Mafia, could be successfully eliminated in the Republic of Srpska if preceeds were taken from

those who had obtained them in illegal ways. The Government was committed to fully complete the revision of privatisation, and additional motivation was the fact that there were a significant number of workers who were devastated not only socially but also morally in this process.

The RS Government session was attended by the representatives of the judiciary, the Directorate for Privatisation and the Public Attorney's Office of the Republic of Srpska.

"The Government expects the judicial institutions to tighten criminal policy and to substantially change the judicial practice in cases of organised and heavy economic crimes," said Dodik.

SYMBOLS

The Commission for determining the proposals of new symbols of the RS National Assembly adopted the proposal of the emblem of the Republic of Srpska on April 13, 2007, which would be sent to the RS Parliament for discussion and approval.

SREBRENICA

The story of moving out of Srebrenica continued, so that the people living in Srebrenica announced on April 15, they would not, as previously had been announced, collectively move out. However, one bus full of people from Srebrenica would travel to Sarajevo to prepare a camp in which they would stay in the event that there still was a mass abandonment of the city.

Haris Silajdžić, "one of the directors from the shadows", said that he supported the special status of the area from which the victims of genocide in Srebrenica came from. "The adoption of the law on this issue will be initiated at the state level. How the

status of Srebrenica will be regulated and what the law will mean is too early to tell, but it will not only regulate its economic status. Even if we had golden roofs and walls, it is not enough. We want freedom," said Silajdžić.

Sulejman Tihić said that no one had a "magic wand" to solve all the problems within a month, but certain procedures had been undertaken at all levels. They were additionally encouraged the announcement of the OHR involvement in the story.

Dodik, commenting on the above-mentioned events, urged people from Srebrenica not to move out because they had no reason to that. "The initiative for giving a special status to Srebrenica is part of the scenario of politicians in Sarajevo believing that Srebrenica will be separated from the constitutional and legal order of the Republic of Srpska is an illusion," said Dodik.

Additional tensions related to the so-called status of Srebrenica, were caused by the FBiH Parliament's resolution, which proposed the separation of Srebrenica from the Republic of Srpska. In response to the above resolution, the President of RS National Assembly, Igor Radojičić said on April 25, 2007 that it represented another blow of the other entity to the Republic of Srpska territorial integrity, which was contrary to the Dayton Peace Agreement. This was an unauthorized legal document that could not produce any legal action.

It was possible that someone in BiH Parliament initiates the issue of Srebrenica based on this resolution, but it would be unconstitutional. "If we wanted to "heat up the situation," we could pass a declaration in the Parliament seeking the abolition of Sarajevo Canton and its separation from the Federation. However, on constant provocations should not be responded by further, "adding oil to the fire," said Radojičić.

On May 25, 2007, the Prime Minister Milorad Dodik presented economic and social development programme of the municipality

to the authority of Srebrenica. The Government of the Republic of Srpska would allocate 16 million BAM for the programme implementation. Dodik said that Srebrenica would be able eligible to apply for obtaining resources from the Fund for the development of Eastern of the Republic of Srpska, worth 100 million BAM.

ATTACKS

The new RS Government and residential-business facilities built for the needs of entity and state institutions in Banja Luka would cost taxpayers approximately 170 million BAM. Out of which, Belgrade newspaper the “Blic” wrote (edition for the Republic of Srpska), only for office equipment would be paid around 55 million BAM.

However, for this newspaper and all of the Sarajevo daily and weekly newspapers, many things are unknown, even the way and with whom the RS Government contracted the equipping of 50,000 m² for about 55 million BAM, and whether the public tender was announced for that purpose.

Dodik, talking about the administrative center of the RS Government, said that the total area of both buildings is about 55,000 m². Without furniture, the price per square meter was about 2,300 BAM, and with furniture it was 3,400 BAM, VAT included. This means that construction of both buildings cost 115, and equipping about 55 million BAM.

The Prime Minister did not say whether tender for the procurement of office equipment and whether the “old” furniture, currently used by ministers and other employees in the RS Government, would be used, referring to Article 5 of the Law on Public Procurement in BiH. This Article prescribes contracts to which the provisions of the Public Procurement and tendering obligations, need not apply.

According to Belgrade and Sarajevo media, the Public Procurement Agency of BiH said, “for the purchase of equipment and office furniture, the RS Government was obliged to publish call for tender and select best bidder.”

The same media reported some other alleged irregularities in connection with the construction of the RS Government building. Auditors (they did not mention their names) found out that the building taken from “Telekom Srpske” the Government did not enter in books as its property. The same auditors calculated that the Government would pay for residential-business eight-floor facility of 30,074 m² to “Integral Engineering” 2,234 BAM, instead of 1,430 BAM per square meter, as it had been anticipated. The deadline for the cash payment expired and the buyer accepted the repayment period up to 12 years. Thus, the purchase price of the object significantly increased and it was not final, because the calculation of interest varied. Without trying to avoid criticism on the construction of the RS Government building and the existing “media campaign” was perhaps the best estimated by Bishop of Zahumlje and Herzegovina, Grigorije, who said, “Until now, the problem has been when the Serbs destroyed something, now the problem is when the Serbs build.”

The attacks on the Prime Minister Milorad Dodik came in series, from many sides and from different fields, ranging from architectural because of the construction of the RS Government, to the criticism of the President of the High Judicial and Prosecutorial Council of BiH, Branko Perić. Having participated at the Third Conference of Presidents of Courts in BiH (April 28, 2010), he said, “Dodik by his public appearances has been continuously threatening the functioning of the courts and damaging the reputation of judges and courts.”

Who was right, Dodik and Perić? To conclude one should use the conclusion of the Presidents Conference, which stated that there were 1.9 million backlogs.

BOND

Speaking about the appointed ambassador for Srebrenica Clifford Bond, Dodik said that he respected the former US ambassador to Bosnia, and was willing to talk to him about everything, except about political issues.

Dodik said that this was just politicisation of the Bosniak circles, for the purpose of deceiving the international community in order to make the situation more problematic. "We are not naive and we know what it all means and what happened around Srebrenica, Bratunac and Kotorско last month. Regardless of the goals that someone has, I am not touched by the story about the tent settlement. Srebrenica is for the Republic of Srpska a local community in the Republic of Srpska, there is no separation or a special status," said Dodik.

WIPPER

Announcing his arrival to BiH as an appointed High Representative, A Slovak Miroslav Lajcak said he would use "Bonn measures if needed."

Reacting to this statement, Milorad Dodik, on 13 May 2007, said, "if Lajcak plans to come with a wiper, as Paddy Ashdown did, who left behind only problems, I would like to send him a message that such measures are not appropriate for a country in this civilised development. The RS institutions know exactly what they want. There is no reason to take any rigorous measures by the OHR, not only against the Republic of Srpska but also against anyone in BiH."

It happened rarely that someone from the "white world" or from BiH and the region does not criticise the Republic of Srpska for various reasons. Thus, on May 15, 2007 the former US Ambassador

to Croatia Peter Galbraith said that the area which occupied the Republic of Srpska today had not been inhabited exclusively by the Serbs. By genocide, it had become a pure Serbian territory and, therefore, it should never be allowed the right to self-decision.

The use of a word or a concept of genocide is a very difficult accusation, and the right of individuals regardless of his/her name and from which state he or she comes to accuse someone of genocide is unacceptable. It is amazing how the Bosniaks, and individuals from certain structures of the international community, easily accuse the Serbs of committing genocide. However, we had already stated that BiH was the country of absurdity. If any people, except for the Jews in World War II, experienced genocide, then the Serbs surely did. No one has admitted this genocide since figures of 1.7 million victims are not adequately documented. Now it happens that the victims of genocide accuse the Serbs, 50 years later, of being genocidal and none of them mentions that the Serbs were the victims of genocide.

ROADS, POWER PLANTS

The Director of roads RS, Milorad Lazendić, said that the first section of the highway Banjaluka-Gradiška, 5.7 kilometers long, instead of anticipated 43 million, would cost about 94 million BAM. The reason for the increase of price by additional 51 million was unplanned costs. The basic agreement with the contractor had been based on the incomplete project documentation, or better to say, based on estimates. "That's why last year we had to take credit of 21 million BAM, while the remaining 29 million BAM was promised by the RS Government, from the sale of RS Telekom."

The Minister of Transport and Communications, Nedeljko Čubrilović, said he did not know that the RS Government promised the RS Roads 29 million BAM from the sale of the RS Telekom. "I

only know that we have to sign another annex of the contract. I do not even know exactly how much money should be provided for that,” said Čubrilović.

Lazendić claimed to have contracted “excellent price” for the highway compared to, say, Croatia and Slovenia, where a highway kilometer cost 17.5 million or 29 million Euros. “It will cost us about 8.5 million per kilometer. The construction of the first section takes a long time due to complex works and because two tunnels had to be made near the active landslide,” claimed Lazendić.

“The implementation of Agreement between the Czech Electric Power Industry and the RS Electric Power Industry, which includes the reconstruction of the power plant “Gacko 1,” and the construction of a new plant “Gacko 2”, with the total capacity of 660 megawatts, and the opening a new mine pit, has been postponed for the first quarter of the next year. The reason was that the mine and power plant “Gacko” has to meet the requirements for the registration of property,” said the Director of the Organisational Affairs of the RS Electric Power Untility, Nenad Radović.

SILAJDŽIĆ

Milorad Dodik, having returned from Washington on May 25, 2007, where, with the mediation of the US Administration, he talked to Haris Silajdžić about constitutional changes, said that even upon his arrival to the United States he had said that it was almost unnecessary to meet with Silajdžić since it would only show essential differences without the possibility of overcoming them.

“We have made it clear that we cannot accept the abolition of the entity voting, because it would mean a loss of confidence of the Serbs in BiH, and BiH would become ethnically Bosniak state in several years. Entity voting is undisputable in BiH, because this

would mean the violation of balance established by the Dayton Peace Agreement and would lead to majorisation and overruling. All this would lead to destabilisation, because the decomposition of Dayton means the creation of instability, given to the fact that the Dayton Agreement is a successful balance of forces in Bosnia.”

“Haris Silajdžić asked for the change of the name of the Republic of Srpska, which, of course, I refused,” Dodik said, adding that he had democratically elected capacity in the Republic of Srpska. “I have been elected by the citizens to whom I am responsible. While recognising the American administration and the people engaged in BiH issues, it does not mean that I have to be obedient. I have a living mandate here, and those who come as diplomats to BiH have only a political mandate,” said Dodik.

In this world nothing happens by accident, and neither so is the report of the US Agency for strategic analysis, “Stratfor”, describing the situation in BiH, after the failed talks on reforms conducted last week in Washington. The report stated, “The Republic of Srpska Prime Minister, Milorad Dodik, turned the West against him because of disagreements over the reforms in BiH and because of that the West will take any opportunity to remove him from his position even though it could be dangerous for BiH.”

Commenting on the report, the legal advisor to Haris Silajdžić, Damir Arnaut, said that it was about “lobbying organisation which produces paid reports.” A senior SNSD official, Rajko Vasić, said that the SNSD saw this report of “Stratfor” as another pressure on Milorad Dodik and the governing authority of the Republic of Srpska. “We suspect that this is a commissioned report, and it is certainly a form of pressure on the RS Government, which has a great support from the citizens”

Vasić said that the world powers and those who represented the international community in BiH had the power to dismiss

persons, but this fact would not produce consequences. We would remain determined in implementing policy that has basis in the Dayton Agreement. Commenting on the aforementioned report, the Prime Minister Dodik on May 28, 2007, said that he was not familiar with it and he was not interested in commissioned surveys and reports. "Various institutes have the right to write whatever they want to. The Republic of Srpska is a permanent structure, and if this is anti-West attitude, then I am against the West and let them dismiss me. If there is a problem between me and the West, ask the West. I know my opinion. It is the Republic of Srpska as a permanent structure. Those who ignore this cannot expect any other solution here. If this is anti-West, okay, I am against the West," said Dodik.

The High Representative to BiH, Christian Schwarz-Schilling, commenting on the recent developments in the relation between Dodik-Silajdžić-Washington, said it all boiled down to a story. "One does not implement reforms, while the other just talks about Dayton. I do not know when they are going to report to the citizens about these things. They simply delay things, and I cannot get them to work. You need to know that all this delays cause postponing the signing of the Stabilisation and Association Agreement. BiH needs to reform the police and law on Public Service and Higher Education, not big stories and rhetoric of two winners in the last elections," said Schwarz-Schilling.

The Party for BiH reacted sharply on May 29, 2007 to the Prime Minister, Milorad Dodik's, statements published in the American magazine "Newsmax," stating that during his visit to the United States he used the "most heinous misinformation at the expense of his own country."

Dodik played a denunciation card of his own country, spreading misinformation that BH was a Muslim entity which would turn into in the Islamic republic in the case of introducing a

simple majority voting. The terrorists involved in the police of the Bosnian Muslims and that the Bosnian Muslims could turn into a platform for attacks on Europe and the US over the white Al-Qaida.

The Party for BiH believed that Dodik knew very well that for his potentate plans both the strengthening of state structures and democratic state model were equally dangerous.

AFFIRMATION

Political processes are unstoppable and an event that was very important after Washington occurred on May 29, 2007. In Sarajevo, where in the German Embassy the RS Prime Minister Milorad Dodik met with the ambassadors of European Union to BiH.

“We are ready to accept the April package of amendments, but they cannot be further reduced. Otherwise, we are prepared to work on a new constitutional document. Our positions on police reform are clear and we just want to remain a part of the police structure in BiH and to have the police. It is the minimum of the minimum for further reforms”, said Dodik.

Announcing the outcome of the meeting, the German Ambassador, Michael Schmunk, said that the Prime Minister’s message was most important, “We want to be a part of BiH, and we ask you to take into consideration our interests, just as we are considerate for the interests of others.”

CONSTRUCTION

The Government of the Republic of Srpska approved additional 45 million BAM for the completion of the first section

of 5.7 km of highway Banjaluka-Gradiška. Thus, the works would cost about 110 million BAM, instead of planned 43 million BAM. The management of the "RS Roads" would sign the second annex to the agreement with the contractor, which, according to the Procurement Agency of BiH, could be very dangerous, because it is contrary to the Law on Public Procurement.

The "RS Roads" said they did not violate the Law on Public Procurement. They stated they had limited amount of money due to emergency works and the provision of the law which specifies, "the contractual parties can make agreements that they may award jobs on the basis of negotiated procedure without a procurement notice, including the reoccurrence of similar works."

ATTACT

Dangerous playing with genocide continued. Thus Haris Silajdžić, during his visit to the UK on June 07, 2007, said, the "Republic of Srpska was founded on genocide and it committed genocide." The Government of the Republic of Srpska called this claim an ordinary lie and a complete twisting of the Indictment of the International Court of Justice in The Hague. The dispute in The Hague was conducted against Serbia and Montenegro and, therefore, it was pointless to seek a stronghold of collective guilt of the Republic of Srpska and its institutions in the Indictment of the Court. The Indictment determined the responsibility of individuals and groups for crimes committed in BiH, and made it clear that there is no collective guilt or responsibility.

The RS Government said that Silajdžić's statement with which he was calling for the abolition of the Republic of Srpska attempting to impose collective guilt of the Serbian people in BiH, was a destructive act aimed against the Dayton Agreement. Questioning the existence of the Republic of Srpska meant the

questioning of the Dayton Peace Agreement and the survival of BiH. "We are sending a message to Silajdžić and his like-minded people that they should not play with fire."

AWARDS

On June 7, 2007, The RS Government adopted a regulation on sports awards and prizes for special contribution to the development and promotion of sports according to which 12 winners of the Olympic, World and European medals would receive pensions from the government. The Olympic gold medal winners would receive the amount of three average salaries in the Republic of Srpska, silver medal winners two and a half and bronze medal winners two average salaries.

APPEAL

The President of the SDS Mladen Bosić urged the Prime Minister Milorad Dodik to break the coalition with the Party for BiH because it was obvious that its leadership did not stop attacking the Republic of Srpska.

"The SNSD should think about its actions which are now reduced to only verbal condemnation of the SBiH leaders and their statements. The SDS does not support either Dodik's views about the state command over the police in the forthcoming reforms, or the proposal on federal organisation, which has opened the Croatian pretension for the Republic of Srpska," said Bosić.

SPECIAL PROSECUTOR'S OFFICE

The RS Special Prosecutor's Office was established in October 2006 and had 25 open investigations. "We have taken

over 16 cases from the District Attorney Office. We have pressed six charges,” said the Chief Special Prosecutor of the RS, Miodrag Bajić.

“There are 48 suspected of committing economic crime or organized crime in custody. None prosecution in BiH has currently detained that number of suspects, which tells about our work,” said Bajić. “However, the Special Prosecutor’s Office still lacks prosecutors, special investigators and expert assistants. For now, we have successfully met the needs, but if we want to continue at this pace, we need more people. Vacancies are open and we will try to hire the best staff,” said Bajić.

MINE STATEHOOD

In addition to the fight against organised crime and corruption, the Republic of Srpska was daily exposed to attacks that directly or in indirectly with the aim to abolition its jurisdictions. Thus, the SBiH member of the Parliament of BiH, Remzija Kadrić, referring to the so-called unsuccessful “April package”, said, “you do not need any package for a state to have more responsibilities. What everybody has forgotten, in my opinion, in this country is Article 5 of the Constitution. This Article has a name: it is called “additional responsibilities”. This Article is a goldmine of BiH statehood.”

He projected the abolition of the entities, because the article states, “BiH will take over responsibilities for issues agreed upon by the entities or which are necessary to preserve the sovereignty, territorial integrity, political independence and international credibility of BiH”.

“This Article does not tell anything about the possibilities of returning the jurisdiction of the state to the entities. That is why I say that Dayton almost predicted the disappearance of the

entities. If they have been gradually taken over responsibilities and transferred to the state, then there is no meaning in their existence,” said Kadrić.

Remzija Kadrić said what many in the Republic of Srpska had not known all that time but were deceived by cheap pranks i.e. reforms that were coming from a famous triangle comprised of the Bosniaks, the OHR and the High Representative and several, always the same, embassies. A logistical support to the triangle or to the “Black Three” against the Republic of Srpska had always been coming from Brussels and Washington. Therefore, the goal was never reforms which meant functionality and efficiency and a better life for the citizens and European integration but the elimination of the entity i.e. the Republic of Srpska. The Bosniaks were interested in the Article 5 of the Constitution, which they rightly called the “goldmine” of BiH statehood.

We should make a state only according to the measure of one nation, the Bosniaks, and all the rest is irrelevant. What kind of reforms that had been a waste of time, or European integration, it was only a delusion for the naive! Such so-called reforms stopped upon the appearance of Milorad Dodik, at the head of the RS Government and, therefore, they were talking about the stalled reforms. To call it cynicism, arrogance, boldness and to remain within the limits of good manners was hard because this kind of scenario with these players and the audience required much sharper terminology which was not appropriate at that moment.

DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME

On June 28, 2007, the Minister of Finance of the Republic of Srpska, Aleksandar Džombić, at the RS Chamber of Commerce, presented the RS Development Programme, for the period 2007-2010, to the businessmen, which was adopted on 18 June 2007 by the Government.

Džombić said that the programme presented a vision of optimal economic and social development of the Republic of Srpska in the next four years, and it was composed of the investment program of privatisation revenues amounting to 1.26 billion BAM and joint ventures in the negotiation process that until 2015 should have amounted to 8.71 billion BAM. Džombić said that about 47 percent of the total 646 million Euros, gained through the privatisation of “Telekom Srpske”, would be spent for economic and social programs, and the remaining 53 percent of the funds for economic and development programs.

In infrastructure of interest for the Republic 262 million BAM would be invested. For employment and human resources 80 million BAM would be allocated and to reform the pension system 200 million BAM, whereas in health care reform and the improvement of health institutions 50 million BAM would be invested.

Within the economic and development program, in the priority projects for the power system, agriculture and tourism would be invested 190.6 million BAM. For the development of entrepreneurship and SME 167 million, for corporate restructuring and bankruptcy 60 million, for local initiatives 150 million and in the area housing about 100 million BAM would be allocated.

EMBEZZLEMENT

Aleksandar Popović, the Secretary General of the Serb People’s Radical Party, which had recently got out of the SRS, speaking about Milanka Mihajlica on July 6, 2007, said that he was a man who had not submitted a financial report on party operations for years. His monthly spending was almost 20,000 BAM of party funds. He set up services for close relatives and when discussions started about it, he “skillfully” used the assembly microphone to

turn the story to insignificant issues. The president of the RS Serbian party Predrag-Gugo Lazarević believed that after many years of darkness, in the Republic of Srpska the politics which advocated the true interests of the Serbs in BiH had been brought to life. "Milorad Dodik is the most ideal leader for the implementation of that policy. He has a mandate to be a leader," said Lazarević, on June 8, 2007. Foreigners should be sent a message - "if we have to choose between integration and the existence of the Republic of Srpska, we choose the latter, as Dodik clearly said."

PROTECTION

The RS Trade Union Federation sent a request to the RS Government to recommend employers to reduce work to a minimum in the most critical period between 11-17 hours due to extremely high temperatures, which took the form of natural disasters.

OFFERS

The Former High Representative in BiH, Wolfgang Petritsch said on July 27, 2007, that Miroslav Lajcak brought new dynamics in BiH, and that it should be used. In Petritsch's opinion, Lajcak was the best advocator of BiH in Brussels.

Local leaders needed to seize the new dynamics that in BiH, according to Lajcak, was sent from Brussels, because this was the last great opportunity for the country.

New Ambassador to BiH, Douglas McElhaney said on August 10, 2007 "BiH has to be a unique country with central and local government levels. You need to have a unified Bosnian state, which will probably have some kind of middle and local government levels, but at the state level it should be unique."

The middle level of government already exists, i.e. the Republic of Srpska and the Federation BiH, but none of the levels is functioning at their best.” McElhaney regretted that the BiH Parliament failed to adopt the first phase of constitutional reform.

On the same day, Dodik said that BiH could be also organised as a confederation, meaning a union of states which is looser than in federal state organisation. “I think that BiH should be a federation and the Republic of Srpska one of the federal units within it. This is the minimum that can be accepted. If this is not acceptable, we have another offer,” said Dodik.

The SDA Vice President, Adil Osmanović, said that it was clear that BiH needed authority which would take over the responsibility throughout the country, and that it should put an end to those who wanted to awaken the nationalist and separatist ideas and to tear apart the being of BiH. That would affect even stronger political system than BH.

The country should be organised so that it could take the responsibility for what happened there, and it could bother only those who did not want to see it a “shoulder to shoulder” with others in the European Union. Because of the Dayton constitution, we had today an undesirable situation on the ground. Examples are the returnees and we knew what the relationship of the entity governments towards them were. Therefore, this issue, like many others, should be raised to the state level.

The President of the SDS, Mladen Bosić, believed that there was a crisis in the Council of Ministers and proposed how to resolve it. The first way was the reconstruction of the Council of Ministers, in which he personally did not believe. The other way was to form a new parliamentary majority, which would then elect the new Council of Ministers, and the third was that the current parliament majority elect a new Council of Ministers.

The actual scene of the Republic of Srpska and, in general, of the entire BiH, in many ways reflected August 10, 2010. The US Ambassador Douglas McElhaney said, "We must have a unique country," referring to BiH. Milorad Dodik believed that it should be a federation or a confederation, even if it could be neither, and then there was an alternative. Meanwhile, the opposition leader, Mladen Bosić, being in his own world, saw the only problem in the crisis of the Council of Ministers, and suggested several ways to resolve it.

McElhaney's sentence, which said, "we must have", told a lot. Specifically, the Ambassador of a country was issuing orders, instead of saying, for example, "in his opinion, it needs to be done", which would also be too harshly in diplomatic language, because embassies are not involved in giving directives but dealing with completely other issues. Regardless of the fact that it is about the Dayton BiH and the USA, this type of language is unacceptable. Given that his country is a guarantor of the Dayton Peace Agreement, they are entitled, in accordance with it, to ask only its consistent implementation.

McElhaney knew very well that the Dayton BiH was organised as a decentralised country with common institutions and not with state institutions. He also knew that the constituent nations in BiH based on the Dayton, are the Serbs, the Croats and the Bosniaks, not the Bosnians and Herzegovinians, as he used to speak, ignoring the existing constitutional organisation and, presumably, fulfilling the desire of the Bosniaks. The Prime Minister Dodik on the same day responded to the attack of non-compliance with the Dayton Agreement, since the Prime Minister's task was to defend the constitutional order of the Republic of Srpska, while the President of the SDS Bosić saw the problem in the Council of Ministers. It is true that the task of the opposition is to criticise the government but the defense of the Constitution,

the Dayton Agreement and the Republic of Srpska are also their obligations.

McElhaney acted as the “Maharaja,” Dodik, in his way, defended the position of the Republic of Srpska, as opposed to the Ambassador of the most powerful country in the world. However, Bosić, indifferent to it, cared about the Council of Ministers, which his party and the PDP had strengthened by transferring authorities while they were in power 2001-2005. There is a saying: “The village is burning and the grandmother is combing her hair”, which had reflected most adequately not only October 10, but also other days, months and years sine March 1, 2006.

OBJECTIVITY

Milorad Dodik, speaking on the judiciary in BiH, said on August 11, 2007, that it had become selective. In trials, in the Court of BiH, out of 180 verdicts that had been passed since its existence, about 170 were directed against the Serbs. Not a single verdict was passed for the crimes that were committed by the Bosniaks.

Even a year after the submission of criminal charges for war crimes against the commander of the Fifth Corps of BiH Army Atif Dudaković, there had been no charges, which showed that the judiciary ignored such a situation.

There were evidence, videos and witnesses showing that Atif Dudakovic had been in charge of operations in which war crimes were committed. When it was needed to press charges for police officers who had allegedly participated in the crimes in Srebrenica, then it took only a day or two to do it, and Dudaković had been walking freely for a year in BiH.

The President of the SDS, Mladen Bosić, on the same day when Dodik criticised the Court of BiH, said that The RS Government policy toward Srebrenica, in terms of providing

major funding, would not resolve the political situation in the municipality.

When the money was spent in Srebrenica, which had been spent inappropriately, then political issues related to the status of Srebrenica would appear on the agenda and practically nothing would be done Bosić.

That some foreign ambassadors were active political factors who had been trying to make a complex situation even more complicated in BiH, was confirmed by the German Ambassador to BiH, Michael Schmunk, who on August 15 said, "the most important objective of constitutional reform should be the creation of one nation in BiH".

Reacting to this statement, the Prime Minister Dodik told Schmunk "if he does not like BiH and its constitutional order, then he may go."

"The Ambassador's statement represents the culmination of a campaign for the unitarisation of BiH and taking sides of the Bosniak unitaristic policy circles. By doing this, he has interfered in internal affairs of BiH and as a diplomat has made a rude mistake," said Dodik.

INTIMIDATION

The High Representative Miroslav Lajcak on August 22, 2007 warned the Prime Minister Milorad Dodik that his statements that questioned the sovereignty and territorial integrity of BiH harmed the country's ongoing efforts to continue reforms and integrate into Euro-Atlantic institutions. The international community was united in its position and would not tolerate any attempt to threaten the Dayton Agreement and would not be passive to the provocative statements and actions.

Lajcak, in his warning to Dodik, reminded, "BiH is an internationally recognised state, and the Republic of Srpska is one of the two entities in this country. Political representatives in BiH are obliged to support the constitutional order in their public statements and activities."

"By insisting on the existence of the Republic of Srpska, Milorad Dodik gives its full contribution to the preservation of the constitutional order of BiH, established by the Dayton Agreement," the RS Government announced in response to Lajčák's statement Lajcak who referred to Dodik's statements but did not stated what those provoking statements were, so it was difficult to answer to such accusations.

Dodik had no intention to challenge the international community, but required that the international community respected the reality and the BiH Constitution, rather than to constantly insist on reforms which had been harmful to Dayton authorities of the Republic of Srpska and to infringe the Constitution to which he had recalled. Dodik believed that everyone in this country should turn to the original Dayton, which means that the Republic of Srpska should be returned to all the responsibilities that had been transferred to the level of common institutions, which in practice showed no results.

The Russian Ambassador to BiH, Konstantin Shuvalov, said on the same day, "Russia advocates strict implementation of the Dayton agreement and believes that the international community is obliged to fully respect the Dayton Agreement and not to allow the change of state organisation established in Dayton in any other way except in a procedure stated in the Constitution."

Representatives of NGOs from the Republic of Srpska sent a message after the warning of Lajcak to Dodik, that they supported the efforts of the RS Prime Minister to protect the Republic of Srpska interests.

“We are prepared to stand behind the Prime Minister Dodik, through all forms of civil disobedience, from ignoring the imposed decision to the proclamation undesirable people who threaten his position in this region. We have had enough of attacks, dismissal and threats against people from the RS, who honestly do their job. Creating fear and mistrust does not lead to the prosperity of BiH,” was the message of the Veterans Organisation of the RS, the RS Association of Pensioners and the Organisation of Families of captured and Killed Soldiers and Missing Civilians of the Republic of Srpska.

The President of the High Judicial and Prosecutorial Council of BiH, Branko Perić, in an open letter to the Prime Minister Milorad Dodik said that HJPC welcome any argumentative and competent criticism of judicial institutions. However, Dodik continued to express negative and destructing attitude towards HJPC intended to discredit judicial power, to systematically undermine the success of implemented reforms and to directly affect the reputation of the judiciary which it should have in democratic countries.

Dodik’s statement, “the reform of the judiciary completely failed and that the judiciary is the worst segment of the system in the Republic of Srpska, and permanently lost from the standpoint of justice.” According to Perić it this statement demands the reaction of BiH HJCC.

“Judicial independence does not mean the immunity from responsibility, on the contrary. Unlike to what you stated, judges and prosecutors are now responsible for failures in their work. Of course, the judicial reform process does not stop, because there are still many problems inherited from the previous period, which should be addressed,” said Perić on August 25, 2007.

RESPONSE

The Prime Minister Milorad Dodik said August 27, 2007 that a part of the international community acted here, "like the police that watches over someone every day... it is hiding and waiting for someone to do something,"

Dodik explained that Dayton BiH, in which the Republic of Srpska has its place and dignity, was not a problem for him. Dodik outlined, "it is not anti-Dayton to ask to turn to the original Dayton and to abolish the competences of the Republic of Srpska as prescribed in it. We are in the phase of discussion of constitutional reform and it is quite normal to have different opinions and to talk about everything and all possibilities related to the constitutional order.

I do not see why any opinion on constitutional reform could be brought under anti-Dayton behavior. It resembles a period in former Yugoslavia in which a verbal act, wherever uttered, even in the toilet, was severely punished, even with arrestment. I still think that the Republic of Srpska is a permanent and unquestionable category, and how it will look like and where it will be in the future depends entirely on the people in the Republic of Srpska. Perhaps someone does not like it, but that's the way it is," explained Dodik.

Dodik said that he was not afraid of any sanctions. "I support all the authorities of the High Representative regarding the DPA, but I am against his Bonn powers on European issues, which, I think, belong to us in BiH. I am open to all kinds of discussions, but I need to know when the High Representative, regardless of who he is, acts as the High Representative of the international community and when as a European envoy. It will have to be clarified because I do not want anyone to go to negotiations on the Constitution and the police with fear.

I think that the concept of the international community, which at all costs pushed the strengthening of state institutions and led to the multiplication of institutions which have yielded no results, failed. Partnership relations between BiH and entity authorities would be a far better solution than what has been done so far. That's why we are nowhere," said Dodik.

Speaking about the ongoing "insinuations" from Sarajevo, Dodik said that it was total politics. Today Silajdžić was exposed, the next day it would be Tihić, the day after that day Lagumdžija, and constantly Reis Mustafa Cerić. "I remember his statement very well in which he said that only the Bosniaks did not have their own state and that it was time to create it. In other words, the Serbs would have to accept this fact and move away from this area."

It was not an anti-Dayton statement to Raffi Gregorian because, as it had been said, Gregorian tried to make Reis the ayatollah, who would unify both secular and religious authority. It was evident that a part of the international community wanted to consistently make compromises to the Bosniaks with the detriment to the Serbs and the Republic of Srpska", said Dodik. They can bring these compromises, if they want to, in their home countries, not in BiH, at the expense of the Republic of Srpska. Foreigners did not react to the ideology of Reis. Some of them even promoted the situation in which the Reis Cerić is the major politician of Bosniaks in BiH. Politically speaking, all bad claims would come from Reis Cerić. The politicians from Sarajevo, as true obedient sycophants, would stay away from it since it was convenient, Dodik said.

The RS President Milan Jelić would send a request to the Republic of Srpska Government to start proceedings to the RS Constitutional Court to review the constitutionality of all laws that transferred authorities from the entities to BiH, as the conclusion of the agreement reached in Banja Luka on August 29, 2007, at the meeting of the President, the RS Prime Minister of RS and

parliamentarian representatives of Serbian parties in the House of Representatives of the BiH Parliament. As Jelić said, except for the Law on Defense, all other laws which had transferred the entity authorities to the state level were passed by out of constitutional procedures. "Now in BiH we have a large number of bodies that have not been functional and are not in the interest of the citizens of the Republic of Srpska," said Jelić. The Prime Minister, Milorad Dodik, said that BiH impeded the development of the Republic of Srpska, and the main cause for this were imposed laws created by the OHR and adopted by the MPs because they were under great pressure.

"For all the reforms that we consider unacceptable we no longer speak in the category "we cannot", but "we will not," said Dodik and added that attempts to impose the story of Bosnian patriotism were unacceptable. "We will no longer allow that, in the name of that patriotism, the Republic of Srpska is underestimated by the international community and by anyone from Sarajevo. The former Yugoslavia disintegrated and why you think that BiH is permanent ", said Dodik.

DISPUTE

Professor Kasim Trnka said that the return of entity jurisdiction was legally possible but practically, in the current relation of political powers, was completely unrealistic to ask for and expect it. The creators of the idea of returning the responsibility of the entities did not mean it would happen. They declared their attitude with that story, making it clear to other participants of the forthcoming negotiations on the Constitution reform what their positions were.

The President of the SDS Mladen Bosić, accused on 29 August 2007, the Republic of Srpska judiciary of being under

direct influence of threats sent by the RS Prime Minister Dodik every day.

“Competent authorities must not check the operation of the RS Government. The auditor Boško Čeko would have to check our allegations related to illegal work in Srebrenica, where they were building new and reconstructing the old roads. Moreover, there are unpaid roads from the election campaign for which tender was not announced. The construction of the new RS Government building should be especially reviewed,” claimed Bosić.

Bosić remained that the Government, on the wings of electoral victory, which they do not dispute, started the implementation of projects. “I think they are, regardless of the percentage of their authority, will not long interfere with the investigations. I think that everything will soon become known. The absolute power is in the hands of one party, precisely one man. On the Balkans it has always led to something bad.”

After Lajcak had threatened Dodik because of the harsh rhetoric or verbal assault, the ongoing pressure on the Prime Minister Milorad Dodik continued. Branko Perić accused him of undermining the judiciary, the President of the SDS Mladen Bosić of alleged crime in the construction of the RS Government building and the construction and renovation of roads in Srebrenica. On September 1, 2007, The former High Representative Christian Schwarz-Schilling talked about about his plans for replacing Dodik in September 2006.

“I told him that I would have no choice if he continued to work and talk as he had used to. After being warned, during the campaign he no longer mentioned the issue of a referendum on the secession of the Republic of Srpska,” said Schwarz-Schilling in September 2006.

INITIATIVE

On September 1, 2007, Dodik accused the President of the High Judicial and Prosecutorial Council of BiH, Branko Perić of intending to slush inefficiency and corruption of judicial elites in BiH. Dodik remained that he stood behind all of his stated views in connection with the unsustainable bad situation in the BiH judiciary.

“It is absurd that, as the highest judicial control institution in of BiH, the HJPC represented an excluded and isolated segment of society that was not responsible to anyone. You and your colleagues do self-evaluations, nominate, appoint and dismiss. They act as if they were the judge and the jury in their own case,” said the Prime Minister.

Dodik pointed to a significant increase in backlogs even after the reform of the judiciary and among them the most serious crimes and organized economic crime had been neglected. This disappointed the public, especially the “agreement of pleading guilt that is abused at the expense of public and social interest.”

Dodik said he would intercede that the judiciary act according to the Constitution and laws and that the organisation of courts and prosecutors, and the HJPC would be compliant with the existing constitutional arrangements. “I believe you will agree with me that the only thing worse than political control is, when there is no control at all,” responded Dodik to an open letter that Perić had sent to him.

FAN

Milorad Dodik said that he did not feel BiH as his state. “I live in it and respect its laws, and I will continue to do so in the future.

With regard to sports, it is not about judgment or underestimation. It is about personal sympathy, it does not matter if it is a team sport or a national team. If I am supposed to live in a country called BiH, then there is no law that can force me to cheer for someone or to forbid me to support who I want.”

“If I were malicious, I could reply with contra question, why the Bosniaks show so much contempt for my choice of a national team to cheer for,” said Dodik.

Speaking about the third entity, Dodik said that it was “one of the options that we would support. Although we do not mind the internal organisation of BiH to remain as it is,” said Dodik on September 13, 2007.

BUILDING

The Prime Minister of the Republic of Srpska, Milorad Dodik, said that the Government did not intend to hide the information on the construction of 170 million BAM worth administrative center of the RS from the public. The opposition, some NGOs and a part of media, including the “Euroblic”, told this lie. It is maliciously intended to make pomp of the building that will be a recognisable sign of the Republic of Srpska,” said Dodik.

“The price per square meter of the future administrative center of the RS Government will not exceed 3.400 BAM, including VAT. The price includes the construction of administrative center, complete interior design, all furniture, landscaping and building new facilities that were not purchased when the central building was purchased from “Telekom Srpske,” said Dodik. He estimated that the price, taking into account the real estate prices in Banja Luka and in the region, was rational and really good with regard to what kind of business premises were in question.

The President of Transparency International BiH, Boris Divjak, said that the RS Government did not ask for a competitive financial arrangement in accordance with the law i.e. a loan that was taken to finance the construction of residential and business premises next to the future building of the RS Government. The company from which the building had been purchased concluded the loan, and the government took it over together with the purchase of the building. In this case, the government was obliged to announce tender on the financial conditions of the loan, which it did not do.

The President of the Association of old foreign currency savings of BiH and Diaspora, Svetozar Nišić, accused the RS Prime Minister, Milorad Dodik, on September 12, 2007, of buying most of the companies in the Republic of Srpska with the help of Slobodan Stanković, the owner of “Integral Engineering” from Laktaši.” At the meeting of the branch associations in Prijedor Nišić announced that the savers would block all border crossings in BiH in mid-October, and then, if they had to, they would also organise bank blockage. “The SIPA and the RS Directorate for Privatisation have submitted reports to me showing that 12 customers purchased illegally i.e. anonymously companies, among which are the Spa and Hotel San Laktaši,” said Nišić.

Transparency International submitted letters on September 18, 2007 to the RS President, Milan Jelić, the President of the RS Parliament, Igor Radojčić, the Chief Republic Prosecutor Amor Bukić and to the Chief Prosecutor of the Prosecutor’s Office, Marinko Jurčević, in which they warned of possible irregularities in the work of the RS Government, especially in relation to the new building of the Government of the Republic of Srpska.

“After a careful analysis of the documentation submitted to the members of the Parliament, we believe that there are indications

suggesting a very serious violation of the law, by the responsible persons that signed these decisions,” said the letter of TI BiH.

The President of the SDS, Mladen Bosić, on the same day, said that the scandal involving the construction of the new RS Government building is yet to begin to unravel. As for the legal side of the story, Bosić said that it was “deliberate abuse of power aimed at extracting budget money, so that one or more persons acquire unlawful material gain.”

Bosić called the Republic of Srpska Prosecutor’s Office to investigate all allegations contained in the criticism of the opposition and some NGOs, in order to determine whether the Government had acted in accordance with the law during the construction of new buildings.

COINCIDENCE

If we say that serial attacks on the Prime Minister Milorad Dodik continued relentlessly, we will not say anything new, because even a superficial analysis confirms this. It was indicative that attacks of Transparency International, Mladen Bosić and certain media were almost synchronised. The only difference between these three factors was that Bosić called the RS Prosecutor’s Office to review the alleged irregularities in the construction of the RS Government building, and TI BiH, in addition to the Prosecution, called even the BiH Prosecution to review it.

The intonation and vocabulary used by Transparency resembled more a verdict, than a doubt. It is unknown what kind of practice such NGOs perform. TI looked like an intelligence agency or a private detective organisation. This non-governmental organisation, in the manner of Paddy Ashdown, gave itself the right to send letters to the most important institutions of the Republic of Srpska. One should wonder why they were so concerned about

the Republic of Srpska, the resources of taxpayers and citizens of the Republic of Srpska.

If they were so genuinely concerned about the citizens of the Republic of Srpska, then it should have analysed inaction rather than the performance of the BiH judiciary. Such a report had never been produced and it was unlikely there would be one, because, as we had said before, the so-called reform of judiciary was the result of the international community and their projects were not to be criticised.

Obviously, the problem was the legality and legitimacy of such work of Transparency International. Their goal was to make Milorad Dodik a criminal, as he was the personification of the Republic of Srpska and therefore the Republic of Srpska itself. If something is criminalised, then it should not exist, it should be eliminated. They had to make a failure out of success in order to undermine the Republic of Srpska. It would have been realistic of Bosić, Transparency International, and all other “transparencies” and public media to have indicated the building of the RS Government building as a great progress and to welcome the first “masterpiece of architecture” of the Republic of Srpska since its existence.

Reviewing the legality of work is implied. Everyone should be checked, but the competent authorities need to start it and in appropriate time. There was no statute of limitation in this case. It could have been waited until the building was open and then to start a revision. After all, all ministries and all public companies are revised in the standard procedure. However, the goal was to “belittle and spit” on it.

The conclusion was simple. An NGO could not do the work of the investigative police and judicial authorities. Justice, this reformed one, “was sleeping soundly” and the swindlers and deceivers took the matter into their own hands and “riled the water”

in which saw they wanted to see, and these were the alleged crime and corruption. It was a common thing in the period from March 1, 2006, when in a similar scenario, a crime was revealed after which the so-called reforms followed and, as usual, the authorities of Republic of Srpska were transferred to BiH. This time the goal was to give the final blow, which meant a complete liquidation of the Republic of Srpska, because after the reform of the police, only an "empty shell" would remain with which the Bosniaks and a part of the international community could manipulate as they liked.

The difference was also in that, by the construction of the RS government a monumental edifice was built, visible to the eye of an ordinary man. It was not easy to turn such a beauty into an evil crime.

EXPLANATIONS

"Due to the frequent increase of compensation costs by property owners which was in the route of the highway Banja Luka-Gradiška, the construction of this strategic project has been significantly delayed and the continuation of work will have to wait for a court epilogue," said the Prime Minister Milorad Dodik, after the RS Government session at which the information on the highway was discussed, and which was returned to the Ministry of Transport and Communications for revision.

"A problem of legal-property relations still remains. We have been waiting for the judicial procedures with regard to compensation for property that the Government should repay. Previous attempts of the the RS institutions to come to an agreement by increasing amounts for the compensation have failed. Meanwhile, the property owners have increased their amounts due to which we have referred to the judicial resolution of these issues," said Milorad Dodik.

SOLANA

The Republic of Srpska political scene had many large “amplitudes”, sudden falls and downs, when tensions and different issues were involved. From local topics such as the construction of the highway that did not seem to be of interest to anyone outside the RS, to a very important sphere of interest in which was police reform. In this respect, the EU High Representative for Common Foreign and Security Policy, Javier Solana, said that local leaders in Bosnia “cannot see the forest for the trees. They gamble with a European future of BiH by disputing over a technical reform, which has stopped because of some symbols and short-term interests.”

Solana said that the inevitable consequences of such scenarios were neither quarantine nor isolation, but self-isolation in the first place. While the rest of the region was moving towards EU integration, BiH would remain to live miserably. European Union will not change its requirements. Whether BiH would progress and meet those requirements, depended solely on the citizens and political leaders they chose.

Solana’s sentence was interesting, which stated that the European path was missing “due to a technical reform, which has stopped because of some symbols and short-term interests.” Police reform was not a technical reform, so one might question whether Solana was uninformed or deceived the public. In both cases it was indicative, showing what the position of BiH was, and how it was perceived, since the High Representative of the European Union did not know or did not want to know what the reform of the police and its goals were.

EPILOGUE

After the Government of Republic of Srpska had been attached for months for the construction of the new RS government building, the National Assembly of the Republic of Srpska adopted the information on the construction of the administrativnog center.

The Minister of Finance, Aleksandar Džombić, said, "Two objects of a new administrative seat cover an area of 49,134 square meters. The average price per square meter without VAT is 2,061 BAM, with VAT 2,405 BAM and 3,577 BAM with furniture, and if we exploit the possibility of repayment in 12 years, a square meter will cost 4,640 BAM. This means that for the turnkey system of new administrative center facilities will be paid nearly 228 million BAM.

The RS Prime Minister Milorad Dodik said that the whole project was done in accordance with the law and that the money was spent rationally. "In any case, I invite control authorities and all those who doubt legality of decisions relating to the construction of this building to do their job."

FUNCTIONALITY

The Head of the Council of Europe Monitoring Team for BiH, Kimmo Sasi, said that BiH had to meet obligations when joining the Council of Europe. "It must build a functional state. BiH Constitution must be changed in order to give the state more authorities so that it will be able to be fully functional."

"BiH has to become a normal democratic state. It is clear that this happens gradually. If we want to achieve everything at once, nothing will be done. Politicians have to be prepared to compromise. However, the entity voting is unsustainable in the

long run. Instead, decisions must be taken by simple majority, but it is a process,” said Sasi.

JELIĆ

The president of the Republic of Srpska, Milan Jelić, died of a heart attack on September 30, 2007.

ATTACTS

At the first session of the Parliament of the Republic of Srpska that applied the new rules of conduct according to which at every third session the Republic of Srpska Prime Minister would answer the delegates’ questions, members of the SDS accused Dodik of being “a master of hiding privatisation contracts and project data that should be of interest to all citizens of the Republic of Srpska. It was about contracts with Chez and the power plant “Gacko”, “MIRS” and Russian “Zarubezhneft”, then the construction of the RS Government building and the protocol on police reform which Dodik had signed with Haris Silajdžić.

On October 19, 2007, The High Representative Miroslav Lajcak announces, measures with which he wanted to strengthen the functionality of BiH and its institutions within the framework of the Dayton Agreement.

Lajcak made the decision on the amendment to the Law on the Council of Ministers, requested amendments to the Rules of Procedure of both Houses of the BiH Parliamentary Assembly and urged the ruling coalition to establish a system to better coordinate the executive and legislative authorities.

“These measures do not mean the abolition of anyone’s rights or authorities and are fully in line with the BiH Constitution. This is the beginning of a process that will continue in the first set

of future actions based on the Bonn powers. I do not exclude the possibility of taking radical moves,” said Lajcak.

The Prime Minister of the Republic of Srpska, Milorad Dodik, said that the Republic of Srpska would not accept and implement decisions of the High Representative Miroslav Lajcak.

“Lajcak violated the Constitution of BiH with these decisions and therefore we will request the revision of the constitutionality of his decision,” said Dodik.

“I’m sorry that Lajcak has succumbed to the influence of inherited structures in the OHR, which promoted to him impossible solutions. The Constitution states that one-third contains at least one-third of votes of the delegates and representatives from entity territory. He has blithely changed this or is trying to make changes with the decision stating that majority makes one-third of the present delegates. It is unconstitutional and we will raise the issue of constitutionality,” said Dodik and added that this was the moment when the Republic of Srpska had demonstrate that it was prepared to defend the constitutional order of BiH and the position of Republic of Srpska.

The OHR Communications Director, Frane Maroević, said on October 21, 2007 that the decisions of the High Representative Miroslav Lajcak were pursuant to the Constitution and called on politicians from the RS to once again read the decision carefully, because they were, as he pointed out, by mistake or deliberately misinterpreted.

“It was high time politicians turned to their job and work on reforms for the welfare of their citizens instead of reacting hysterically and misinterpreting the decision of the High Representative. “

The British Ambassador to BiH, Matthew Rycroft, said that his country strongly supported the decision of the High Representative. “ It is very important that the state is as functional

as possible and further measures taken by the High Representative will lead to that direction.”

“I do not think it is wise to challenge the international community and to threaten. The High Representative has the power and the legal basis for this decision and nobody has a reason, or even the right to refuse to accept what he has inaugurated,” said Raycroft.

DEFENSE

“If in the coming days the High Representative does not change the decisions that are related to the issue of quorum and voting in the common institutions of BiH, the Main Board of the SNSD will request from their representatives in the BiH institutions to submit an irrevocable resignation,” said Milorad Dodik on October 21, 2010, after the session of the Main Board of the SNSD, convened on the occasion of the imposition of the latest decisions of the High Representative Miroslav Lajcak.

While the situation did not clear up and everything returned to its original state, the MB of the SNSD decided to ask from their representatives at the Parliamentary Assembly not to attend, or vote for any resolution or decision, even if it was about trivial things.

“We are looking for a dialogue and request from Miroslav Lajcak to change his decision in the coming days. Otherwise, I am ready to resign as the President of the SNSD and as the Prime Minister, in protest against such undemocratic behavior of the OHR and the High Representative”, Dodik warned.

“We will sue Lajcak at the Court of Human Rights in Strasbourg, for which we will collect a million signatures in the Republic of Srpska. I hope that the Strasbourg Court will respect the will of the people and accept the lawsuit,” said Dodik.

LAUNDRY

The US Ambassador to BiH Charles English said that the decisions of the High Representative which reduced the entity voting in the Council of Ministers and proposed the reduction of entity voting in the BiH Parliament were not retaliation for the failure to adopt police reform. He would have to pass these decisions even if police reform had been accepted. These decisions were not against the interests of any nation or entity. The aim of these decisions was to ensure the proper functioning of state institutions prescribed by the Dayton Peace Agreement.

English said that any decision about leaving common institutions of BiH would be regarded as an unnecessary provocation. "I would like to emphasize that the conflict with the High Representative is the conflict with USA."

DETERMINATION

The Ambassador of the Russian Federation, Alexander Shuvalov, said that their positions were well-known to the High Representative who had made the decision on amending the Law on the Council of Ministers of BiH and the Rules of Conduct of the Parliament, but they had not taken into account.

The Executive Secretary of the SNSD, Rajko Vasić, announced on October 27, 2007, that unless Lajcak withdrew or changed his decisions, the SNSD would withdraw its representatives from the Council of Ministers and the Collegium of the House of Representatives in the Parliamentary Assembly of BiH. "This means that we will no longer be a part of parliamentary majority."

The President of Serbia, Boris Tadić, called the High Representative to BiH Miroslav Lajcak, on October 27, 2007, to once

again review his latest measures, because there was no agreement for them by “state authorities of the Republic of Srpska”.

“The voice of the Republic of Srpska must be respected and taken into account, since the Dayton Agreement obliges that changes of any principle must be approved by all three constituent nations with consensus. Serbia as a signatory to the Dayton Peace Agreement is committed to this principle and stands for peace and stability in the region. We respect the territorial integrity of each country and in this sense unambiguously of BiH. Its constitutional system is based on the principles of the Dayton Agreement. Decisions cannot be made at the expense of one constituent nation,” said Tadić.

IMPUTATIONS

The President of the Helsinki Committee for Human Rights in Serbia, Sonja Biserko, said that official Belgrade policy was completely denuded, “and it is now clear that they want to compensate the Republic of Srpska for Kosovo.

The past appearances of Vojislav Koštunica and Milorad Dodik have clearly shown that Serbia has territorial aspirations towards BiH. However, it will not be possible because the European Union fully understands what the intentions of Serbia are.

Biserko said that the policy led by Milorad Dodik was dictated directly from Belgrade.

Miroslav Lajcak, in the absence of arguments and pushed by the resolute attitude of the authorities of the Republic of Srpska, Serbia and Russian Federation, said, “the whole purpose of the splutter in the Republic of Srpska raised up after his imposed decisions, was to shut down the office of the High Representative. “From the moment I have imposed the decisions up to now I have not heard any argument against it,” said Lajcak.

“It is counterproductive to challenge the international community and it will not be tolerated,” threatened Lajcak, on October 27, 2007.

DETERMINATION

The audience in the Belgrade “Pioneer” greeted with applause the RS Prime Minister Milorad Dodik, who was watching a basketball game Partizan - Barcelona.

During his stay in Belgrade Dodik talked to the President and the Prime Minister of Serbia, Boris Tadić and Vojislav Koštunica. Koštunica said that he had informed Dodik, “he can count on full support of Serbia. We are going to defend with the same determination both the Resolution 1244 and the Dayton Agreement”.

Leaders of six political parties signed a declaration in Mostar on October 28, 2010 on taking over responsibilities to implement police reform in BiH, aimed at signing the Stabilization and Association Agreement to join the European Union.

The most important provision of the declaration signed was that the leaders agreed on and accepted that “overall reform aims to create functional, multi-ethnic and professional police on the basis of three principles of the European Commission, which will guarantee the safety of all citizens and goods in the whole of BiH.”

“The structure of the BiH police forces must comply with the constitutional structure of the country, a new and reformed police structure of BiH will be based on relevant provisions of the Constitution, which will follow up through the process of constitutional reform. “

The Steering Board of the Peace Implementation Council supported the recent Miroslav Lajcak’s decision on October 31,

2007, and the Chairman of the Council of Ministers Nikola Špirić resigned.

Milorad Živković, the Chairman of the House of Representatives of BiH Parliament, also announced his resignation.

Political drama regarding Lajcak's measures continued, and after the resignation of Nikola Špirić, a representative of the Russian Federation on the Board of Directors of the Peace Implementation Council Botsan - Kharchenko said, "the measures of the High Representative are contrary to the Dayton. Russia does not approve the latest measures of the High Representative Miroslav Lajcak which contribute to the tense situation in BiH".

North Atlantic Council, the highest political body of NATO, supported all decisions imposed by the High Representative Miroslav Lajcak on November 7, 2007. NATO ambassadors expressed strong support for the decisions of the High Representative, which he undertook after he had accepted his responsibility.

WAY OUT

"A minimum to overcome the current crisis in BiH is that Miroslav Lajcak withdraws his decisions or improves them by introducing new provisions, which would prevent from overruling," said Milorad Dodik on November 7, 2007." He added that the essence of all relations in BiH was the latest extension of the BiH Constitution, which had to be based on the Dayton Peace Agreement and an undisputable existence of the Republic of Srpska.

The main political adviser to Miroslav Lajcak, a Hungarian Jozsef Pandur, said that the crisis in BiH was not caused by the OHR. "What happened after the decision of Lajcak, on 19 October was an artificially induced crisis. The reactions were emotional

and not based on facts and are certainly disproportional to the goal and essence of decisions. Some people commented then, not only in BiH, without having read or studied them thoroughly. If they had, they would have understood that they are not directed against anybody, their goal is not the abolition of the Republic of Srpska, as it could be heard among other things, but their aim is to contribute to the functionality and efficiency of state institutions of BiH “, said Pandur.

On November 16, 2007, Transparency International BiH sent a letter to the Minister of Finance of the Republic of Srpska, Aleksandar Džombić, on November 16, 2007, requiring the submission of official documentation related to the privatisation of the oil industry of the RS, the mine and power plant Gacko.

Since the beginning of the RS Government activities on concluding the contract on privatisation of these two enterprises, TI BiH had been warning the RS Government and relevant institutions of inadequate choice of privatisation method and of evident lack of transparency of the process and the unavailability of these contracts.

The time when this letter was sent was noticeable - in a period of great political crisis caused by Miroslav Lajcak's imposed decisions. However, many questions require answers, and what one should ask the members of Transparency International was where these “letters” were when almost all of the Republic of Srpska property had been privatised for a crush price. The problem arose for them when the RS oil industry and power plant and mine Gacko were privatised.

OPENING

The RS Prime Minister Milorad Dodik and BiH Presidency member from the Republic of Srpska, Nebojša Radmanović

opened a new administrative center of the Republic of Srpska on 21 November 2007.

FINISH

Leaders of six political parties in BiH agreed on the action plan for the implementation of the Mostar Declaration in Sarajevo on November 22, 2007, in order to fulfill the requirements for signing the Stabilization and Association Agreement with the European Union.

“Participants at the meeting expressed their desire to urgently solve political problems in order to normalise the functioning of the executive and legislative authorities at the BiH level,” said Haris Silajdžić.

Silajdžić announced a joint collegium of both Houses of the Parliamentary Assembly on November 27, to address the issue of the Rules of Procedure on both Houses, which would open up the process of appointing the Council of Ministers.

The action plan stipulated that the signatories to this plan would take action, within police reform, to establish a body at the state level - Directorate for Coordination of Police, the Institute for forensics, Institutions for education and training of personnel and agencies for police support.

As stated in the plan, appropriate issues of the relations between these and local police authorities would be regulated by a new and common police structure in BiH, based on three principles of the European Commission, which would be based on the provisions of the BiH Constitution, after the constitutional reforms.

The RS Prime Minister, Milorad Dodik, proposed a plan of 17 points for getting out of the current crisis at the meeting in Sarajevo. “It is true that I have laid out this plan and I expect that

we will discuss it in more details at the next meeting which will be held in Banja Luka, on December 15. This time we did not have more time for it, "said Dodik."

"It is time the High Representative's Bonn powers were revoked. I am against imposed solution, when it comes to the Rules of Procedures of the BiH Parliament. I invite you, and I'll kneel down, not to impose solutions, because if you impose a solution in connection with the Parliamentary Assembly, BiH will definitely lose its chance to function," outlined Dodik.

The President of the SDS, Mladen Bosić, said the Government of the Republic of Srpska would have to be much more responsible to the citizens in terms of expressing publicly the intentions and modalities on how to get out of the current crisis in which BiH. "At this point we do not yet see clearly that intent, because the SNSD leader Milorad Dodik has sent different messages at different times," said Bosić on November 29, 2007.

The SRS RS President, Milanko Mihajlica, requested the resignation of the Chairman of the House of Representatives of the BiH Parliament, Milorad Živković and the Deputy Chairman of the House of Peoples of the Parliament of BiH, Mladen Ivanić, because of "their inability to protect the interests of the Republic of Srpska in the BiH Parliament".

END OF THE CRISIS

The House of Representatives and the House of Peoples of the BiH Parliament adopted amendments to the Rules of Procedure on November 30, 2007, after they had agreed on these rules at the collegiums at both Houses.

The Rules of Procedure specifies that the adoption of a law "requires a majority of those present and voting". As the Chairman of the House of Representatives of the Parliamentary Assembly of

BiH, Milorad Živković, confirmed, by agreeing on the changes of the Rules of Procedure the last obstacle was removed for signing the Stabilisation and Association Agreement with the EU.

PREDICTOR

The President of the SDS Mladen Bosić, commenting on the outcome of the upcoming presidential elections in the Republic of Srpska and Serbia, said on November 30, that as he could hear those days, “ Tadić will be the President - for the this one in the Republic of Srpska I am certain but for the one in Serbia will see.”

AGREEMENT

The Stabilisation and Association Agreement between BiH and the Europe European Commission was signed in Sarajevo on 4 December 2007.

The Head of IMF Mission to BiH, Dimitri Demeskas, thought that signing the SAA between BiH and the European Union was very important and he was pleased that it finally had happened. This event was important both politically and economically. From a political point of view, this meant that the recent crisis had ended and it was time to move on. From an economic point of view it meant that BiH could finally work towards the accession to the EU membership.

Dimitri Demeskas said that that year the Republic of Srpska made greater economic progress than the Federation, particularly in the areas of privatisation and tax reform and that next year's budget projection was proposed more realistically.

ELECTIONS

The SNSD candidate Rajko Kuzmanović won the early presidential elections held on 7 December 2007.

FAILURE

Following the results of presidential elections, which the SDS candidates had achieved since Dayton up to now, the most convincing debacle for the SDS candidate Ognjen Tadić occurred in the last election for the President of the RS.

Tadić, in fact, at the last early presidential election won 142,265 votes from the citizens of the RS, which was over 20,000 less votes compared to the elections a year ago when the SDS candidate was Dragan Čavić. To be more precise, in the 2006 election, Čavić was ranked second and won 163,041 votes, while four years earlier at the 2002 election he had 183,121 votes and won.

According to reliable information, at a time when the party leadership had already agreed on the SDS candidate for President of the RS, i.e. Ognjen Tadić, the President of the SDS Mladen Bosić went to Belgrade and offered Aleksa Buha to be a candidate.

TRANSPARENCY

Transparency International having analysed the privatisation contract of the Republic of Srpska oil industry, concluded between the RS Government and Russian partners, identified 44 points of dispute and warned of the possible consequences expecting an explanation from the RS Government.

“This contract could have far-reaching negative consequences for the budget of the RS, citizens, and the development of the country,” announced this non-governmental organisation on December 14.”

Journalists in BiH should address the issues of corruption in the country more seriously. Especially if it is known that the citizens, according to many research, are disappointed in government activities to combat organized crime and corruption," was the conclusion of the Roundtable "Media and Corruption", which was organized by the NGO Transparency International and "Friedrich Ebert Stiftung" on December 14.

Some members of the Trade Union of the Republic of Srpska invited the Director of Transparency International BiH in an anonymous letter, that if he wants to represent people, to establish a political party and if he wants to represent the interests of workers and to join the union.

The conclusion of the Roundtable appeared on the same day as the announcement, warning or whatever you called the analysis of the "Transparency" to the RS Government.

Criminalisation was "perceived" right at the start of the privatisation process of the RS Government, led by Dodik, and the Russian partners. Criminalisation was not "recorded" when it had been done under the President Dragan Čavić and the Prime Ministers Dragan Mikerević and Pero Bukeylović with "Vitol" and many others. Obviously, the problem was that it was done by Milorad Dodik and the Russian partner.

It was evident that the interests of big capital, oil and political lobbies were endangered with that privatisation. Through Transparency and the criminalisation, they attempted to dispute it and if not, at least to postpone or to "disgust" it.

DEMOCRACY

Commenting on the latest parliamentary debate in the RS Parliament, dedicated to the adoption of the Republic of Srpska budget for 2008, a political analyst Tanja Topić said that the level

of political culture and political communication in the Republic of Srpska was at an extremely low level and that the most worrisome issue was that most people look favorably on the bickering in the Parliament.

“Curses and insults are inappropriate way to communicate, because the Parliament is the place which should be exemplary to everyone. Unfortunately, the RS National Assembly is a real reflection of our society, even though I simply cannot understand that most citizens justify outrageous and arrogant behavior. But it tells more about us and shows that we have the Government we deserve,” said Topić on December 19, 2007.

Political life and a democratic system of each country, including the Republic of Srpska, is not anyone’s list of nice wishes, but a realistic state of society. Topić, like most of the “Topics”, does not know or does not want to know it. Presenting a story of a parliament whatever level, of any democratic state as a place of fine manners, selected words, politeness, refinement, is a lie or deception, since such a parliament in any democratic country does not exist. A story like this is mostly consciously imputed referring to the recent experience of one-party National Assembly former Yugoslavia in which supposedly everything was perfect. That idealism was false and deceptive, because everything escalated not only with verbal conflict, but also with a terrible bloody war and bloodshed.

It is far more useful to have parliamentary debates not only with arguments, but also sometimes with harsh words for days and years, instead of waging a war with weapons and tools on the battlefield for a second. Experiences of European and world parliaments show harsher words, verbal conflicts and in many cases, physical violence than it is at the National Assembly of the Republic of Srpska. There are examples of European parliaments such as France, Great Britain, Germany, and not to speak about

Japan, South Korea and other countries. Everywhere there is a very fierce debate in which political opponent is not spared and, sometimes, even brutality, physical clashes and conflicts occur.

Various “Topics” or so-called political analysts do not analyse overall political democratic relations aiming at their improvement, but tendentiously do it in order to underestimate the current government and their own people. It is possible to blame an individual but to blame one nation is impossible, and it is precisely what these analysts do, whether out of ignorance or with bad intention. Germany as a country with a fascist regime was not convicted of genocide for crimes committed during World War II, but individuals. Many pretend not to know this. Here the so-called analysts take for granted that they can condemn everything without any responsibility.

It would be interesting that these “analysts” analyse many foreigners who have paraded from Dayton up to now in the Republic of Srpska and BiH. We had not heard any analysts to criticize the “coarse vocabulary” of Paddy Ashdown and of many others like him. Foreigners had not approved projects for that and probably would not. Numerous NGOs, analysts and media experts were paid to criticise only the RS Government which reported every two years at the elections to the citizens who had elected them. To whom the above-mentioned “factors” are responsible? They are certainly not responsible to the citizens, but only to those for whom they work. This should be clearly stated, because everyone pays somebody for the job which brings benefits but, in this case, also it causes harm to the Republic of Srpska.

PROTEST

“Kristal Bank and Banjaluča Bank, privatised at the time of Mladen Ivanić’s Government, were sold for the price which was

far below their actual value. Therefore, on suspicion of committed an illegal act, the audit report on the value of both banks was submitted to the District Court of Banja Luka on December 20, 2007," said the President of the RS Commission for the revision of privatisation, Borislav Bijelić, presenting a report of two audit firms, "Best Auditor" and "Adeshin," which had been investigating the value of the two banks before their privatisation for months.

The Supreme Office for the Republic of Srpska Public Sector Auditing found out that Kristal Bank was sold for one Euro in 2004 although its value had not been previously estimated, which was a legal obligation of the RS Government. The Auditor General Boško Čeko said, "The RS Government and the Ministry of Finance are responsible for that. The final decision on this sale should be left to the competent authorities or the police and prosecutors."

The president of the PDP, Mladen Ivanić (December 25, 2007) believed that representatives of the PDP and the SNSD had to talk about and examine their mutual relationships.

An economic analyst, Svetlana Cenić and Damir Miljević, claimed that the announced increased price of electricity on January 1, 2008 would be disastrous for the majority of the citizens of the Republic of Srpska and would cause appreciable inflation in the first months of 2008.

The end of the calendar year was an opportunity to analyse the results, and the management of the "RS Roads" on December 28, 2007, rejected negative assessment of their performance for the past year in the report published by the Supreme Office for the Republic of Srpska Public Sector Auditing.

The Director Mladen Lazendić said that the RS auditor report on the business of the "RS Roads" was unacceptable and tendentious.

PART THREE

Year 2008

New Year 2008 began with the NGO Transparency International BiH and their analysis of the concluded contract between the RS Government and CEZ. Obviously, this “group worked on the norm” and did not take a rest for the New Year and Christmas holidays because on January 5 they appeared with the analysis in their media.

In their report, Transparency International BiH considered that the main mistake of the Government when contracting CEZ was changing the organisation form of the mine and power plant “Gacko” from shareholders company, as the most transparent form of organisation, into a limited liability company, as less transparent. Everything was done without prior approval of shareholders of the company and informing the shareholders assembly, which was subsequently followed by shareholders lawsuit against the government.

“The Republic of Srpska Government sued Transparency International BiH for the reports on the sale of oil industry of the Republic of Srpska,” said the Prime Minister Dodik after the meeting with the Russian Ambassador to BiH, Konstantin Shuvalov.

Dodik said that the Ministry of Justice requested from the RS Attorney’s Office to submit a complaint to the competent court against the “Transparency” in the case “refinery” and said that they intended also to sue them for their reports on a joint project with the Czech Power Company, relating to the investment in Mine and Power Plant “Gacko”.

The Government decided to take this step because “Transparency” presented tendentious assessment of the privatisation of the RS oil industry in their report.

“Judiciary will say what the facts are in this case. We have no problem with the facts, but some others have,” said Dodik and added that the oil industry could not have been sold better than it was done in agreements with the Russian “Neftegaznikor”.

The Ambassador Shuvalov promised that the contract related to the privatisation of the oil industry, would be fulfilled and conveyed the readiness of the authorities in Moscow to find new forms of business cooperation. He pointed out that after the privatisation of the oil industry, Russia emerged in the third place according to the level of foreign investments in BiH, adding, “we have only one partner - the Government of the Republic of Srpska.

There, certainly, may be other different opinions about it, but it is not related to the implementation of the privatisation contract of the RS oil industry”, said Shuvalov.

UNFIT PERSONS

Sarajevo media reported on 10 January 2008 that the Cabinet of the RS Prime Minister Milorad Dodik, "made a list of unfit persons that all media propitious to Dodik should avoid in a wide berth." The list included the former RS Minister of Finance, Svetlana Cenić, representative of "Transparency", Boris Divjak, the President of the RS Employers, Damir Miljević, the owner of the "Patriot," Slobodan Vasković, and the associate of the Foundation "Friedrich Ebert" and a political analyst, Tanja Topić.

Tanja Topić said, "There is no official list of unfit persons compiled by the RS Government. However, there is a possibility that certain media have been suggested that a person should be ignored in some way. If this is so, then we have a problem with freedom of speech."

"In the past eighteen months, in the Republic of Srpska, the media have blunted their blade, a part of the media is government-controlled and a part media are self-controlled. There are a few exceptions which have kept a note of professionalism and are serving the public and not the politicians."

The RS Government denied this claim, stating that this was not true. Freedom of speech is guaranteed to every individual and no one could influence that.

Various media manipulation and political attacks on the Government continued. One of them was the draft budget of the common institutions of BiH for 2008. It caused a real stir in the public, since the Chairman of the Council of Ministers, Nikola Špirić, two ministers and one deputy minister, members of the ruling the SNSD, voted for such a solution whereas the SNSD leader Milorad Dodik said that the projected budget for that year was unrealistic and unacceptable.

The President of the SDS Mladen Bosić said he did not understand how it was possible that Špirić was for the budget, and his party against it.

“It is obvious that for some time Špirić has not been on the same wavelength with the rest of Dodik’s SNSD. The situation in which Dodik criticises and rejects the proposed budget, while Špirić stands firmly behind this proposals, shows that the situation in the SNSD is not as rosy as they try to present it,” said Bosić.

The SNSD Executive Secretary, Rajko Vasić, said that the SNSD believed that it was necessary to adopt a realistic budget that would be in line with actual revenues and the proposed draft budget did not take care about it.

Mladen Bosić was honest and admitted that he did not understand the situation.

THREATS

The SDS delegate in the RS National Assembly, Dušan Stojčić, said that the RS Government, by printing the 2008 calendar with the motives only of Banja Luka, indicated that they had a problem to understand that the Republic of Srpska is wider than Banja Luka. This government had a real problem to understand Srpska as an integrated being, not only as an area between Banja Luka, Laktaši and Gradiška. They behaved as if there were not the other parts of Srpska, which they had showed with the investments so far.

A member of BiH Presidency, Željko Komšić, announced a lawsuit against the officials of BiH, the Republic of Srpska and the Federation for signing the Agreement on resolving the issue of military property to the detriment of BiH. Komšić said he would take legal action against Nikola Špirić, Milorad Dodik, Nedžad Branković and the Ministry of Defense BiH.

Milorad Dodik said that it was not true that all military property belongs to BiH, adding that while normal people relaxed and were happy during the holiday Komšić got “crazy”, and, therefore, “likewise is his statement that he will press charges against someone,” said Dodik.

Many people engaged in politics allow themselves everything such as the SRS candidate for the President of Serbia, Tomislav Nikolić, who in addressing the Sarajevo media on January 18, 2008 said that Milorad Dodik was an idiot. “Yes, he is an idiot, and you may feel free to write it,” Nikolić said on the eve of presidential elections adding that he did not know what Dodik’s campaign currently against 1/3 of Serbia meant, and in a few days even against 1/2 of Serbia.

His opponent in presidential elections in Serbia was the current President Boris Tadić, whose candidacy was supported by the Prime Minister Milorad Dodik. Obviously, Tomislav Nikolić could not forgive him that, realising the importance of Dodik and his influence on the voters in Serbia.

Transparency International BiH did not keep quiet and on January 18 responded to the RS Government stating that the announcement of charges against them was just “a shot in the blank”. They did not know why the Public Attorney’s Office intervened in that case, since in accordance to the Defamation Law, a public authority does not have the right to press charges against a defamation action. “The complaint may be submitted by Milorad Dodik, as an individual, so be it! But what does Attorney have to do with it? To provide legal assistance to an individual? It’s more than ridiculous, but the public will give their opinion about all this,” said the “Transparency” spokesman, Srdjan Blagovčanin.

The Government of the Republic of Srpska announced that they intended to press charges against TI adding, “IT critics, focused on the contract, clearly indicates that it is about protecting

someone else's interests and not the interests of people living in the Republic of Srpska. Selling the RS oil industry to the Russian company is the best thing that could be done."

Svetlana Cenić, who was frustrated by her position, had been writing reports for TI, and this showed best that a group came together with the main intent to obtain money for all sorts of international projects, and not to contribute to the truth.

PATIENCE

About 1,380 workers of the Brod Oil Refinery, a year after signing the privatisation contract between the RS Government and the Russian partner, lost patience because "Njeftgazinkor" had not paid salaries for fourth months. Nobody knew when the repair of the facility would begin or when it should finally start production.

The president of the Union refinery Brod, Daniel Bročilo, said that they requested from the new owner to make pay back three wages from the last year and a part of reimbursement no later than February. "If they ignore our demands, instead of welcome they could face with rigorous measures of the workers. We do not exclude the possibility of blocking the refinery gate." Danilo Bročilo, and the same media that were wholeheartedly engaged in refinery, forgot or did not want to say that all workers at the refinery had been paid 20 back wages. Salaries were paid even though they had not been earned because the refinery was closed and it is well known that if you do not work then there is no money. There is a saying "Money earned by someone else should be respected more than one's own", that Bročilo and others had obviously forgotten.

The Prime Minister Milorad Dodik said on January 29 2008 that the project of privatisation and revitalisation of the Oil Refinery

Brod would be successful. "The problem is back wages of workers, but I am convinced that this will be resolved very quickly," Dodik said and remained that 20 back wages were paid.

Due to objective reasons, there was some stagnation in terms of involvement of foreign partners, who faced worse situation at the refinery than they had expected, so they had to change plans. "It's probably the reason that we have what we have," said Dodik.

Dodik stated that it was important that win Boris Tadić, referring to the second round of presidential elections in Serbia. "I am convinced in this victory, because I believe that the citizen in Serbia have recognized that the victory of radicals would be harmful in the long-term because it is familiar that radicals are known as political swindlers."

RIGHT

The RS Prime Minister Milorad Dodik said on January 29, 2008 that the right to self-determination up to secession is an ultimate principle guaranteed by the UN Charter and represents a usual provision in the constitutions of many countries.

The Republic of Srpska wants this right, which applies everywhere in the world and is integrated in many constitutions, to be integrated in the new Constitution of BiH. "We advocate new constitutional arrangements but based of the existing Constitution and the principles of the Dayton Agreement."

The SDS President Mladen Bosić said the party would not accept to participate in non-institutional discussions on the change of the Constitution. Instead of talking behind the closed doors, Bosić believed it would be far better that the SNSD, as the ruling party, invite the parliamentary parties in the Republic of Srpska to the RS Parliament in order to define the position towards future constitutional reforms.

Bosić said that the platform for the federal organisation of BiH, which had been presented by the SNSD was unacceptable for the SDS, since it was contrary to fundamental principles of the Dayton Agreement. Requirements of the SNSD that federal units should have the right to secede, Bosić called throwing dust in the eyes of the public and an attempt to divert attention from essential issues relating to constitutional changes.

On January 30, 2007, Milorad Dodik requested that the Central Bank headquarters relocate from Sarajevo to Banja Luka and said that if there were resistance to this idea in Sarajevo, he would require the relocation of the Council of Ministers or the BiH Parliament to Banja Luka.

“If BiH is a decentralised state, state institutions should be evenly distributed. I can see no reason that Sarajevo, where only a few thousand of the Serbs live, has an exclusive right to the seat of all the institutions of BiH”, said Dodik.

The RS Prime Minister’s initiative was supported by all parties in power, even the Party for BiH, Haris Silajdžić, while the opposed SDS was against claiming that it was a simple “politicking”, throwing dust in the eyes of the public and diverting their attention from the waves of increase of prices that hit the citizens.”

COMPLAINTS

The SRS RS President Milanko Mihajlica said he would sue Milorad Dodik for insults that in recent months had been directed to him and his party. “The Prime Minister treats all political opponents with primitive and insulting vocabulary and it is time to decontaminate the RS political scene of those things.”

Mihajlica said that he had received a letter from the Prime Minister announcing that he had decided to sue the SRS RS and him, as the president, because of his statement that the owner

of “Integral Inžinjeri”, Slobodan Stanković, was one of the financiers of the SNSD, which was a reason for the Mihaljica’s counter-sue.

The SDA President Sulejman Tihić said on February 5, that the High Representative, Miroslav Lajcak, was scared of Milorad Dodik and accepted Dodik’s ultimatums. “The SDA and I are appalled by such a behavior of the High Representative. We have welcome him with all respect, have supported his work, however he has taken one side,” said Tihić.

The Prime Minister Milorad Dodik, after meeting with the Mayor of East Sarajevo, Radomir Kezunović and the mayors of city municipalities, accused the judicial authorities of protecting criminal groups in the Republic of Srpska, and thus endangered the security of citizens. Dodik sharply criticised the work of prosecutors and courts, and he called their verdicts “caricatures”.

“The number of verdicts for the defendants accused of heavy crimes, which have been reached, serve more the purpose of strengthening the mafia, than of preventing its activities,” said Dodik. “Most prosecutors do not want to deal with mafia groups. By avoiding the problem, many questions are transferred to the BiH Prosecution Office, which only excludes cases and solves nothing. So it has resulted in stalemate for which the RS Government has no responsibility,” warned Dodik.

Municipal mayors argued that, in fact, the RS Ministry of Internal Affairs does not provide a stable security situation in the area.

“The Republic of Srpska is against Kosovo unilateral declaration of independence, because we think it will create a new practice in the political and legal world, and that the consequences of such decisions in the future will complicate a similar situation around the world,” said Milorad Dodik. “For many in the Republic of Srpska it will not be a pleasant situation, especially for us

politicians, because we will be faced with new questions raised in the form, how Kosovo can do it but the Republic of Srpska cannot," wondered Dodik on February 15, 2008.

IMPLEMENTATION

The Minister of Transport and Communications RS, Nedeljko Čubrilović, handed over to the Director of Construction Company "Strabag" Rudolf Kraft, a concession to build a highway network of about 430 kilometers through the Republic of Srpska on February 19, 2008.

The RS Government signed with "EFT - mine and power plant Stanari" concession contract for the construction and use of power plants in Stanari in which 1.350 billion BAM would be invested.

"Russia has given a full support to the Dayton Peace Agreement and the agreements based on consensus, which may lead to better solutions to the current issues in BiH," said Dodik after the meeting in Belgrade with the Russian delegation led by first Deputy Prime Minister of Russia, Dmitry Medvedev, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Sergei Lavrov and the President of the Council of Directors of "Gazprom" ,Alexey Miller.

DECISIONS

Croatian President Stjepan Mesić confirmed on March 2, 2008, the aspirations of Zagreb to mine and power plant Gacko. "Croatia will not discuss this great power potential of the RS with the authorities of the Republic of Srpska, as this entity is created on ethnic cleaning, and it has no foundation in the territorial organisation of the former Yugoslavia for as former republics have,"

Mesić said. "Croatia needs to negotiate only with BiH about energy policy," he said.

"With this statement, the President confirms once again that he does not even respect the Dayton Constitution of BiH or the basic facts about the Republic of Srpska energy sector.

By mentioning ethnic cleansing and the RS, Mesić tends to hide the fact that the whole world already knows that the largest ethnic cleansing in the region was committed in Croatia," said Dodik.

The USA Embassy to BiH informed the SNSD that the US Government would not assist the party through their programs funded by the USAID with the National Democratic Institute (NDI) and the International Republican Institute (IRI).

The US Government decided to suspend funding this program because they had estimated that the SNSD was no longer eligible for the USAID assistance to political parties.

Commenting on this decision, the SNSD President Dodik said, on March 3, "If this decision means adding pressure or demanding obedience, it will not work here."

Dodik said that the Republic Srpska would use its right to self-determination if majority of countries, by recognising Kosovo, violated international progress. "If this happens, I can see no reason why they should not recognise the right of the RS to self-determination, as an international principle. "If anyone would try to forcibly reshape BiH and to deny the existence of the Republic of Srpska, our response will be quick and straightforward - the referendum on state status of the Republic of Srpska."

Dodik said that, for the Republic of Srpska, the problem was not that the Assembly of Kosovo voted for independence, but the "unilateral and illegal act," of the European Union member states which recognised it, after which anti-Western moods grew in the Serbian people. "

HOPE

The RS Special Prosecutor's Office overtook the case of privatisation KIRSTAL and Banja Luka banks on March 11, 2008, three months after the Banja Luka District Prosecutor's had given up on this case.

"It's time to put an end to this case, after years of waiting for the Prosecution to deal with it. After the analysis of all available materials, we will see what the truth is, whether selling the banks is a crime or not and stop all the political bickering," said the RS Chief Special Prosecutor, Miodrag Bajić.

Upon this decision of the Special Prosecutor, the President of the PDP, Mladen Ivanić, announced the termination of cooperation with the SNSD if, in the coming days, they did not reach agreement on joint participation in upcoming local elections. "We will require from the SNSD to support our candidates for mayors in ten to twelve municipalities and in return we will support theirs. It is possible that, if we do not agree with the SNSD, we will make a coalition with the SDS at the local levels," said Ivanić.

Milorad Dodik, in response to Ivanić's statement said, "Frankly, we did not expect more. When we entered into a coalition with the PDP, which we did not need, we wanted to concentrate a political structure of the Republic of Srpska. The PDP is an important factor in discussion on the police and constitution reforms, and Ivanić shared with me all the values we defended at difficult meetings with political leaders in BiH. When we were deciding on a coalition, we knew that the PDP would play this game a few months before this or any other elections. "

TREATMENT

Five hundred BAM was transferred to the account of the psychiatric clinic of the Clinical Center Banja Luka on March 26, 2008, to treat the President of the SRS, Milanka Mihajlica. A person named Petar Petrović, residing at 16 Petar Petrović Street, Banja Luka, decided on this unusual act.

The President of the SRS “Dr. Vojislav Šešelj”, Mirko Blagojević, said he was not surprised by this act of the former Mihaljica’s voter who had realised that Mihaljica completely “went crazy”. It could be noticed when Mihajlica, as a member of Šešelj’s party’s highest body, together with Nikola Poplašen and Pantelija Damjanović turned their backs on Šešelj at the most difficult time.

BEGINNING AND END

Preparatory work on the second, the largest section of the highway Banja Luka – Gradiška, from the airport Mahovljani to the village of Čatranja near Gradiška started on March 28, 2008. The deadline for completion of entire work entrusted to the Italian company “Vidoni,” Croatian “Constructor” and domestic “Integral Engineering” was two years.

To build highways and then to talk about police reform, aimed at undermining the Republic of Srpska, was not easy. Dodik, after the beginning of the construction of the highway, while talking about police reform, said, “If the proposed legislation on police reform are not enacted, I will no longer agree to any kind of discussion on the issue! We have completed political debate about this, and regardless of the big story about Europe and a lot of pressure, if on April 3, a debacle occurs in the BiH Parliament, I will refuse any other new talks on police reform.”

Speaking about government operation and the pressures that he was under, Dodik said, “there is no good team without a strong leader. That’s how governments and political parties function all around the world. I am aware that sometimes it seems that nothing can be done without me. Nevertheless, the Government functions quite well even if I am on a business trip. The problem with the ministers is that they do not want to be overly exposed in the media. I personally suffer a great pressure and I must admit that sometimes it is not easy. But, I’m not complaining, those who know me, know that I am by nature a fighter who never gives up.”

The Minister of Economy, Energy and Development of the Republic of Srpska, Rajko Ubiparip, resigned on April 4, 2008 due to health reasons, which the Prime Minister Dodik accepted.

The President of the SRS RS, Milanko Mihajlica, believed that “the crisis of BH institutions” could be overcome by calling early elections that would be implemented parallelly with the local.

Mihajlica assessed the current state as a “political farce” in which “the citizens, under the guise of signing the Stabilisation and Association Agreement, are not told the real truth about the laws in the field of police reform. All the authorities of the Republic of Srpska have been transferred to BiH. And it is done with the law and not with some action plan and Mostar Declaration,” said Mihajlica.

The former US diplomat, Richard Holbrooke, said on April 13, 2008, after the meeting with the RS Prime Minister Milorad Dodik, “the Dayton Peace Agreement does not allow for three things: a third entity, independence of any of the two entities or their abolition. I know that there are people who advocate each of these theses, as they did in Dayton and, if they continue to do it, they will destroy the Peace Agreement and this country will be destroyed,” said Holbrook.

Milorad Dodik said that the RS Government supported the Dayton Agreement, but more than ever, it required a clear position of the Republic of Srpska, which would provide an opportunity to support reform processes in BiH. "By the results achieved in economic and political field, the Republic of Srpska is the best evidence that functioning of the Dayton Peace Agreement is possible," said Dodik.

The Prime Minister Milorad Dodik said in Sarajevo on April 15, after the meeting with the ambassadors of European Union member states, that the Republic of Srpska was stable in political and economic terms and that this was perhaps the reason why most of the diplomatic corps were focused on the issues in Sarajevo, and not in Banja Luka.

"For me, Sarajevo is not the capital but the seat of the common institutions, the capital is something that you love. I understand the desire from Sarajevo to control the whole of BiH, but we do not want it. I invite them to cooperate, but Sarajevo cannot be something beyond, because there are no longer 150,000 Serbs there, as it used to be."

After much calculation and political wrangling, the House of Peoples of the Parliamentary Assembly adopted two police reform laws in BiH on April 16, 2008, which removed the last obstacle for signing of the Stabilisation and Association Agreement.

BLACKMAIL

The President of the High Judicial and Prosecutorial Council of BiH, Branko Perić, said on April 21, 2008 that the politicians obviously wanted to establish an indirect control of judicial authority by their financing the judiciary and determining judges' wages. "By the proposed Law on Salaries in BiH institutions it could happen that tomorrow a judge of the RS Supreme Court has

a lower salary than a judge of the Cantonal Court in Goražde, or that a judge of the Court in Eastern Sarajevo has a lower salary than his colleague in Sarajevo,” said Perić.

The SDS invited the RS Prosecutor’s Office and the Special Prosecutor to initiate ex officio investigation into budget expenditure of the RS President Office.

This party highlighted that it was the obligation of the RS judiciary to react to the negative report to the RS Supreme Audit Office of the Public Sector, which confirmed numerous malversations in the reconstruction of the palace of the President. The SDS urged judiciary not to try to avoid the investigation of crime and corruption at the highest level of government.

The SNSD Executive Secretary, Rajko Vasić, said he hoped that competent authorities and President’s Cabinet would do everything that was needed to resolve this issue. “But the SNSD cannot tell the prosecution what to do, hoping the competent authorities will take all it takes.”

In response to numerous criticisms of the SDS directed to the authorities and the presentation of a new RS government aircraft, Vasić suggested that, “The SDS should sell both the government building and the aircraft when they comes to power.”

MIRROR

The RS Government officially presented its new airplane “Cessna C 525” on April 21, which cost five million US dollars. A modern aircraft that would serve the needs of the Government was presented to the journalists of the Republic of Srpska and FBiH.

On that occasion, the SDS parliamentary group head in the RS National Assembly, Borislav Bojić, said that the purchase of the airplane was a proof that the Government had lost all touch with

the ordinary people's problems. Obviously, the SNSD was pacing towards the 21st century, but ordinary people were back to early 19th century because of their irresponsibility! "I do not understand how it is possible that the RS Government has purchased a plane without consultation with the National Assembly. To my knowledge, even any tender was not announced. The purchase of the aircraft is an evidence of their arrogance, which manifests the current Government in the Republic of Srpska," Bojić said, adding that he had no words to express his indignation.

Bojić said that it was not clear to him, and there he was honest. He did not understand many things and, obviously, he was not familiar with the basic normative acts of the Republic of Srpska and BiH. Therefore, he either did not know the current situation or deceived the public. For any purchase, including the purchase of a small airplane "Cessna", a basic prerequisite is to comply with all procedures prescribed by the law. The Republic of Srpska Government had a large majority in the Parliament, which could provide approval for the purchase of the aircraft if it was required by the law.

Bosić, Bojić, Mihajlica and others like them, obviously had not progressed in their thinking and behavior since 1991 and the beginnings of a multiparty system. It was the time of the monopoly of the SDS, after the first multiparty elections, when the SDS leaders competed in using primitive and destructive vocabulary. Destructive tactics, or rather a chase of the former SDS and the SRS had remained up to then. Each project of the RS Government and activity had been welcomed on the knife-edge and criticised without any dose of responsibility for the welfare of the Republic of Srpska. One should criticise governmental negligence and illegality with arguments. It is impossible to criticise the building of the RS government facility because anyone who saw such an imposing building was amazed but not critical.

The problem of the mentioned trio and their counterparts was much deeper. Obviously, there was a very small room for criticism. Government performed well so wherever they attempted to reprehend, they missed the point or were too late. Metaphorically speaking, "while looking at a pretty girl, who is said to be the most beautiful, it is very difficult to convince someone that she is ugly, regardless of the criticism that she is not beautiful".

Another problem of the mentioned opposition representatives is their mindset. There are creative people, visionaries with a creative approach to life. However, there are others who, whenever they see and feel the harmony, try to undermine it. Current opposition, which had been in power for many years, did not leave any good deeds behind them, but rather desolation, crime, corruption, social and institutional chaos. Obviously, they were irritated by the success which arouse their desire to demolish or seize it for themselves.

A supreme arbiter that determines who will steer the boat are the citizens who decide on the election between vandalism and creativity.

ECONOMY

The RS Prime Minister, Milorad Dodik, invited all bankruptcy managers in the Republic of Srpska to prevent asset stripping of companies in bankruptcy. Because of these bankruptcy managers, who receive huge salaries and are untouchable, the Government decided to enter into the process of proposing the system of commercial courts and amending the Bankruptcy Law.

Bankruptcy proceedings turned into liquidation, in which the biggest losers were the workers. "I'll give instructions, as the Prime Minister, to change the conditions and responsibilities of the bankruptcy managers. They must have a criminal responsibility

since the previous practice was a disaster. Bankruptcy managers behaved as if paying off the creditors was small potatoes only because of them and not of the law.

“Bankruptcy managers are appointed by the court and not by the Government, which has no influence on this. Whenever the Government draws attention to something wrong, we are immediately criticised for politicising the matter,” said Dodik.

RETURN

A normal, sovereign democratic countries base their daily functioning on institutions and the citizens turned to the future, while in BiH the “eyes” are constantly looking back to what was yesterday. To imagine a driver who is driving a car looking back is impossible, because he/she will stop in a short time and the drive will mostly end in the first ditch. A part of the leadership in BiH mainly deals with the analysis of the past looking for their truth instead of building the future.

Thus, the US Ambassador to BiH, Charles English, on May 11, 2008, said that the USA would not tolerate denial of the sovereignty or territorial integrity of BiH. “The future of the Serbs is in BiH,” said English. He addressed the Republic of Srpska authorities that, as the opposition to Radovan Karadžić and Ratko Mladić, they had a responsibility to accept the past.

“Two genocides have occurred in Europe over the past 70 years, one of which was committed in the name of the Republic of Srpska. This is a fact and it will not change,” claimed English.

The President of the SRS “Dr. Vojislav Šešelj” Mirko Blagojević, referring to the Republic of Srpska political scene, said, “The foreigners are unhappy because Dodik is getting out of their hands, which bothers them a lot. At the same time we now have

parties in the Republic of Srpska that complain about Dodik to the foreigners. One of them is Mladen Bosić.”

Speaking of the RS opposition on May 20, 2008, Blagojevic said that any authority would like to have such an opposition. Mihajlica is an outcast of the SRS, and while he and Bosić are there, Dodik will be in power for a long time. Their strength and appearance look like riding a dead horse.”

EXPERTS

Transparency International experts announced on May 23 that, based on estimation and research of this non-governmental organisation, the direct damage was more than half a billion BAM caused by non-transparent privatisation processes, granting concessions and similar public contracting in BiH, and primarily in the Republic of Srpska.

As TI director Boris Divjak reported, based on the findings, legal proceeding against the Government of the RS was initiated, because they had not announced unsolicited proposal of “Strabag” company in connection with the project of building the highway network in the RS. “The Government has not responded to our request to submit documentation on “Strabag” offer, although in accordance with the Law on Free Access to Information they were obliged to do it.”

Divjak recalled a bad example of privatisation of the refinery in Brod, in which absolutely nothing had been happening and all deadlines foreseen in the sales contract were exceeded.

Transparency International believed that the international community knowingly neglected the problems of privatisation in BiH because of the large regional turbulence caused primarily by unilateral declaration of Kosovo as an independent state. “It suited them not to have a ruffle in BiH, and we suspect that they have

reached a compromise with the politicians not interfere with these economic issues while there is a danger of possible disintegrations in BiH,” said Divjak.

The RS Government, commenting on these attitudes of “Transparency,” concluded that it was a tendentious report that emphasised a high risk of corruption creating a poor image of the state and discouraging interested parties to buy companies in BiH.

This report of Transparency International BiH, like the previous ones, was intended to deceive the public in BiH. “Tendentious assessment of NGOs point to the conscious distortion of well-known facts, only one said that the Republic of Srpska had earned more than 1.5 billion BAM from the privatisation of strategic companies and decided to invest this money in development,” reported the RS Government.

SPEACH

To criticise the government is allowed to everyone including the President of the National Democratic Party, Krsto Jandrić, who said that the Prime Minister Dodik and his Government did not meet any of campaign promises. A huge amount of money was spent on non-profit projects such as the government building and the residence of the RS President, and they were going to buy 170 million Euros worth planes.

“Milorad Dodik and the SNSD have never advocated the preservation of the Republic of Srpska institutions, because they have been involved in transferring all of its responsibilities to BiH,” said Jandrić.

If everyone can criticise, so can Krsto!

CONSISTENCY

Speaking before 1,682 assembly delegates at the Serbian National Council in Croatia, on May 31, 2008, Milorad Dodik reminded that in many international media in recent years, “the Serbs have been called out as the bad guys, but we are the ones who suffered a lot in Slovenia, Croatia, and BiH.” Dodik invited the authorities of Croatia to solve the problems of Serbian returnees, especially the problem of returning their property.

Dodik said that he was glad that, on behalf of the Republic of Srpska, he supported that event.

“This is the first time to see so many political representatives of the Serbs in Croatia in one place, and here I would like to say clearly that the Republic of Srpska is a place where the Serbs from Croatia can obtain political support for their rights in accordance with the Constitution and the law,” said Dodik.

Croatian President, Stjepan Mesić, deliberately used every opportunity to belittle the Republic of Srpska and Milorad Dodik, likewise the Bosniak establishment in Sarajevo. Therefore, on May 31, he said, “The Republic of Srpska was founded upon genocidal ideology” accusing Dodik of disrespecting BiH and exclusive promotion of the Republic of Srpska. At the same time, he sent a request to Belgrade demanding to “make it clear to the Serbs in BiH that BiH is their homeland and their capital is Sarajevo.”

Milorad Dodik said that, with this statement President Mesić, confirmed for the umpteenth time what kind of a man and politician he was. By claiming that the Republic of Srpska was founded on alleged ethnic cleansing, he attempted to deceive both the domestic and international public, which knew well that “the state which he represented had been founded on the largest ethnic cleansing since World War II. “Therefore, President Mesić has no right to teach anyone a lesson. Mesić is the President of Croatia

and should not be concerned about the foreign policy of Belgrade towards the Serbs in BiH,” said Dodik.

Probably thinking it was not enough that President Mesić had criticised the Republic of Srpska and the Serbs, the day after, Haris Silajdžić reacted by saying “the road to the abolition of the Republic of Srpska is the exactly the one which this entity has taken, because they do not respect the rights of constituent peoples and non-Serb population.”

“I will not visit Serbia as long as this country does not extradite Ratko Mladić and others indicted for war crimes to the Hague Tribunal.” Silajdžić said that the Constitutional Amendment depended on readiness of the international community to approaches this issue in an organised and focused manner.

The turmoil about Dodik’s speech at the Assembly of the Serbian National Council Assembly during his recent visit to Zagreb, had not calmed down even four days after the event. Dodik claimed he stood behind his every word had uttered in Zagreb, emphasising that everything was said correctly and there was no reason to justify himself to anyone. “I repeat, I do not like BiH, but this does not mean I do not want to cooperate.

The stir indicated how the local media there satanised anyone who touches the “quasi-truth” to which their policies are used to,” said Dodik and added that two years ago he had advocated that the Republic of Srpska and Croatia should sign an agreement on special and parallel ties, according to Dayton, but Croatia had never responded.

The President of the Independent Democratic Serbian Party, Vojislav Stanimirović, said he would gladly cooperate with the RS Prime Minister Milorad Dodik in the future and invite him to visit Croatia. “He is the only interlocutor from the Republic of Srpska with whom we can make plans and try to resolve the issue of return of the Serbs to Croatia.

An International law professor, Matthew Parish, said June 13, 2008, "the OHR is a dead letter on a paper and the West has to leave an illusion that it can maintain influence in the country during its mandate. Therefore, the OHR had to be closed down as soon as possible, because the European Union should devote to BiH in the right way, and the Americans should support this."

Parish said that BiH was not stable enough to have a strong central state power. What the United States had experienced, was that a strong central government is something for which there must be a rational economic and political consensus among different nations in a regionalised country.

OPINION

The President of the SRS "Dr. Vojislav Šešelj" Mirko Blagojevic said on June 13, 2008, "the Republic of Sprska currently has no opposition, since the SDS does not protest against the government or announce anything because of their dishonest actions at the time when they were in power. The PDP was once a respectable party, but because of their fickleness, their positions and support among people are very poor."

"Milanko Mihajlica is "a petty thief who is prepared to steal an egg under the hen. Therefore, it is ridiculous and that he fights crime and corruption in the Republic of Srpska."

A candidate of the SRS "Dr. Vojislav Šešelj", Dubravko Prstojević, who was running for the office mayor of Banja Luka said, "Mihajlica is a plagiarist and a traitor who does not implement any policy or program of the Serbian Radicals! The SDS has used him, and he got carried away to be the leader of the opposition, it is a complete nonsense," adding, "Obviously he doesn't feel bad in the opposition! When I have him joined the radicals he was slim

and thin and now he has gained weight so that his skin is cracking! Mihajlica looks like a koala with those fat cheeks.”

EU INTEGRATION

The Chairman of the Council of Ministers, Nikola Špirić, and EU Commissioner for Enlargement, Olli Rehn, signed Stabilisation and Association Agreement with the European Union in Luxembourg, on 16 June.

DISCIPLINE

The Auditor General of the Republic of Srpska, Boško Čeko said, on June 18, 14 audit reports had been produced, out of which only one was negative. It was the one related to the reconstruction of the RS President residence. “Eleven reports are positive, and for two we have expressed our opinion with a grain of salt. A general conclusion is that there has been strengthening of financial discipline. You can see what is happening now - the budget does not break, which was not earlier the case.”

Budgetary and financial discipline of the Republic of Srpska was impressive and an indicator of a general progress of the Republic of Srpska, which apparently bothered many people, especially the President of Croatia, Stjepan Mesić, who again attacked the Republic of Srpska on June 24. He claimed that the Republic of Srpska should be abolished because it was founded on genocide and ethnic cleansing. It seemed as if the President had followed someone’s order and every twenty days attacked the Republic of Srpska and invited Belgrade to tell the Serbs in BiH that their homeland is BiH and the capital Sarajevo.

The Prime Minister Milorad Dodik said that Mesić’s latest attacks on the Republic of Srpska were more than meaningless

after the former US Ambassador to Croatia, Peter Galbraith, had testified before The Hague Tribunal on the role of the Croatian military forces and political leadership in the ethnic cleansing of Serbian Krajina. Galbraith testified that ethnic cleansing was the essence of state policy in Croatia at that time. Mesić had been trying to conceal his role in the state policy of Croatia and his personal responsibility with these statements. Dodik called his statements disgusting.

The amplitude of events in BiH was moving from finance to heavy political blows to the Republic of Srpska. Thus, on June 24, the FBiH Ministry of Finance announced that the budget of the Federation remained only 434 BAM. This announcement had come true when the federal Minister of Finance, Vjekoslav Bevanda, stated that the Federation would go bankrupt because of unsustainable spending on social benefits.

RACKETEERING

“I was a member of a group who had been taking money from businessmen, telling them that they will be put on a blacklist or removed from it. Two officers from Transparency International and Bogdan Novaković from the Indirect Taxation Authority were involved,” a protected witness said in his statement he gave to the Prosecutor’s Office and the RS police on June 30, 2008.

The protected witness was called Mario in the world of frauds and he said that he had entered this “business” to suggestions from his neighbour and friends because of poor financial status. “I was on good terms with the English members of the EUFOR Battalion, which was located in Ramići, and with some officials of the Hague Tribunal who had been working in our area. A friend of mine asked me to make an appointment with the representatives of the ICTY or EUFOR for some people that he recommended,”

Mario said in his statement to the police and prosecutors, reported by the media in Banjaluka.

He said they were people who had already been on the “blacklists” of the OHR and some potential candidates for the list. “My lawyer connected me, through Čavka from Sokolac, with Ljubinko Leković from Transparency International, who said he could help take me off the black list but that it will cost me,” he said in his statement to the police. This was confirmed to the journalists by Miloš Lazović, called the Duke, from Višegrad, a victim of racketeers who had promised the businessmen from the Republic of Srpska for large sums of money to be removed from the so-called blacklists or to help them not to get on the list if they were potential candidates”.

The Prime Minister, Dodik said on July 1, 2008 that he RS Government would protect witnesses who had pointed to the individuals of Transparency International BiH and other institutions before the Prosecution as persons who used their positions to intimidate people and extort money.

“We will protect all witnesses and people who have been victims of this process. We want the Prosecutor’s Office, which has been keeping these files for month, to finally take the action on this case or we will cancel any further collaboration,” said Dodik.

The Director of Transparency International for Europe and Asia Miklos Marshall sent a letter to the embassies and diplomats, asking for the protection of Transparency International in BiH and the Republic of Srpska.

“We would like to address you on urgent issues appealing for assistance in the protection of professional integrity of our staff in TI branch office, which has been a key actor in fight against corruption, and advocating the rule of law in this region. We believe that the branch of TI BiH and its members have been exposed to serious danger through a series of unexplained media

coverage, presenting the branch office as a criminal element, with the implication of legal sanctions,” said Marshall.

“Personal safety of the staff has been threatened because of the alleged racketeering and organised crime. We believe that the rule of law will prevail and that these accusations will have a chance to stand a trial before the judiciary of the Republic of Srpska,” added Marshall.

“We expected the embassies to express a deep concern to the RS authorities and to emphasise that the international community will not tolerate such an attitude towards the independent association of citizens,” stated Marshall.

We could rightly ask what the real responsibility of Transparency International is and what kind of non-governmental organisation it is, which has the power to take the right to actually order embassies on behalf of the international community. It would be possible that embassies and foreign diplomatic missions respond to the violations of laws but not to it so under the orders of some “Transparency”. How comes that someone was entitled to immunity and protection from investigations or liability before the laws and institutions of their own state. The persons against whom the prosecution and the police started investigation were the citizens of the Republic of Srpska and BiH. They had no political or diplomatic immunity according to the applicable legislation of the Republic of Srpska and BiH.

The real question is who the Transparency International is, what they really do, who is behind it, whose interests they accurately represent and for what purposes. Obviously, when reviewing their reports and issues they addressed, the analysis of vocabulary and intonation, clearly indicate that they act from the position of a world power. This is confirmed not only by various reports of alleged criminal activities of the RS government, but also by this “directive” to the embassies of on behalf of the international community.

Constitutions and laws of each country must be respected and this applies especially to those “Transparency” members, who “lie down and stand up” by declaring that they protect law and legality and fight against crime and corruption. To call someone a thief, one should have to be honest first, nothing else should be explained.

EVIDENCE

Milovan Vrljanović, thw owner of Banjaluka Company “Mitaka” said “in order not to be on the list of supporters of The Hague he gave 20,000 Euros, to the former executive director of Transparency International, Ljubinko Leković named Leko.”

A protected witness in the world of frauds known as Mario, confessed to the police and prosecutors that he had racketeered businessmen in the Republic of Srpska on behalf of the group that consisted of two officers of Transparency International and the Deputy Director of the Indirect Taxation Authority, Bogdan Novaković.

What Transparency International is indicates the fact, according to the media, that it is not known what the function of their first man, Boris Divjak was: he once acted the Director, then the Director of the Board of Directors and, on July 5, 2008, he appeared in the role of the Chairman of the Board of TI BiH.

In this “new or old” role, Divjak explained that everything that had happened was “a pure political persecution.” We are amazed at the direct attack of the executive authority on the operation of Transparency International,” Divjak said, commenting on the allegations of some media in the Republic of Srpska and of the Prime Minister Milorad Dodik that some of the employed in TI BiH had participated in racketeering of dismissed officials and businessmen from the Republic of Srpska.

Divjak said, "The background of everything is what TI BiH did last year, investigating major cases of public contracts that were concluded under extremely suspicious circumstances. We have been warned that we would suffer because of that, we have been offered a large bribe by the executive authority to stop work on it. However, we have preserved our integrity and this is the price we have to pay."

EVIDENCE

Vladimir Latinović, a repentant witness, from the group racketeers, decided to reveal the case "racketeering" of businessmen from the Republic of Srpska to the police. He said that the president of the NGO "Narodni front", Dragomir Babić, offered 50,000 BAM not to tell anyone what he knew.

Latinović said that the group that was extorting money from businessmen in the RS and replaced officials also included Ljubinko Leković from Transparency International, Nikica Gligorić and Bogdan Novaković from the Indirect Taxation Authority.

"In January or February, Slobodan Vasković called me saying that they would protect me, but to not to touch the Transparency. He told me that Leković had informed him I was good with Šotra and that I was under the pressure to "start talking". I told Vasković I did not know what he was talking about, and he said it would be better for me to meet with Dragomir Babić, as he called him. He said, "my Babara is a friend and he is in an excellent relationship with Raffi Gregorian, and you should tell him everything."

Latinović said that Vasković had told him when he thought about it, to call his wife's phone number, not his because he was wiretapped.

"I had already given the statement to the police about racketeering, but I went to the meeting to see what they wanted

from me. I called Vasković and we went to Babić's office in Nova Varoš. Babić asked me if somebody convinced me to attack Transparency International.

He told me that the Prime Minister had screwed him up for some position in the police; allegedly, he was supposed to be a director or the minister of the police. He said that if Transparency fell down, they would swept away because Dodik was the strongest at that time. Babić said he was in a good relationship with Gregorian and was ready to give me 50,000 BM to keep quiet.

Latinović added, twenty days later after he had met with Vasković again, he conveyed a message, "Babić informed Raffi's team about everything and he could arrange a meeting with him. He told me that, in addition to 50,000 BAM, they could arrange my leaving the country and changing my identity. Vasković told me what Babić had said," said Latinović.

Vladimir Latinović highlighted that they were panic stricken in the summer of 1997 because of the possibility that they might have been exposed, when someone put an inscription on the door of Ljubinko Leković from "Transparency" and Nikica Gligorić from the Indirect Taxation Agency "Bribery -Corruption - Extortion - Court - Prison."

On the same evening when they put a message on the door, as Leković said, two guys were waiting for him on the street and took his car keys, shot him in the head with an empty gun saying, "you will have problems."

"Next morning Leković called me and told me to come to his apartment. There were Leković, Nikica Gligorić, Boris Divjak and me. That was the first time I saw Boris Divjak and Gligorić. I realised that Nikica was a key man to Leković for collecting information from the Indirect Taxation Authority," said Latinović.

He said that in conversation they had concluded that those who had been taken money from could have stood behind all

the threats and put the blame on Antonić, the owner of Tobacco Factory, Jović from “Brdo promet” or Vrljanović, the owner of “Mitaka”.

Latinović said he was angry because they had to meet again in the evening, and Leković had already deceived and let him down. “They said they would contact these three persons to check if they had ordered this and we agreed to meet in the evening. However, they disappeared. There was no trace of them, they turned off the phones at 12 o’clock. Gligorić took his wife and children to a secure place,” said Latinović.

“When I visited Leković two months later, sometime in September in Transparency International, he would not let me in. He told me on the stairs that he had a problem, and I asked why he had gone and left me alone. He was arrogant and rude and said that someone had reported to the police racketeering and that we would not talk by phone any more. If we were to meet, he would whistle under my window, because we lived in the neighborhood. He also told me that if someone asked me, not to admit anything and to say that we did not know each other,” said Latinović.

Vladimir Latinović Mario said on July 8, July 2008 that the Chairman of the Board of Directors of Transparency International BiH, Boris Divjak, knew about the racketeering of removed officials and businessmen from the Republic of Srpska, because the year before, he personally had attended a confidential meeting in Banja Luka where they had been talking about it.

JUSTIFICATION

Dragomir Babić and Slobodan Vasković on July 7, 2008, urged “BiH Prosecution to investigate all actors involved in this affair of “Transparency” including the role Ljubinko Leković, the officer of this organisation.”

They claimed that Vladimir Latinović, a protected witness in this case, had told them everything about racketeering but the real goal of the whole affair was not the investigation, but discrediting of "Transparency" for their reports on the privatisation of the oil sector. As they said, Latinović asked 50,000 BAM from them to record the conversation with Velibor Šotra, the head of security of Tobacco Factory Banja Luka and Miloš Čubrilović, the head of security of the Prime Minister Dodik, as an evidence for his story, "after that he intended to leave the country, when he takes the money from both of them." Babić and Vasković offered the Prosecutor's Office to make a statement about the details of his meeting with Latinović, accusing the RS Ministry of Internal Affairs to have opened the out of the system institutions financed from private funds.

Latinović and Šotra denied all Babić and Vasković's accusations. Šotra said briefly that all that was a "nonsense" and "because of the lies presented, he will file a criminal complaint against Babić".

GREGORIAN'S APPEAL

The executive director and sometimes a spokesman of Transparency International, Srdjan Blagovčanin, on July 7, 2007 said that all about the affair "racketeering" occurred without the knowledge of institutions that were supposed to conduct investigations and to explore all "Dodik's parallel institutions". "TI BiH has never dealt with illegal activities but it is obvious that this is a very well-prepared plan to discredit 'Transparency International'."

The Principal Deputy High Representative, Raffi Gregorian, appealed to put an end to the propaganda campaign against Transparency International and stressed that the judiciary should be allowed to investigate allegations of racketeering.

Gregorian delivered to the Acting BiH Chief Prosecutor, Milorad Barašin, an anonymous letter dated on February 6 of that year, which described a plan to discredit "Transparency". Gregorian decided to submit the letter as a possible evidence, after Dragomir Babić had confirmed that he was the author of the letter.

The received information at that moment (on February 6) seemed improbable. However, the week before the events had shown that the plan referred to in the letter had been actually implemented. The OHR announced that the letter had not been handed over to the investigators, because it was anonymous, so "we could not take any further steps."

As reported from the OHR, the prosecutor reiterated that Barašin had not received a report on the crime or the witness' testimony about the alleged racketeering by the representatives of "Transparency". "If we receive such a report from the RS police, we shall act in accordance with the law as in all other cases," said Barašin.

CONTINUED

The Director of the RS Police Uroš Pena said on July 11, 2008 that the RS Ministry of Internal Affairs had been investigating the affair "racketeering" of businessmen and removed people from the RS and taking statements from the damaged.

A journalist, Pero Simić, sent a letter to Raffi Gregorian and a full video tape, sound and printed documentation, which were published by the media in the Republic of Srpska and beyond in the affair "racket" or "blacklist".

Simić expected in his letter sent to Gregorian that the material would be delivered to the Acting Chief Prosecutor of BiH, Milorad Barašin, as it had been done with the anonymous letter about this affair.

The President of NGO “Narodni front”, Dragomir Babić and Slobodan Vasković announced legal actions against the media in the RS, which had published the statement of Vladimir Latinović that they had offered him 50,000 BAM to keep quiet about the affair “racketeering” of businessmen in the RS.

REPORT

Vladimir Latinović, a repentant witness in the affair “blacklist” and the former executive director of Transparency International, Ljubinko Leković - Leka and the officer of the Indirect Taxation Authority, Nikica Gligorić, as an organised group, were suspected of extorting money from the citizens of the Republic of Srpska and BiH. They were filed on July 7, 2008 by Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Republic of Srpska. The report was delivered to the BiH Prosecutor’s Office. The BiH Prosecutor’s Office confirmed that the report was received and would be handed over to the prosecutor for processing.

The RS Prime Minister, Milorad Dodik, said that Transparency International in Berlin had a problem with witness’ statements in the Republic of Srpska, which clearly confirmed through various media that they had given money to their officers to be removed from the “blacklist” of the international community.

Reacting to the decision of the Board of Directors of Transparency to temporarily suspend the operation of this branch and evacuate the personnel from BiH, Dodik said that, obviously, it was a “political propaganda” to transfer the whole issue to the RS Government. The Government only tried to provide a neutral environment for the activities of independent institutions, if they even exist in BiH.

As reported, the Board of directors of TI in Berlin made such a decision because of the unjustified and harmful attacks that

had recently escalated by Dodik's statement that their personnel were involved in racketeering and organised crime.

The RS Prime Minister said that representatives of "TI" in Berlin were free to decide whether any of their officers were in danger in BiH, but it was obvious that in such a way they wanted to distract attention from those who had been sent there to do what they were doing.

"Transparency International does not have a problem with me, because I didn't start this story. I know that the prosecution in the RS and BiH have had all the data for the past five years, but due to pressure from foreigners they haven't been able to open the case "racketeering."

The former RS Police Director, Dragomir Andan, said on July 15, 2008, that Slobodan Vasković asked 50,000 BAM from him "to rehabilitate him and to take him off the black list of the OHR." This happened about one month and a half ago.

The Former Secretary General of the RS Automobile Association, Brane Subotić, claimed that he gave thousands of marks in the name of "racket" to the former president of the SDS Banja Luka Board, Goran Popović and to the director of "Patriot", Slobodan Vasković. He also gave 10,000 BAM and a laptop to the repentant in the case of the "blacklist", Vladimir Latinović, and to the executive director of Transparency International, Ljubinko Leković - Leka.

Brane Subotić said that the employees of "Transparency" put terrible pressure on the judiciary and judges and that it was organised like an Octopus, which infiltrated their people everywhere, even in the government and the police.

"Their representative enters the courtroom before the other party and may take any file he/she wants to. They had nothing to do with my case but they were on trial, and had all the access to documentation. They blackmailed me for allegedly outstanding

liabilities. One of the charges was the exceeded investment in the hotel 'Košuta' on Jahorina. They used all of it to blackmail me. I called the lawyers Lekić in TI' and asked him why they had not come to me to hear the other side. He told me that if needed, some of their officers would contact me. Well, Leković called," said Subotić.

REALITY

The case "racketeering" or "blacklist" showed an image of BiH, and all the pressures to which the Republic of Srpska and its legitimate authorities were exposed to. There were a lot of deception and manipulation, and the biggest one was definitely the usage of the term, idea and the position of the International community on whose behalf many things had been done without any justification in the documents of the international community, or its institutions. If someone says that the international community requires a certain thing, we need to know: is it the UN Security Council or the UN General Assembly. We also need to know what UN resolution or other document, with a clear reference to the provision that precisely regulates or specifies a particular social relationship.

The Dayton Peace Agreement is an international agreement that regulates relations in BiH. It is the only document based on which BiH functions, as well as on the documents of international institutions, primarily those of the United Nations, whose member BiH is. All the rest is provisional, illegal and illegitimate abuse of the names of the international community.

The case "racketeering" discovered self-proclaimed, parallel, illegal structures that on behalf of an imaginary international community, for someone else's interests, although no one knew whose interested, had tried to eliminate the Republic of Srpska,

by criminalising its legitimate leadership constantly talking of criminalisation, corruption and organised crime.

In this case, all “guardians” of BiH, the Dayton Agreement, the legality, morality on behalf of some known only to them “international community”, revealed and identified themselves. On top of the “Rubicon” there were Raffi Gregorian and his subalterns such as Boris Divjak, Transparency International, and some judicial institutions. This happened because the judiciary is the “child of” such an international community on whose behalf Gregorian, some public media, evenly distributed in Sarajevo and Banja Luka. There were other lower pawns in charge of the “small, large” dirty things like Vasković, Babić, Leković, Gligorić and Latinović, who as ordinary criminals, were a part of Raffi Gregorian’s team, acting on behalf of some international community known only to him.

People saying goes, “you can do as you will, but not as long as you want” was confirmed in this case. The Republic of Srpska institutions responded and discovered crime groups operationally run by Transparency International and Boris Divjak. Their work was covered by the media and the judiciary under the influence and control of the omnipotent Raffi Gregorian. The fact that Gregorian had an anonymous letter from the president of one of 1,300 non-governmental organisations such as “Narodni front” indicated that he was on the “top” octopus or the scale trying to use his power and the authority of the Principal Deputy High Representative to “save what can be saved.” The appeal to leave everything to the judiciary, in fact meant to leave it to him.

Likewise, the “seat” of “Transparency” in Berlin started to withdraw its staff from BiH. It meant that they run away because of the alleged pressure from the RS authorities. Nobody is amnestied from a criminal act and neither was the team from “Transparency” supported by Gregorian. If they had been innocent, they would have stayed in BiH to prove that they were not guilty. Anyway, the events that followed showed what their criticism of the

privatisation of the RS oil industry had meant. Brod Oil Refinery operated at full capacity and was one of the essential factors of the development of the Republic of Srpska.

Criticism of the privatisation of the oil industry showed that Gregorian and his "Transparency" did not want successful privatisations leading to the start of production, employment and filling the budget but the other ones which meant a dirt-cheap privatisation for their own interests. This was reality and truth in which it was hard to believe.

The Republic of Srpska Government, led by Milorad Dodik, after the great victory over the imposed decisions by Miroslav Lajcak on October 19, 2007, had achieved another, equally important victory. It exposed Raffi Gregorian and non-governmental organisation "Transparency", which acted as an arrogant and powerful force without being responsible to anyone except to, perhaps, to their "chief" Gregorian.

This way of criminalisation through "Transparency" would not function any more. New, modified models would have to be chosen. Actors and policy remained the same, led by Raffi Gregorian. Chess and the figures are the same, but only differently arranged.

ANOTHER WAY

Sarajevo media reported on July 17, 2008 that, according to "sources" from the SIPA, this agency "looked into the activities of the RS Government, for the period 1998-2000. The source from the SIPA claimed that the RS Government in that period was given 50 million BAM from the European Union for the reconstruction of infrastructure and the renovation of housing of the returnees. However, the documents indicated that the funds were not spent for designated purposes.

“These data confirmed that the pressures on Dodik and his criminalisation have shifted into another direction, apparently via individuals for the SIPA, who are ordinary pawns of Raffi Gregorian and not of “Transparency”. The approach is in the manner of an amateur because the Basic Court in Banja Luka on October 17, 2005, and then The Banja Luka District Court reached a verdict of realise to Dodik for the mentioned offense.

Tumuli continued by quoting a part of the auditor’s report stating, “due to significant discrepancies in the budget expenditure compared to the projected budget and the inefficient system of internal controls, the Supreme Office for the Republic of Srpska Public Sector Auditing has assessed the operations of the Secretariat of the RS Government in 2007 with a grain of salt,” said the Auditor, Boško Čeko.

KARADŽIĆ

In relation to the arrest of Radovan Karadžić on July 21, in Belgrade, the Bosniak media and the Bosniaks who had condemned the crime a long time ago, allowing themselves to do only what the Court was supposed to do and to go further and to condemn, through Karadžić, the Republic of Srpska, declaring it was a criminal and genocidal.

On that occasion, the Prime Minister, Milorad Dodik, said that the arrest of Karadžić for the RS Government was one of the last step towards fulfilling obligations towards the Hague Tribunal and the prosecution of the accused of war crimes.

“Instead of regarding it as an obligation of Dayton, we are faced with many politicians’ statements from the Federation who are trying to generalise Karadžić with the Republic of Srpska and its foundation, and that’s we will not allow,” said Milorad Dodik. He added, “The Republic of Srpska is not Karadžić’s creation, but

the deed of all the people who live in it, and it is inappropriate to require through the process of trial to Karadžić to judge the Republic of Srpska."

Dodik emphasized that the responsibility was individual and Karadžić would stand the trial before in The Hague Tribunal. "The Republic of Srpska is a permanent and unquestionable category and no collectivity can be judged in this region. I cannot understand the attempts of Sarajevo politicians who are trying to present the public only one side of the truth, when the Hague Tribunal said that the death of Alija Izetbegovic prevented him from being brought to justice.

Therefore, it is logical that the Institute of Justice in The Hague prosecutes those responsible, like the current BiH Presidency Chairman Haris Silajdžić, who was an important figure in the Muslim political movement of that time in order to examine his political role in war crimes against the Serbs in BiH. 27,000 Serbs were killed in the war and they were not killed by some humanitarian organisations," said Dodik.

He stressed that because of the future and tolerance in the region it was necessary to begin the process of apology to the victims of the Serbs who had suffered in all wars, because Boris Tadić had apologised. It was the moment when others should apologise to him and to others for the suffering of the Serbs.

The director of the Fond for Humanitarian Law, Natasa Kandić said that Milorad Dodik "had to know who had been hiding Radovan Karadžić", adding that Karadžić's arrest would be a great relief for Dodik and his government. "He will strengthen his power," considered Natasa Kandić.

Radovan Karadžić's lawyer, Svetozar Vujčić, said on July 25, 2008 that Karadžić was pleased with Milorad Dodik's promise to help his family. Dodik said that he would meet with members of Radovan Karadžić's family "to see what they need. This is in

accordance with the law and there is no reason for Karadžić's family to be deprived." Dodik explained, "They are people who are neither accused nor convicted of any crime that would prevent them from getting help from the Government of the Republic of Srpska, like other families of the accused of war crimes."

Commenting on the arrest of Karadžić, Dodik said that it meant a relief for the Republic of Srpska and that the Republic of Srpska could freely continue to develop and stabilise, without any burden of the past.

ELIMINATION

Belgrade media reported a "plan" that the US representatives in BiH with the Croatian security services had prepared the removal of the Prime Minister Dodik. According to these media, this was the first step towards abolishing the institutions of the Republic of Srpska and to the centralisation of BiH. Media referred to the information received "from sources close to the investigation and judicial institutions of BiH".

Raffi Gregorian led the group preparing the elimination of the Prime Minister Dodik, and it included the Head of the Criminal Investigations department of the SIPA Dragan Lukač, and the US Ambassador to BiH Charles English.

Having completed police reform in BiH, which did not undermine the authority of the Republic of Srpska, the group led by Raffi Gregorian had begun a second phase of the plan that would "prove that the Republic of Srpska authorities were criminalised and, as such, they should not exist". A senior official of the police agencies in BiH said that Gregorian led the group which included the head of the Special Department for Organized Crime, Economic Crime and Corruption of the Prosecutor's Office, Drew Engel.

With the help of Lukač, who had been an active member of the Croatian security service since 1990, the Americans, led by Gregorian, were trying to set Dodik up criminal acts in connection with the construction of the RS Government, as a symbol of Republic of Srpska institutions, and the alleged illegal sale of Refinery Brod.

The same source claimed that these were private confrontation between the American officials in BiH and the Republic of Srpska authorities, aimed at diminishing authorities of the Republic of Srpska. Gregorian was far from the current Republican government and belonged to Holbrooke-Albright-Clark group that was very active during the conflict in BiH.

Political ideology of Zlatko Lagumdžija was behind the group financed by a Sarajevo tycoon. Given to this, foreign intelligence agencies advised Dodik not travel by plane, because there were indications of the possible liquidation scenario. Dodik had had problems in the plane three times when the plane took off at Banja Luka airport and the pilot could barely manage to land.

DIVISIONS

“Divide and rule” is an old method of manipulation that was tried in the Republic of Srpska, by reiterating the story of the divisions between the East and West of the Republic of Srpska. The citizens in the Eastern part had been allegedly neglected compared to those living in the Western part. Citizens in the Eastern part were reportedly dissatisfied with the investments of the RS Government for the development of the local areas, where there are almost all the underdeveloped and extremely underdeveloped municipalities of the RS. The stories and rumors that were told from different centers, there had been no improvements after the establishment of the Fund for the development of the eastern part

of the Republic of Srpska, which could invest 86 million BAM in area of the city of East Sarajevo and 23 municipalities from Lopari to Berkovići in that year.

The Fund for the development of the Eastern part of the Republic Srpska, formed by the RS Government had allocated 18.6 million BAM to the Eastern part of the RS for eight months as the incentives to develop local municipalities and to increase employment.

The Director of the Fund for the development of Eastern RS, Branislav Subotić, believed that they would fulfill the plan and almost all of the funds for the development of the Eastern municipalities of the RS would be used up.

Subotić said that the Fund of 200 million BAM would be able to provide loans based on development projects submitted to commercial banks by the end of 2010. "This year we can allocate 86 million BAM, in 2009. 82 million BAM are envisaged and in 2010, 42 million BAM. We have approved about 18.6 million BAM for 38 projects," said Subotić.

Subotić said that not all the stories about neglecting the Eastern part of the Republic of Srpska were true, since all municipalities and all companies are eligible to apply for the funds from the RS Development Programme like other companies.

The Prime Minister, Milorad Dodik, said that there was no division between the Eastern and Western part of the Republic of Srpska, but there was only the Republic of Srpska. "This story about divisions has been initiated by the opposition and some representatives of the international community in order to provoke a political split and dispute in the Republic of Srpska," said Dodik.

The Minister of Finance, Aleksander Džombić, said on August 22, 2008 that for the projects related to the Eastern part of the RS, 182,871, 610 BAM was approved, or 58.64 percent and for the Western part 128,961,727 BAM or 41.36 percent.

Džombić said the Council for the Development of the Republic of Srpska had approved funding of 124 projects, out of which 46 were from the municipalities in the Eastern part of the Republic of Srpska.

SIPA

The Deputy Director of the SIPA Dragan Lukač said on August 23, 2008 that the agency had already been “thoroughly investigating the RS Government.” SIPA had already told their inspectors to send requests to several ministries in the Government of the RS to submit documentation related to financial transactions of the RS Government and selling of some strategic facilities and companies.

Quoting the sources from the SIPA, media reported that the Deputy Prime Minister of the RS, Jasna Brkić, said she did not know anything about the investigation and she did not see saw any SIPA inspectors.

The cabinet of the Prime Minister Dodik commented that it was a “personal action of the man called Dragan Lukač.”

As media in Serbia reported, Lukač was a member of an “organised group whose aim was to discredit the Government of the RS and the entire Republic of Srpska. He was not motivated by professional, but rather by personal and political interests. The same group included investigating prosecutors from the Prosecutor’s Office, which, by the order of the OHR’s has misused their position acting beyond their authority.”

The Prime Minister, Milorad Dodik, said on August 25, 2008 that he had confidential information from the Prosecutor’s Office that the criminal charges against the RS Government had already been “packed” by the order of the Principal Deputy High Representative, Raffi Gregorian.

Dodik said that, on the initiative of Gregorian, an order had been issued to the SIPA to investigate the construction of the RTRS, the RS government building and the privatisation of “Telekom Srpske”. “I have the information that Gregorian put daily pressure on prosecutors and judges to encourage the investigation. It is an abuse of power since the BiH Prosecution is not responsible for these issues, but the RS Prosecution and we don’t mind their investigation.”

ASSOCIATES

Commenting on the report submitted by the SDS to the Prosecutor’s Office in Banja Luka regarding the investment of the RS Government in Srebrenica, Dodik said that it was a party in which a small group of people were creating such things so that they could serve to various international swindlers to confirm that Republic of Srpska had problems. “People from the SDS are the best associates of Gregorian, who wants to criminalise the entire RS. He has learned that the SDS has been acting like that and thinks that we are all the same,” said Dodik.

The SDS requested from the RS judicial institutions on August 26, 2008 to investigate the “activities” of the RS Prime Minister, Milorad Dodik, so that BiH Prosecution would not deal with it, stating that it could affect the upcoming discussions on constitutional changes.

The Prime Minister said he was not afraid of any investigation of the competent authorities, saying that the SDS expressed a “false concern about the Republic of Srpska positions”.

A political analyst and expert on anti-terrorism, Dževad Galijašević, said that it was no secret that the Americans had been collecting compromising material against the RS Prime Minister for more than half a year. It was a well-experienced strategy of

the international community used whenever they wanted to compromise an individual; they just reached for their alleged "criminal record".

"There is no doubt that Gregorian is behind all these initiatives to start the investigation against Dodik. However, the question is why there is no similar investigation against Haris Silajdžić and Hasan Čengić, who earned millions of dollars in weapons trafficking? It seems to me that this is a personal animosity against Dodik. Anyway, Dodik has every right to believe that this whole story has been politically motivated and designed", specified Galijašević.

A source close to the international circles claimed that the story against the Republic of Srpska had originated from Brčko whose creator was the Supervisor Raffi Gregorian and the SDS President, Mladen Bosić. The source said that Bosić's statement "the trial of Radovan Karadžić, is the trial of the Republic of Srpska should be considered in this context." It was just enough to see who had uttered that sentence to see who would be in the coalition after the so-called "Democratic revolution of 2010".

The source of the international community claimed that the charges against Dodik and three of his associates, in connection with the investments in Srebrenica were written in Gregorian's office and after it had been translated into Serbian, Mladen Bosić only signed it.

Milanko Mihajlica's endeavour to be the leader of the opposition was not accepted by the coalition partner SDS; therefore, he promoted himself on August 29, 2008 by stating, "the SRS is obviously the toughest opposition" to the current authority in the Republic of Srpska and "is a kind of bone in the throat." "So it's no wonder that our senior officials have received brutal threats," said Mihajlica.

Mihajlica's statement speaks for itself and is not worth commenting. There was no need to wonder to whom Mihajlica

was important and who these high-positioned officials were when we observed his own position.

The President of the SDS Mladen Bosić said on September 3 2008 that this party would demand from the Prosecutor's Office in Banja Luka within the next few days to inform them about the state-of-affairs of the criminal charges which had been filed against Dodik regarding the alleged irregularities in the investment in Srebrenica.

"I am concerned about the information that the Prosecutor's Office in Banja Luka was under pressure to put criminal charges of the SDS in a drawer or to declare the prosecution incompetent," said Bosić.

Bosić said that the political scene Republic of Srpska would look much different after the local elections, because difficult political issues would open such as constitutional and police reforms and this would lead to unfreezing of the frozen crisis.

GELBART

An adviser for the Balkans of the presidential candidate of the Democratic Party Barak Obama, Robert Gelbart said on September 07, 2008, after the meeting with the Prime Minister Dodik in Laktaši, that he was impressed by the progress achieved by the Republic of Srpska. "When I came to the RS for the first time, after the signing of the Dayton Agreement, it was a difficult period. The Serbs did not have good leadership, but they have now," said Gelbard.

PROGNOSTICATOR

The opposition has the right to criticise the government and to promise anything, but it is up to the citizens to assess the validity

of criticism and promises of the opposition, which in this case, was the SDS and Mladen Bosić. On September 10, 2008, during the electoral campaign for local elections, Bosić said that he expected to win in half of the municipalities in the Republic of Srpska. The SDS had excellent candidates, democratically elected, who would present specific programs to the voters, rather than going around with pictures of party leaders, as was the case with some other parties.

He said it was clear to everyone that the euphoria, which the victory had brought to the SNSD in the 2006 elections, passed and it was time to underline broken promises. "This government has done everything that it hasn't promised to the voters," said Bosić.

Speaking of the Eastern part of the Republic of Srpska, a favorite theme of the SDS, Bosić said that the RS Government blurred neglecting the Eastern part of the Republic of Srpska. They swaggered with the pompous statistics and how the East was granted 182 million BAM from the Development programs, although less than one tenth had reached municipality, except for Srebrenica. It was a shame that the Eastern part had not been allocated as much money as the purchase of two new aircraft cost, and the Fund for the development of the eastern part had less money than the value of the RS Government building was.

PETRITSCH

Many people from the international community had been daily dealing with the Republic of Srpska and BiH, including the former High Representative Wolfgang Petritsch who said on December 9, 2008 that the Republic of Srpska was internationally recognized, which was great. In Belgrade, they knew exactly what it would mean if they invited the Republic of Srpska to join Serbia.

"The Prime Minister Dodik was extremely careful not to cross the line, because he knew he could lose more than the Republic of Srpska had gained," said Petritsch.

BANISHING

The Chairman of the Council of Ministers, Nikola Špirić, commenting on the ongoing "attacks" on Dodik from Sarajevo, said that the way Dodik's statements were perceived in Sarajevo represented a powerful contribution to the failure of BiH. "Dodik should be accepted as a partner with whom all issues should be seriously discussed, without accusing him seriously. I think the more you blame him, the more you create feeling of the Serbs in the Republic of Srpska that they are not wanted in BiH. I'm afraid that by doing this they can have the Republic of Srpska out of BiH."

The Chairman of the BiH Presidency, Haris Silajdžić, on September 15, 2008 submitted a request to the Constitutional Court to initiate a dispute against the RS Government for "anti-constitutional activities of the Republic of Srpska foreign policy." Silajdžić requested from the Constitutional Court to press charges against the RS and to order temporary measures on the immediate suspension of "all acts and decisions of the RS Government that affected the competence of BiH".

Reacting to the latest Silajdžić's lawsuit, Milorad Dodik said, "it is high time for him to go to a political retirement and to stop looking for problems where there are not."

Commenting on the allegations in the Silajdžić's lawsuit that the Republic of Srpska representation offices in the world damage to strategic interests of BiH, Dodik said that there was no Constitutional Court in the world that may prohibit the RS to perform its guaranteed rights, and one of those rights is the opening of representation offices of the RS in the world.

Silajdžić could “stuff his claims up his shirt”. “The Republic of Srpska will have its offices in Washington, Zagreb, Sarajevo, Tuzla, Brussels, and Belgrade. This request to the Constitutional Court is just another in a series of evidence of his pathological hatred of the RS,” Dodik said, adding, “The main point is that Silajdžić only articulates incredible hostility of the extreme Bosniaks from the Federation towards the Republic of Srpska. I would like to send a message to them that their aspiration would never come true! The Republic of Srpska is a permanent structure, with its guaranteed rights, and we will not give up any of them any more.

GRATITUDE

In addition to numerous attacks on the Government and especially on the RS Prime Minister, Milorad Dodik, we should mention gratitude of Radovan Karadžić’s family which was sent through his brother Luka on September 23, 2010.

“The Karadžićs and I are more than grateful to the RS Prime Minister for having visited them and for promising help, which he did. We would like to thank him for not falling under the influence of the international community like some other politicians did. He knows about human values, basic human rights of every man. For the Republic of Srpska and the Serbs, a good man is the one who is attacked by Miroslav Lajcak and Raffi Gregorian, and they attack Dodik most of all,” said Luka Karadžić.

REFUSAL

The Republic of Srpska Government has refused to submit documentation to the SIPA, which the agency had requested in connection with the investigation into the operations of some

ministries in the RS Government and of “Integral Engineering” from Laktasi. The Government of the Republic of Srpska concluded, “Due to the non-compliance with the provisions of the Constitution of the RS, regarding the authority of the judiciary in the Republic of Srpska and the Criminal Law and Criminal Procedure Act of the Republic of Srpska, the RS public administration and its organisational units are not obliged to provide information to the SIPA or BiH Prosecutor’s Office in criminal procedures, which are beyond the responsible of BiH institutions.”

The High Representative, Miroslav Lajcak, reacted rapidly and on September 24, 2008 warned the RS Government and the Prime Minister Milorad Dodik that they “violated the laws of BiH, obstructed justice and turned the rule of law upside down.”

At the same, the US Embassy to BiH reacted, informing that the RS Government and its administrative bodies had a clear legal obligation to cooperate with the SIPA and the State Prosecution. “It is not the responsibility of the RS Government to decide whether the prosecution or the Court is in charge of the case. It is the issue of the courts of BiH”, threatened the US Embassy.

It is clear, based on the refusal of the RS Government to submit the required documentation to the SIPA, who was behind the investigation of the alleged illegal acts of the RS Government – the High Representative, Miroslav Lajcak, as a branch department of Raffi Gregorian and the OHR and the US Embassy to BiH.

The SIPA, Prosecution and the Court were the tools in the hands of the above-mentioned trio.

It was noticeable that the RS Government specified the provisions of the Constitution and laws which do not require to submit documentation to the SIPA. In Lajcak’s interventions and threats, i.e. Gregorian’s, the OHR and the US Embassy, the terms used were “the Government has violated the laws of BiH”, without specifying which laws. “The Government obstructed justice and

turned the rule of law upside down.” What did it mean? It was an ordinary political pamphlet. The question was who respected the Constitution and laws, and who did not. The Republic of Srpska Government had consistently implemented the Constitution and laws, but the SIPA and the BiH Prosecution violated them, with the support of the High Representative, OHR and the US Embassy. Where are the laws and justice on which all Western democracies are based?

The Republic of Srpska Government announced, after Lajcak’s warning, “The OHR has been unnecessarily interfering in the regular communication taking place between institutions. The warning of the OHR and Lajcak is nothing but a political interference in the independence of the judiciary and undermining the rule of law to which the OHR is wholeheartedly committed.”

Milorad Dodik said that the Court and BiH Prosecutor’s Office, in which foreigners had occupied high positions without bearing any responsibility for their decisions. They could do whatever they wanted in the Republic of Srpska. The Court and the BiH Prosecutor’s Office had become disputable institutions since they served more to political settlements in BiH, than to justice.

“It is undisputable that we should cooperate with the Prosecution, but it is impossible for the SIPA to require some abstract documentation for the period between 2002-2008 and then to keep them for ten years as evidence, and to use them when needed and deliver it to competent institutions. If there is an order of the Prosecutor’s Office for investigation, we will cooperate.”

Speaking about the OHR, Dodik said that they were all apostatised. Mainly the Bosniaks worked there who had created the political situation in BiH. “We no longer respect the office of the OHR. I respect Lajcak as the High Representative, but he has made a plenty of mistakes. Our conflict in October and November of the last year is well known. We are ready to repeat that situation,

so let them try to do what they want. We have legitimacy, if they want everything to recoil, they may use the force ", said Dodik.

Speaking of the Croats, Dodik said that they needed more political courage. A hidden alliance with the Bosniaks apparently had cost them a lot. "I am ready to support real demands of the Croatian political representatives, with the precondition that the Republic of Srpska cannot be touched."

After the meeting of the Peace Implementation Council, Miroslav Lajcak warned that the RS Government was unconditionally obligated to submit the required documents to the SIPA.

TRIUMPH

In the October, in the local elections, the SNSD achieved a convincing victory, and won, parliamentary majority in 48 municipalities and 42 majors out of 62 municipalities. Dodik said that that result of the SNSD "is the defeat of inaction policy and the victory of action policy that we have built in recent years." Assessing the elections Dodik said, "The key event is neither the victory of the SNSD nor the defeat of the SDS. This is the victory of the policy of integration and integrity of the Republic of Srpska. A complete political strategy of some political factors, particularly of the SDS, was the separation of the East and the West of the Republic of Srpska. We have seen that the East reacted to the policy of the SNSD in terms of political unity and that it defeated the political story of the East and the West. This is perhaps the most important thing that has happened at this time. "

WATCHING

An “orderly” attacker of the Republic of Srpska and Milorad Dodik was the Croatian President Stjepan Mesić, who had been periodically attacking them. On October 9 2008, he called the RS Prime Minister, Milorad Dodik, a new Milošević and reiterated the “Republic of Srpska was based on ethnic cleansing and genocide.” Mesić also said, “Dodik has to be removed and Miroslav Lajcak must get a support from Brussels for it.”

The RS Government announced that the Republic of Srpska is a permanent and unquestioned category, with full political and economic stability, firmly committed to peace and stability in BiH. “On several occasions we have warned Mesić that the Republic of Srpska is not a genocidal creation, but we have not been surprised by his public appearances because we still have fresh memories of his warmongering policy,” announced the Government. The Government also stated that the RS had democracy and the contribution to the European idea on the agenda not conflicts and secession.

The US Ambassador to BiH, Charles English, indicated on October 10, 2008 that the assessment of his government was, “BiH is moving in the wrong direction, which is disturbing. We have been witnessing attacks and undermining of the state institutions necessary for further advancement of the country towards NATO and the European Union membership. This includes open and deliberate attacks on state institutions, like the Court, the Prosecutor’s Office, the SIPA, and the Institute for Missing Persons, BHRT and the RAK. In addition, we are witnessing a disturbing attempt to roll back on successful reforms of the last 13 years, the same reforms have opened the door to the EU and NATO for Bosnia,” said English.

INTERPRETATION

Milorad Dodik, in his article published on October 15, 2008 wondered, "How we can have a protectorate over Bosnia, which was a decent colonial practice of the past centuries."

He said, "The High Representative is not the OHR." Annex 10 to the Dayton Agreement established the institution of the High Representative in BiH, not an office of the OHR. The Office of the High Representative should be in service of the High Representative, but it has become dominant. Therefore, the following parties signed Annex 10: "Agreement on Civilian Implementation of the peace settlement": the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Republic of Croatia, the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Republic of Srpska, were the signatory to the Annex. In Article 1.2. of this Annex, the Parties request the designation of a High Representative. The word "REQUEST" means that the High Representative consistently to international legislation must act as a facilitator and coordinate activities according to their will and demand. Article 5 of Annex 10 states that the High Representative is the final authority to interpret the Agreement on Civilian Implementation of a peaceful settlement. Therefore, he was not appointed to interpret the whole of the Dayton Agreement, or the military part, or anything else, but only Annex 10.

Dodik stated in his text that among signatory parties are the two entities the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Republic of Srpska. This fact gives an inalienable right to the Republic of Srpska as a signatory to Annex 10 and one of the "parties" to review the actions and the acts passed by the High Representative. No one can prohibit this activity or assess it as an attack on the authority of the High Representative. It is not only the right of the Republic of Srpska but also its responsibility, as

the High Representative has been designated his mandate also by the Republic of Srpska. It is also the obligation of the Republic of Srpska to all its citizens and all the citizens in BiH in order to preserve peace and stability in BiH.

“Thus the Republic of Srpska strongly manifested its commitment to do all that will contribute to operational BiH consistently with the Constitution, laws and election results. If someone wants it differently, Dodik wrote, then he would introduce crisis in BiH with inconceivable consequences. “Therefore, the responsibility of those who produce crises will be addressed before the international public and institutions for the protection of international law”, cited Dodik.

Obviously, the Netherlands Ambassador to BiH, Karel Fokkeler, did not read the Dayton Agreement or Dodik’s article in which he analysed the Dayton Agreement and the role of the High Representative in BiH. Fokkeler said, “Dodik is worse than Lukashenko” and advocated that the EU Special Representative in BiH should have something like the Bonn powers. The tool should be in the hands of a body that would stand behind the EU Special Representative. Sanctions against individuals should not be excluded. It was exactly in the style of “protectorate decent colonial practices,” as Dodik wrote.

The RS Government asked the BiH Presidency and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to cancel the hospitality to the Dutch Ambassador Karel Fokkeler, since he had compared the RS Prime Minister Dodik with the Belarus dictator Alexander Lukashenko. “Starting today the Ambassador Fokkeler is a persona non grata in the Republic of Srpska.”

The RS Government announced that they would send a protest note to the Dutch authorities due to the scandalous behavior of their diplomats, and would request a respond to the question whether the Fokkeler was in the service of their diplomacy or, perhaps, engaged in the policy promotion of the Bosniak people.

A member of BiH Presidency, Željko Komšić, said with regard to the protest of the RS Government, “I do not intend to reply to any Dodik’s letters. Does it mean that the ambassadors should be forbidden to speak and think; tomorrow it will be the press, and the day after all other people. This is called a dictatorship and I will not participate in it. “

REASON

An international law professor and expert on conflict resolution, Matthew Parish, referring to the OHR, said, “It has become a part of the problem and not a part of the future and should be closed down as soon as possible.” He said that the OHR suppressed the process of developing democracy in BiH.

Unlike him, the former ambassador to Croatia, Peter Galbraith, speaking about the war leadership of the Republic of Srpska 1992-1996, said on October 16, 2008, “The leadership of the Republic of Srpska is fascist and genocidal. The Republic of Srpska Army is also a fascist and genocidal.”

PROVOCATION

After trying to change the constitution of the Republic of Srpska, through the so-called police reform, which would eliminate the jurisdiction and authority of the Republic of Srpska, and from a decentralised state, BiH would become a centralised unitary country. This activity failed primarily due to Milorad Dodik, so they moved to a second phase, which was the criminalisation of Milorad Dodik, the RS Government and the entire Republic of Srpska. The aim of criminalisation was discrediting Dodik as a synonym of the Republic of Srpska and a guarantee of its protection in accordance with the constitutional authority under Dayton. By

constant blackmail, threats and pressures of filing complaints, they had tried to intimidate Dodik and force him to accept constitutional changes, as well as police reform, which all meant the elimination of the authority of the Republic of Srpska and its abolishment.

All the attempts to make him a criminal were called a democratic review, which were performed through NGOs and orchestrated by BiH judiciary, having emerged as the anti-Dayton category imposed by the acts of Paddy Ashdown, with international prosecutors and the influence of the OHR and Raffia Gregorian. Constitutional reform and continuing police reform would lead into the abolishment of the Republic of Srpska.

The conclusion was simple, after police reform had failed, without undermining the Republic of Srpska, they moved into another phase, to criminalise Milorad Dodik and his government over the non-governmental organisations, certain media, prosecutors, the Court of BiH and the SIPA, which were controlled by a group led by Rafi Gregorian. The goal was to break Dodik down and to accept constitutional changes or reforms that would try to abolish the Republic of Srpska. The alternative was to file criminal charges to discredit and to condemn Dodik. Thus, he would be eliminated from the political life of Republic of Srpska and BiH.

Tensions around the submission of documentation continued. The assistant director of the SIPA, Dragan Lukač, who was Raffia Gregorian's player since he had been appointed by the OHR, said, "the state of BiH will find ways to get the RS Government documentation". Otherwise, it was specific for all of them: the High Representative, the OHR, ambassadors, primarily the US and the British and of other EU countries, they used, like the Bosniaks, the term state institutions but in the Dayton Agreement there are no state only common institutions. Their task was obviously the same, to transform common into state institutions, like the Court and the Prosecutor's Office, which are not mentioned in the

provisions of the Dayton Agreement because the judiciary, army, police, intelligence services, fiscal policy and property are under entity's authority.

Lukač, in addition to obtaining documentation which would serve to filing a complaint, had the task of keeping daily tensions with threats and producing a conflict situation. The situation in the Republic of Srpska should be made chaotic and criminalised so that Gregorian and his group would have something to do. Therefore, insisting on taking the documentation continued.

The Prime Minister Dodik said on October 16, 2008, "the SIPA can conduct an action in the Republic of Srpska only if they have a warrant of the BiH Prosecutor's Office. When they have an order prescribed by the law, they may come to the RS Government and everything will be available to them. They will not enter the building without a warrant. If they attempt to use force, we will answer with the force.

"The whole story, related to the SIPA and its raid in the RS government building, has been accompanied by media conspiracy aimed at denigrating people and calling them criminals which would be followed by BiH authorities making illegal arrest. Of course, that is how media report. If anything destroys this country, it will be the media in Sarajevo," said Dodik.

INTERNATIONALISATION

Proposing a resolution on strengthening state institutions, a German parliamentarian, Doris Pack, assessed the situation in BiH in the European Parliament, as "well-conceived state that does not work. BiH must live with the Dayton Agreement which has not been implementing. The unique state has to be strengthened by constitutional reform with the consensus of all actors in BiH. The division along ethnic lines has increased and the OHR does not use

its powers. Nobody fears or respects it. The politicians do nothing and the situation could not be worse”.

Paddy Ashdown advised Pack on October 24, 2008 by saying that it was inappropriate to make predictions, but the situation in BiH was very delicate. “There is a dangerous competition in the dynamics of nationalism, which has been built on both sides. I regret to say but Milorad Dodik has started a nationalistic spiral, also some statements of my old friend Silajdžić have not been useful at all. All this increases tension and creates a very fragile situation. I expect that Dodik would realise that if he continues like this, it could jeopardize not only the European path of BiH, but also many other things he cares about, the Republic of Srpska. It is now respected as a fact. The question is, if he continues to ride a wave he is riding now, if he makes some rash move what it could bring,” Ashdown warned Dodik.

In addition to Paddy Ashdown, Richard Holbrooke also expressed his fear for the fate of the Republic of Srpska and BiH by claiming, “BiH has not been disintegrated and will not be in the future. I consider Milorad Dodik’s story of the disintegration of BiH as an empty story that only works for the people from whom, in this way, he lures votes”.

Speaking on the joint text which was written by Ashdown, Holbrooke and himself, he said that Ashdown has contacted him while discussing the situation in BiH they concluded that the situation was full of tension and that the world should be informed about it. “So, the text that we wrote together was not meant for the citizens of BiH, but for the officials particularly in Brussels, London, Paris, Berlin and Washington. They do not pay enough attention to the situation in BiH, Ashdown and I are very concerned about it. As well as about the worsening of the situation in BiH and the lack of vigilance of the international community,” said Holbrook.

BREAK UP

Lajcak, Pack, Ashdown and Holbrooke had been alternating in criticising the Prime Minister, Milorad Dodik, and the RS, after the local elections in which Dodik's SNSD won a convincing victory, Mladen Ivanić's PDP decided to break the coalition on October 30, 2008.

The cause was that the RS President of the Committee for the revision of privatisation, Borislav Bijelić, accused Mladen Ivanić of setting up the purchase of the Development Bank of Banja Luka for a bargain price to American businessmen of Serbian origin, Michael Djordjević and Milan Mandarić.

The Vice President of the PDP, Slaven Pekić, said that, in his opinion, they should break with the SNSD and move into the opposition. "Then we can tell these people, who act like bosses, all they deserve to hear because they seemingly do not know what they are doing."

Pekić, obviously, did not know the results of the elections which took place less than a month ago, in which the citizens assessed all political parties and gave the SNSD a convincing support. If Pekić did not know what the SNSD was doing, the people certainly did. The institutions must abide by the law and not by the sympathy and discretion as Pekić apparently thought.

The Prime Minister, Milorad Dodik, said he was not in the least affected by the story about the concerns of Brussels "for his inflammatory rhetoric that has led to strained relations in BiH".

"I think it is my right and what I say is a freedom of thought. No one in BH fought because of my rhetoric, even if the rhetoric is problematic. I am aware of my electoral and institutional legitimacy. My constitutional obligation is to protect the rights of the Republic of Srpska and I will continue to do it. Evidently, someone in BiH wants to keep his job, and then the stories about strained situation suits him perfectly well," said Dodik.

“Certain political circles and media presented to Brussels that the situation has become strained. The Bosniak leaders want to keep the OHR. I have nothing against keeping the OHR, but because of the dignity of the OHR and the country, it should stop its function. If it does not want to, the OHR will continue to undermine its function and begin to lose its importance that once had. Inability and mistakes of those who have worked there, such as Ashdown, will become known. NATO will not leave BiH and anyone who tries anything will get a rap on the knuckles by these forces. But political process is something else and only local leaders should decide about it.”

On October 31, 2008, Richard Holbrooke concluded that Milorad Dodik was a key to the instability in BiH, and stressed that the international community should take tough measures through the OHR. He said that relations between the Federation and the Republic of Srpska had been more strained than in any other period after Dayton pointing out that it was dangerous to ignore BiH in the world.

Holbrooke said that a Croatian official told him “Dodik is trying to achieve the goal of Radovan Karadžić, but only by using peaceful political means.” He confirmed that it was a mistake that Dayton allowed the Serbs to get an entity with the prefix “republic”.

Milorad Dodik said that Holbrooke was an ordinary American pensioner and should act like that. “His attacks on the Republic of Srpska and myself have no political significance, and I am confident that he had received money from someone to speak like that. I am not at all surprised with Holbrooke’s rhetoric during his visit to Zagreb, since he is the one who gave legitimacy to the Croatian military forces to cleanse Croatia of the Serbs by end the war. Now he is walking around the city of Zagreb with his friends enjoying his success. However, no one should be surprised by

this judgment because we heard it all the other day from Stjepan Mesić. Given to this, Holbrooke seems to me now like Mesić's spokesperson. These statements testify about the hypocritical politics of Croatia, which through the mouth of Holbrooke, attempts to communicate its position on the Republic of Srpska", said Dodik.

HINDERING

"The RS Government has not decided to discontinue direct communications with the OHR," said the Prime Minister Dodik. He confirmed on November 1, 2008 that the RS Government had signed a contract with the US law firm Dewey & LeBoeuf to represent and advise them on legal issues and that the firm lawyers visited the Office of High Representative.

The Law firm Dewey & LeBoeuf, as stated from the Cabinet of the Prime Minister Dodik, would represent the interests of the Republic of Srpska related to state-owned property, the issues of Brčko District, operation of the BiH Prosecutor's Office, the interpretation of the Dayton Agreement and other issues.

There were many critics of this RS Government involvement. The President of the RS Lawyer's Chamber, Jovan RS Čizmović, was surprised by this decision and considered it was wrong and unnecessary. The Former Minister of Finance, Svetlana Cenić, said this was a precedent, while Milanko Mihajlica believed that Milorad Dodik was led by his personal interests due to his position in the international community.

A member of BiH Presidency, Nebojša Radmanović, said the Federation allocated 60 percent of GDP to public expenditure, thereby hindering the economic development of BiH. In contrast to the Federation, the Republic of Srpska was economically stable because, out of the gross domestic product, it allocated 36 percent to public expenditure, which was almost at the European level.

Radmanović pointed out on November 2, 2008 that the Federation, with such a complex organisation of ten cantons and a huge bureaucratic apparatus, clearly indicated that the problem of the functioning of BiH was the structure of the Federation BiH.

INVITATION

The Minister of Foreign Affairs of France, Bernard Kouchner, on behalf of the French Presidency of the Council of the European Union, a EU High Representative for the Common Foreign and Security Policy, Javier Solana and the Enlargement Commissioner Olli Rehn, sent a letter to the members of the BiH Presidency, the Chairman of the Council of Ministers and Entity Prime Ministers on November 5, 2008. The letter informed them that, "the actions and words that tend to question the basic structure of BiH, as it is defined by the Dayton-Paris Agreement, and directed against the sovereignty and territorial integrity of BiH or against the existence of the Republic of Srpska must be stopped".

The three European officials recalled that discrediting reforms in recent years had been contrary to the integration project and expressed their concern about the political climate. "Stirring up fear and divisions, instead of consolidation is contrary to the European project for BiH, representing a risk of moving BiH away from the EU," the letter said.

Kouchner, Rehn and Solana called on BiH politicians to prove, with concrete actions, that they were capable of dialogue and compromise, which are the foundation of the European community.

Presidents of the three strongest parties in BiH, the SNSD Milorad Dodik, the HDZ Dragan Čović and the SDA Sulejman Tihić agreed, at the meeting in Prud in Šamac November 8, 2008, on six very important issues that were burdening the relations in BiH.

Dodik, Čović and Tihić agreed, among other things, what the subject of constitutional reform would be, defined attitudes to the state property, determined how the census would be conducted, the mode of resolving the status of Brčko District, and discussed the need to perform Reconstruction of the Council of Ministers.

Although, after the appeals of three officials of the European Union Prud Agreement was arranged, the Sarajevo media daily increased tensions related to the documentation that RS Government should give to the SIPA. Although the Prime Minister Dodik had promised Lajcak ten days before to do it, he did not give the documentation. Instead, the US law firm representing the RS Government, contacted the BiH Prosecution.

The European Union warmly welcomed the Prud Agreement. "It has appeared as a surprise at the last moment and represents a positive step forward," pointed out Javier Solana and Olli Rehn.

The Former High Representative and the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Sweden, Carl Bildt, said on November 10, 2008, the "new strategy and the EU approach towards BiH is essentially a question of destiny of the OHR. I advocate closing down the OHR. The European Union and the international community must adopt a new strategy for BiH. It is not necessary to define it in such a way. There is a crucial issue of transition of the OHR into the Office of the EUSR in BiH," said Bildt.

The RS Government Secretariat announced on November 14, 2008 that, in a letter dated on October 31, 2008, the legal representative of the RS Government had offered the required documentation to the BiH Prosecutor's Office, but for inexplicable reasons, they refused to receive it.

The Attorneys of the RS Government stressed out the RS Government had no legal obligation to submit the required documentation, because "the prosecutor has not stated that the

case is under his jurisdiction.” Instead, they explained that the reason was a possible violation of an article of the RS Criminal Law, which locates the jurisdiction to the RS judiciary, not to the BiH prosecution, or to the BiH Court.

In conclusion, addressing the State Prosecution, the lawyers stated “Actions taken up to now in connection with the investigation indicate political motives and not a proper legal process, and it is expected that the Prosecutor would refrain from arbitrary exercising his authority and acting against the law, because political interference in the investigation is contrary to law.”

Miroslav Lajcak welcomed the agreement between the Prud leaders and said that it was a positive step in the right direction towards fulfilling the plan for transition of the OHR.

COMPARISON

Haris Silajdžić, for a Catalan daily newspaper “*La Vanguardia*”, to the reporter’s question, “Is it possible to agree with Dodik?” replied with another question, “Was there a compromise between Hitler and the Allies?”, and continued, “If genocide is a good thing, then we could reach a compromise.” On November 19, 2008, Silajdžić “accused the European Union to have betrayed BiH and noted that BiH is facing disintegration because of indecision of the EU.”

The Commissioner for EU Enlargement, Olli Rehn, called on everyone to use the Prud Agreement and to rapidly implement it, which was a clear message that the European Union supported that agreement.

GOVERNMENT'S LEGAL ACTION

The Prime Minister, Milorad Dodik, announced on November 24, 2008, that the Republic of Srpska Government would submit a complaint to the BiH Court and the Prosecutor's Office against organised crime groups that had operated against the Republic of Srpska. He stressed that that action indicated that the RS Government respected the judicial institutions.

The group consisted of foreign judges and prosecutors, a Bosniak judge, Acting BiH Chief Prosecutor, Milorad Barašin, a FTV journalist, Slobodan Vasković, the president of NGO "Narodni front", Dragomir Babić and the Principal Deputy High Representative Raffi Gregorian. Dodik said that Babić and Vasković provided information for this group, which gathered in a Sarajevo restaurant "Golf", and that Barašin deceived the public with certain information.

"People from the OHR have influenced the BiH Prosecution and the Court for a long time, especially international judges and prosecutors, and a Bosniak judge. The judge signed an order for the investigation some actions in the Republic of Srpska, referring to the Criminal Law of the Republic of Srpska, not of BiH. "This clearly indicates an attempt to stop the Republic of Srpska in its activities and to present it in a negative light," said Dodik.

The Court order to investigate "some activities" in the Republic of Srpska and to search for John Doe means that the BiH Court and the Prosecutor's Office have been operating outside the law.

Representatives of the SIPA delivered to the RS Government an order on November 20, 2008, to exclude documentation related to the construction of the administrative center at the request of the BiH Prosecutor's Office. The order was issued by the Judge Šefko Hafizović, and as a suspect John Doe was indicated, referring to the same RS Criminal Law.

PSYCHIATRIST

Raffi Gregorian, in response to the RS Government announced lawsuit against him and the group he led, said, "if it is true what media has been reported, I sincerely hope that friends of Milorad Dodik will find an appropriate psychiatric help for him, because he obviously needs it."

Milorad Dodik said that RS Government would fulfill its obligations and submit to the investigating authorities all requested documentation, "but we will also present irrefutable evidence against Raffi Gregorian and his "cronies" for knowingly joining a criminal organisation that has directed its activities against the institutions of the Republic of Srpska. Once this is done, we'll see who needs a psychiatric treatment, Gregorian or me," Dodik said.

On November 24, 2008, in Banja Luka, the Prime Minister and the Minister of Transport and Communications Nedeljko Čubrilović, signed a concession contract with the representatives of the Austrian "Strabag" and a protocol on construction of the highway network worth 2.9 billion Euros.

The PDP announced, on the same day when the contract with "Strabag" was signed, leaving the coalition with the SNSD in December because of disagreements over the formation of governments in some municipalities in the Republic of Srpska.

The SNSD Executive Secretary, Rajko Vasić, said, "Nobody can set any conditions to the strongest party in the Republic of Srpska."

RECOGNITION

The Deputy Director of IMF Murillo Portugal said on November 25, 2008 that the IMF had been impressed by the economic progress of the Republic of Srpska, giving a major contribution to

the strength and stability of the whole country. "I was impressed with the results achieved in the privatisation of "Telekom Srpske" and the oil industry. The RS Government and the Prime Minister Dodik have made great steps in terms of macroeconomic stability and structural reforms," explained Portugal.

COMPLAINT

On 26 November 2008, the RS Government submitted criminal complaints against the organised group that had abused its position acting against the Republic of Srpska. Criminal complaints were submitted to the BiH Prosecutor's Office against the BiH Chief Prosecutor, Milorad Barašin, prosecutor Harry Furlan, the Principal Deputy High Representative Raffi Gregorian, the head of the Organised Crime Department of the Prosecutor's Office, David Upchair, the editor of "60 minutes," Bakir Hadžiomerović, a journalist, Slobodan Vasković, the president of the NGO "Narodni front", Dragomir Babić and the Deputy Director of the SIPA, Dragan Lukač.

The suit stated that the reported had abused their official position and authority for a long time, particularly exceeded the limits of their authority, and did harm to the Republic of Srpska, the RS Government, the Prime Minister and ministers in the RS Government and violated their rights.

They agreed at secret meetings, to organise and initiate a campaign through FTV and "60 Minutes" with the assistance of "Narodni front" to process some activities before the BiH Prosecution, but in compliance with the RS laws, which was an absurdity.

START

On opening Oil Refinery in Brod on November 27, 2008, the Prime Minister Milorad Dodik said that the beginning of operation of the refinery and the seriousness of Russian partners guaranteed that the contract would be fulfilled and that the refinery would soon become a brand of the Republic of Srpska and BiH. It would produce 4.2 million tons of oil and distribute it on the market throughout BiH and the region.

Dodik said that during the negotiations with the Russian company the refinery was about to collapse, with 200 million BAM debts to suppliers and 90 million debts to the RS Government. "Few are those who believed in success, but we have succeeded with a serious buyer from the Russian Federation. The success is that production has started today, 21 workers have been paid back wages and salaries have been increased for the repair workers."

INVESTMENTS

"A Norwegian company "Tehnor Energy" will invest 200 million Euros in the Republic of Srpska for the construction of six hydroelectric power plants on the River Bosna from Doboj to Modriča," said Dodik on November 28, 2008.

STATEMENT

In a joint statement signed by the RS President, Rajko Kuzmanović, the Chairman of the BiH Presidency, Nebojša Radmanović, the RS Prime Minister, Milorad Dodik, the Chairman of the Council of Ministers, Nikola Špirić, the President of RS National Assembly, Igor Radojčić and the Chairman of the House of Representatives of the Parliamentary Assembly of BiH,

Milorad Živković, it was said, “we believed that the main purpose of judicial reform is its independence of foreign representatives in BiH. However, it has not happened, and today we are facing with inexplicable situations that high foreign officials interfere or send letters to judicial institutions, directly trying to influence the specific cases.”

“In recent years BiH has been witnessing a series of processes in which public figures and the highest officials at the state and lower levels were sued. In all these processes foreign judges or prosecutors have participated, accompanied by overt interest of high officials of the international community in BiH,” the statement concluded.

RHYTHM

Apparently, if different international officials, propitious media and NGOs criticised the Prime Minister Milorad Dodik and his government, then the Bosniak leaders were silent and did make statements. When this “artillery” ceased, then the Bosniaks took the initiative. Thus, the Vice President of the Republic of Srpska, Adil Osmanović, on January 12, 2008 said that as the Vice President he had no constitutional powers to help those who had elected him. “The Republic of Srpska has a presidential system, the one which a war criminal Radovan Karadžić created for himself. The President of the RS does not need any approval of the Vice President for any decision. It only remains to me to coordinate activities with our ministers in the FBiH Government, in the RS Government and at the state level, and to try to help the returnees with my personal authority.”

The RS Minister of Justice, Džerard Selman, said that the BiH Prosecution, having examined the documentation taken from the RS Government, would have no choice but to put an end to

the case and to conclude the procedure discreetly. The deficiency of the procedure on documents exclusion about the construction of the administrative center of the RS Government was followed by the RS Government complaint against certain officials of the international community. "All the ministers in the RS Government voted for the decision on submitting a complaint, and they stand behind it."

"I expect, that the BiH Prosecution will assess in the pre-investigative actions that there is no basis to conduct further investigation and will conclude to close the case. The RS Government's legal team, in consultation with legal experts, believe that there are no grounds for any criminal offense under the RS Criminal Law or BiH Criminal Law related to the construction of the administrative center of the RS government," Selman said.

"The documentation has been thoroughly reviewed and it is available to the public. These are documents such as purchase contracts, agreements, tender. The RS Government adopted all these documents and submitted them to RS Parliament. It contains no specific documents that could be interesting to anyone. This is the documentation about the construction of the RS government administrative center. "Integral inženjering" and "Telekom Srpske" submitted the same documentation to the SIPA and to the BiH Prosecutor's Office." Some of this documentation was published in the Official Gazette of the RS. It was on the official website of the RS Government. Based on that documentation, the Supreme Office for the Republic of Srpska Public Sector Auditing gave their opinions, and the company "Integral inženjering" had an international audit control," specified Selman.

Selman said that it was about creating pressure and a spectacle. "If legislation were applied, there would be no further action. In July, SIPA tried to exclude documents on behalf of the Prosecutor's Office, when basic legal procedures were not applied.

The last time, unlike in the previous one, there was a Court order. At the same time, we believed that the Court and Prosecutor's Office were not authorised to act on the request. Criminal complaint against John Doe for the abuse of power and authority was filed. Then fabulous words were added "in the public sector". It is a non-existent crime. The documentation has been handed over in order not to complicate the already complicated political situation in BiH," said Selman.

PREVENTION

A political analyst, Obrad Kesić, said that the Serbian lobbyists in Brussels and the United States prevented the removal of the Prime Minister Milorad Dodik and got off the agenda the issue of existence of the Republic of Srpska. "Baraka Obama's administration will not cause dramatic changes in American policy towards Bosnia," said Kesić on December 5, 2008.

Raffi Gregorian, commenting on a criminal complaint that was filed against him, said on June 12, 2008, "It is a distraction from the request to submit certain documentation to the BiH Prosecutor's Office for revision. Everything would be easier to complete with an appeal to the court order rather than with criminal charges against the same judge who issued the order," said Gregorian.

War without weapons in BiH continued and all arrows were directed against the Republic of Srpska. Thus, Miroslav Lajcak at the session of UN Security Council on August 12, 2008 stated, "the Republic of Srpska attacks the international community by submitting criminal charges against the international representatives in BiH." He said that the Republic of Srpska authorities in recent months repeatedly disputed the institution, jurisdiction and laws of BiH. The Prime Minister, Milorad Dodik, said that by taking legal actions against Gregorian and the others, the international

community was not attacked, “but it is a legitimate means of protecting the interests of the Republic of Srpska.”

The Croatian President Stjepan Mesić, speaking at the New York Institute of Peace, repeated his statements about the genocidal Republic of Srpska and accused the Prime Minister Milorad Dodik of allegedly anti-Dayton activities. Milorad Dodik said on that occasion (December 9, 2008), “It’s high time Mesić stopped teaching the Serbs lessons.” The President Mesić obviously wants to cover up the fact that there are no more Serbs in Croatia. His desire is apparently to shift the focus of attention of the new US Administration once again to the story of the Serbs as “bad guys”. “As for me, I will continue to make Mesić angry and annoyed by the development of the Republic of Srpska and its stable position in the future.”

DISTORTED BiH

Milorad Dodik said on December 12, 2008 that the BiH Prosecutor’s Office took over the documentation on the government building to create a problem and had joined those who wanted to send a picture to Europe that something was wrong in the Republic of Srpska. Dodik said that both the BiH Court and Prosecutor’s Office broke the law, including some foreign embassies, which directly interfere in these affairs.

“For the Republic of Srpska it is unacceptable that in cases directed against the Republic of Srpska, the Bosniak judges, who have been rejecting a legal complaint, try. These are the Bosniaks, negatively inclined toward the Republic of Srpska. One should say whatever they want, but we see can the deceit that has been made there. It is impossible to respond to the appeal of the Republic of Srpska in just two days,” said Dodik.

Speaking of foreign judges and prosecutors, Dodik said that only in BiH, foreign judges could try in the case when the

Government had initiated proceedings against them. The High Judicial and Prosecutorial Council agreed to initiate disciplinary proceedings. "It does not exist anywhere in the world but only in this distorted country called BiH and its judicial system, which wants to condemn the Republic of Srpska." Dodik said that they were disturbed by actions of the Republic of Srpska in this case and no one would ever be able to treat the Republic of Srpska in this way.

All the stories about the attack on the Republic of Srpska were linked to the earlier Lajcak's statement, "a unique country cannot remain in which one part has been developing and the other one has not" Dodik said it was easier to stop someone who had been developing, than to raise someone who had constantly been declining.

The President of the BiH Court, Medžida Kreso, said that with his statement Dodik not only questioned on someone's professionalism and objectivity, but also touched on human qualities, which was absolutely unacceptable and reprehensible. It was frightening to think that the virus sent with such a statement to doubt the objectivity of the judges of this or that nationality could spread to other segments of our life. "The attack appears to be an attack on one last brick in the foundations of the rule of law."

Milorad Dodik, said on 12 December 2008, "I only defend the right of the Republic of Srpska for the laws of this country to be respected. It is the best for BiH and the Republic of Srpska. If we include the violation of law and add the ethnic component, then BiH is in a deep problem. This was the context of my statement. I apologise to everyone who may have misunderstood it," Dodik said, pointing out he did not want to apologise to those who deliberately and tendentiously abused this statement. He said that a basic political fact remained that the BiH Court had been established unconstitutionally and illegally, under the pressure of

Paddy Ashdown and other structures that had been abusing their authority and laws on the BiH Court.

Dodik claimed, "more than 90 percent of the completed cases so far or of those which have been processed in the BiH Court – are against the Serbs. On the other hand, there is no response to the complaint against Atif Dudakovic which I and Dragan Čavić submitted more than two years ago."

The Russian Ambassador to BiH Alexander Shuvalov said, "BiH is the only country in Europe, and perhaps in the whole world, in whose courts and prosecutors' offices foreigners are employed. Involvement of foreigners was planned as a temporary measure to support the emerging state. But any interim measures should be in due time completed. "

RECORD

About 1,300 non-governmental organisations registered in BiH in the last year had spent 125 million BAM, with no visible results. NGOs did not have developed infrastructure, and one or two people, among whom, there were those with suspicious biography, who often ran them.

The President of the Independent Committee for Humanitarian Affairs, Žarko Panić, said that mechanisms should be established to focus the resources of donors to fund NGOs which provide for "civil society conference."

According to the IBHI, in BiH there were 9,095 registered foundations, associations, forums and other non-governmental organisations. "There are NGOs that have nothing to do with civil society but are directly related to some political option or meet the requirements of donors. Very often, it is a radical political option. It often happens that under the guise of civil society as a precondition for democratisation of political, economic and social

relations, within the NGO a there is hidden struggle for personal and not for the interests of citizens, which they should advocate," said Panić.

The auditor, Boško Čeko, said "Only an institution can request monitoring of the use of an NGO grant and all the audit work in this field ends there.

The SDS President, Mladen Bosić, referring to the announcement of the formation of Dragan Čavić's party said he did not expect that it would be an important party by number of membership. Especially since his policy, he had announced, and the policy he had led until 2006 was not the SDS policy. Therefore, a small number of people who believed that his policy, which meant inclining toward the international community, without meeting the expectations of the Republic of Srpska voters, would have some significant success. Bosić added that Čavić was deeply involved in many scandals, as well as a part of the international community and it was no secret.

OVERTURN

Dodik said that a group of foreigners in Sarajevo had been trying to overturn the Prud agreement for a month claiming that the agreement contained something that was not good. "We did not get into the political struggles so that we would not further complicate the situation in BiH," said Dodik.

On December 19, 2008, Dodik said that RS Government would soon establish a Council for the Fight against Corruption involving 11 skilled professionals with proven moral credibility who would investigate existing of corruption. The RS Government produced a comprehensive Strategy against Corruption.

GAMES

Attacks on Milorad Dodik were continuous, only the patterns changed. Thus the model of a famous video on the Internet, in which an Iraqi journalist hit the US President Bush with a shoe, turned up in several games in which players were trying to collect points by hitting Bush.

One of the games which appeared on December 22, 2008 on the Internet web page bhraja.co.ba offered players the same opportunity but in the leading role but was not Bush, but Milorad Dodik. His face occasionally peeked out from behind the counter, and the player's task was to try to hit him as many times as possible with a brown moccasin. When the shoe hit the Prime Minister, his face started bleeding and he fell behind the counter, above which the BiH flag appeared. At the end of the game, a song could be heard from the screen, singing of BiH, as the eternal country.

To avoid any conflict, the SDA President Sulejman Tihić, who said at the Main Board meeting of his party on December 24, 2008, that the only solution for BiH was in the pursuit of a compromise between the nations, which the international community would also support. Tihić warned that the expectations of BiH lawsuit against Serbia were too high and that it was intolerable to hold back reforms in the interest of the citizens while waiting for the verdict against Karadžić.

"We have to overcome the passive role of a victim and take an active position and responsibility of the relevant political factors and to strengthen and preserve BiH as a multiethnic and multi-religious state of equal citizens," said Tihić.

On December 26, 2008, Milorad Dodik estimated that the political and social stability of the Republic of Srpska and the fact that it had become an unavoidable factor in the political process in the region was the most important success in 2008. Dignity of the

Republic of Srpska had been returned. The Republic of Srpska today had become an unavoidable factor, and those who traditionally treated it badly, had to accept and respect its positions. Dodik added that the Republic of Srpska had been further stabilised in the economic field and the international missions, which monitored the financial flows, evaluated it as one of the most stable communities in the region from the standpoint of macroeconomic flows.

In BiH, there are little or no discussions about many taboos. A discussion is the main precondition for the functioning of any democratic community. Gift of speech are characteristics only of humans and, therefore, they need to use it. Those who communicate and lead a dialogue can further develop and progress. Unfortunately, on the Balkans and especially in BiH, a constructive dialogue is rarely used or is completely absent. In this region, there is "silence" or hate speech, dictation, conditioning, insults and humiliation.

The analysis of daily events shows that it was only allowed to criticise the RS Government and the RS Prime Minister, Milorad Dodik, and the international community and its projects, such as the judicial system, were rarely commented or criticised with arguments. One of the few, who dared to do so, except Milorad Dodik, was a judge of the RS Constitutional Court Milorad Ivošević.

He said, "We need a reform of the reformed judicial system, because every analysis shows that our judicial reform is in a catastrophic crisis." It was expected, said Ivošević, "the most vital community values were followed by the appropriate behavior of these institutions but it did not happen. It turned out that the truth is quite different. There are many examples of the BiH Court and the Prosecutor's Office involvement in the most serious forms of crime.

We should remember the Deputy High Representative, Donald Hayes, who publicly mentioned hundreds of millions

worth affairs, robbery, and embezzlement. He spoke about affairs such as the RS Postal Service, the RS electric power utility, “Orao (*Eagle*)” and nothing happened in the end. It is inappropriate and a complex issue of detention and imprisonment, even physical abuse that did not have a court epilogue, as in the case Starovlah,” said Milorad Ivošević.

He stated specifically what mistakes judges and prosecutors of the BiH Court and Prosecutor’s Office made by leading a policy of imbalance. We should recall the minimum sentence, or even the settlement of serious crimes such as in the case of Dušanić and others. An ordinary citizen rightly questioned whether to blame state regulations or the people who implemented them, i.e. judges and prosecutors. This was about both reasons. One had to question the functioning of judicial system as a whole. One had to seriously consider the issue of major changes in the judiciary. This was only a small segment of the judiciary, but showed that there was a big question mark: whether our justice reform had been in a catastrophic crisis.

Ivošević said about the role of foreign judges and prosecutors,” the results of their participation here are worthless. Therefore, the judicial reform has been unsuccessful. It is about a serious issue of quality of these reforms. So now, we have to make a reform of the reform. “

PART FOUR

Year 2009

PROGRESS

The beginning New 2009 Year marked the auditor Boško Čeko, who said that financial discipline in the Republic of Srpska had been increasing from year to year, and if you looked at the audit report since 2001 to the end of 2008, the improvement was clearly seen. Only one budget user had a negative review in 2008. "However, we are not satisfied, and we strive to have as many as possible positive audit reports, to respect the rules, and that there is no deviations from the laws and regulations," said Čeko.

STRENGTH

Milorad Dodik said that man is as strong as he builds his positions. Once this is achieved, then no one has to protect him. "I

have understood it very well: my position depends on the number of votes I got in the elections. I am not prepared to deceive these people. Moreover, they know that I am not a man to achieve anyone's desires. I have had enough of the "carrot and stick" and of Brussels and America, and a dirty campaign in Sarajevo. I declare publicly that for me the greatest value is to be a Serb. BiH is not my country, it is the Republic of Srpska, whether you like it or not," said Dodik.

"The Republic of Srpska was like a drugstore before I was elected; walking in and taking what they wanted. Unlike in a drugstore, they did not have to pay for anything. It will never be the case again. And no one can deny that."

Speaking of European integration, he said, "I am not against the European Union, but I'm against unrealistic optimism that spreads in this regard. Not a single EU member state is willing to sacrifice its national interests for the EU, so neither we do. Only we have been requested to be good and to abolish all we have, so that we could be good guys one day. Moreover, we are still the bad guys. I have no intention to think anything good of those who think badly about me. After all, if they had had good intentions for this region, they would not have allowed war to happen."

"We in the Republic of Srpska will not be sycophants," said Dodik January 8, 2008, "because nobody respects ingratiating. I have nothing against integration, but let us make clear where our place in the European process is and what to expect in the future. Otherwise - no, thank you."

Throughout the Republic of Srpska a central manifestation was held in Banja Luka on January 9 - The Day of the Republic of Srpska St. Patron's Day when, for the first time, the new RS anthem "My Republic" was intonated.

NEW OLD ACTORS

At the beginning of the New Year, the old actors started new activities. On January 15, 2009, the former president of the SDS and the President of the Republic of Srpska, Dragan Čavić, as an authorised person, with complete documentation, submitted a request for the registration and entry in the register a new party called the Democratic Party to the Basic Court in Banja Luka,. In addition to Čavić, the founders of the party were a member of the House of Representatives of the Parliamentary Assembly Momčilo Novaković and delegated in the RS National Assembly Vojislav Gligić, Branislav Škobo and Djordje Milićević, the former members of the SDS.

The Head of the Representation Office in Israel RS Arie Livne said that he was surprised by the attacks of Zlatko Lagumdžija on Milorad Dodik because of the letters of support sent to the President of Israel Shimon Peres. He said, "It is very bad to equalise Dodik with Radovan Karadžić and Ratko Mladić, and to accuse him of war crimes committed against the Bosniaks during the war. To compare Israeli actions with the war in BiH is a hostile gesture toward Israel".

"I have not seen anybody in Sarajevo demonstrate when suicide bombers killed the Jewish civilians in the streets and on the buses in Jerusalem. Due to the conflict in Gaza anti-Semitism has been back, which could not be avoided even in BiH," claimed Livne.

To the question on how he commented the fact that the letter did not contain any appeal to stop killing civilians in Gaza and that for twenty days more than 1,200 Palestinians, had been killed, Livni answered: "Why are you crying only over the Palestinians?".

The decision of the High Representatives Miroslav Lajcak came out of the blue on January 23, 2009, to leave BiH because he

had accepted the offer of the Slovak Prime Minister, Robert Fico, to take the post of the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Slovakia.

Commenting on the departure of Lajcak, the Chairman of BiH Presidency, Nebojša Radmanović, invited local politicians to try to reach consensus on the European path, since BiH did not need the OHR any longer.

Now, it would be clearly seen who from the national and international circles really was for the European path of BiH, for all those who would insist on a new High Representative in BiH were against the sovereignty of the country. Radmanović said that the sudden departure of Lajcak was an opportunity for local politicians to take responsibility in their hands. It was more important than guessing who would succeed Lajcak and to whom the new High Representative would suit and to whom he would not.

After the formation of Dragan Čavić's party and the departure of Miroslav Lajcak, the PDP the day after the notice of Lajčák's departure, at the session of the Main Board, adopted conclusions that defined the conditions the SNSD should meet, if they wanted further cooperation with that party.

First requirement was that the SNSD support the initiative of lower VAT rates for basic products, the second requirement was to amend the budget for agriculture back to six percent, the third to make the Fund for the Eastern part of the RS operate much more transparently, and that the infrastructural projects fund was aimed at employment.

Fourthly, the PDP requested the adoption of the amendments to the Law on revision of privatisation and the abolishment of Commission for the revision of privatisation, and their jobs to be transferred to Boško Čeko and the Supreme Office for the Republic of Srpska Public Sector Auditing. The fifth condition was to overcome problems in functioning local authorities. The sixth, the PDP, which entered the coalition with two Ministers and the

Secretary of the Government, now was left with only one Minister, asked to compensate for those two places.

These conditions of the PDP were "Ultimatums for termination of cooperation, not the conditions for its continuation."

BiH Presidency Chairman and the President of Executive Board of the SNSD, Nebojša Radmanović, sent a message to the PDP, "the SNSD does not accept the conditions" and told the PDP, "to withdraw them immediately if they want to remain part of the authorities and to continue their coalition activity". Radmanović emphasised, "I do not know what is happening and who and why has put pressure on the PDP," but the SNSD answer was clear.

The SNSD Executive Secretary, Rajko Vasić, said that what the PDP demanded was a classic blackmail and only the Austro-Hungarian requested such a thing from Serbia before the First World War! "In politics, this does not work, because it means war! It is a sheer matter of policy and after they get out of the government, in the 2010 elections, they will start talking that the SNSD has caused our downfall."

"TRIO"

The meeting of the three leaders, Milorad Dodik, Dragan Čović and Sulejman Tihić, the so-called "Prud Three" was held in Banja Luka on January 26, 2009 caused turbulent and contradictory reactions because of the signed statement that anticipated at least four territorial units in BiH.

Sulejman Tihić, a day after the meeting, when asked whether the RS would remain intact, said, "No. Dodik has the right to say what he thinks and wants. Just remember the story of the abolition of the RS Army. And where is it today? It had been abolished! There are more examples. If there will be four regions, changes of entity lines are inevitable. We all have to make painful

compromises in conversations. I do not mean just the three of us but also to other political leaders in BiH “.

The SDS, at the same time, said that Dodik had abandoned Dayton and deceived and betrayed the citizens of the RS by accepting the central levels of government and a division into four territorial units. The SDS asked Dodik on what basis he considered to have the right to decide to leave Dayton, and substitute the Republic of Srpska, as one of two equal entities, for one of four intermediate-level territorial units of government. The SDS concluded that Dodik's views could have catastrophic consequences.

Milorad Dodik, explaining the conclusions, said that there was no word on the borders and it was premature to talk about it. “The Republic of Srpska is an unquestionable and a permanent structure and any constitutional amendment must accept that fact. For the Republic of Srpska, it is all the same whether there will be four, three, two or six territorial units, pointing out that in any case the Republic of Srpska will be one among them. We will require increasing the current territory by 0.4 percent or as much as it lacks to make the 49 percent of BiH, as set out in the Dayton Agreement.” Dodik specified.

“At all the previous meetings we have stated it makes sense to speak only if the Republic of Srpska is not disputable. And they all said that it is not.” Dodik added that one of his goals was abolishing the conditions for the existence of the OHR, and that after the adoption solutions for Brčko and the state property, it would be interesting to see their explanation for the continued existence of the OHR.

ESSENCE

A lot of people in many cases do not see the wood for the tree. Some are not able to see and the others do not want to see.

In this case, it was about the letter. Neither the SDS nor Sulejman Tihić, wanted to really perceive the situation nor to say that this was only possible principles which were formulated through the statement the three leaders to start negotiations on constitutional changes in BiH. There were no changes in boundaries or changes in jurisdiction and authority. However, it was a simple manipulation of citizens.

Why Tihić and the SDS comments, with which they misled the public, were identical, the time would show, but obviously creating a chaotic atmosphere and confusion were appropriate to both of them in order to suspend the "Prud process".

GRATITUDE

The Israeli President, Shimon Peres, expressed his gratitude for the support of Milorad Dodik. Peres, in a letter dated on January 28, 2009, said, "I would like to express my deep gratitude for your sincere comments. Your words of support are important emphasising even deeper our common pain and suffering inflicted on our nations," Peres said in a letter to Dodik.

"Thank you for representing the voice of the Serbs, who live in the Republic of Srpska, hoping that it will be written a new chapter in which conflicts will replace the unity."

TERMINATION

Czech energy giant CEZ decided on January 9, 2009 to withdraw from the power plant project in Gacko, worth 1.4 billion Euros and asked for compensation from the RS Government, accusing them of being responsible for that.

The General Director of the RS Electric-power utility, Brani-slav Milekić, said that CEZ withdrew from the project because

the minority shareholders' complaint in mine and power plant Gacko and the impact of the global economic crisis. "We have not met only one provision of the contract with CEZ. The provisions related to the registration of MPP Gacko property into a new joint venture. However, we are will continues to invest in MPP Gacko, even if we have to work alone," said Milekić.

"If the RS Government, as our majority shareholder, decides to accept their offer to withdraw from the project and if we estimate that the conditions has been met for this, we are obliged to pay the Czechs their founding share in the joint company of 206,000 Euros. We also have the obligation to repay the loan of four million Euros, which CEZ had given to the company. However, half of the loan has not been spent yet," said Milekić.

The problems with CEZ were an opportunity for the opposition to "fire" and they saw their chance to criticise the authority and to affirm themselves. Thus the President of the SDS, Mladen Bosić, accused the SNSD of making this deal only to make some party officials rich overnight, as it was the case with "Njeftegazinkor", when selling the refinery in Brod."

Dragan Čavić said that this was a definite confirmation that the project had failed form the beginning. It produced two terrible bad effects - the stock market plunged and we lost the property in Gacko. The whole job was done wrongly and it became detrimental to the Republic of Srpska.

The Ministry of Industry and Energy said that both parties retain the right to claim damages, not just CEZ. Minister Slobodan Puhalać said, "it is too early to talk about it and we should make an effort to see where the real problem is and to try to resolve it and, possibly, to continue the project. If this does not happen, the dispute has to be done by arbitration. CEZ probably has problems, the crisis is in the financial market, especially in large structures. With or without the CEZ, we will invest in Gacko."

The High Representative Miroslav Lajcak said when leaving the country what he could not or was not allowed to say during his mandate, "as long as the country has a High Representative who has unlimited authority, it means that it is a sort of protectorate."

OFFER

The Republic of Srpska opposition, according to the statements of its leaders, was concerned about the fate of the RS, because of the allegedly secret agreement of the "Prud Three" on possible constitutional changes and amendments to the Dayton Agreement.

The President of the Republic of Srpska, Rajko Kuzmanović, presented, after the meeting with the leaders of the Republic of Srpska political parties on February 4, 2009, the principles of the platform with 25 articles for the reform of the BiH Constitution, which were supported by all political parties including the opposition.

With this platform, all the criticism, referring to the agreement of the three leaders of the "Prud Three" in Banja Luka which question the territorial integrity of BiH of the opposition parties, had become senseless.

The RS President Rajko Kuzmanović said, we could enter into a discussion on constitutional changes only if the Republic of Srpska remains unique, with its jurisdiction, territory, and everything that is guaranteed by "Dayton". If the other two nations agree to change the organisational structure in that entity, in accordance with the opinion the Venice Commission, we will support them."

The SDS President Mladen Bosić said, "The party largely agrees with the principles of the platform offered. Should this be commented at all?

The authority should be criticised, but constructively. The way the SDS and the “group led by Mihajlica” act is naive. They attacked everything that the government had performed. After the strong arguments of the Republic of Srpska Government, they behaved as nothing had happen the other day. The last case of criticism of the Banja Luka meeting of the “Prud Three” at which supposedly a betrayal of Dayton and Republic of Srpska was agreed, was the best illustration of this statement.

BREAKING COALLITION

On February 5, The Presidency and the Executive Board of the PDP officially confirmed that the coalition with the SNSD was broken and the PDP went into opposition at the level of the Republic of Srpska and BiH. The party expected of the Prime Minister Milorad Dodik and BiH Council of Ministers Chairman, Nikola Špirić, to dismiss the party’s representatives in these institutions.

The President of the SRS “Dr. Vojislav Šešelj” Mirko Blagojević said that Ivanić made a disastrous move. “Dodik has a majority in the Parliament and can do without them. Ivanić resigned. I would prefer that he has returned the mandate, and not resigned. Thus, he will have a salary lower for 200 BAM, and more time to destroy Dodik. He received his mandate in the House of Parliament from the RS Parliament and Dodik has the majority there. If Dodik had refused it, he would not have been elected. This is not a mandate from the people but from Dodik. I think Ivanić has done it by the influence of foreigners.”

The Republic of Srpska political activities were numerous in both domestic and external affairs. According to the Belgrade press, well-informed diplomatic sources confirmed that the lobbying war between Milorad Dodik and Haris Silajdžić had culminated at the International Security Conference in Munich, where the

Prime Minister of the Republic of Srpska and the Bosniak member of BiH Presidency led a diplomatic battle to collect points in the new American administration. Dodik travelled to Munich to try to forestall Silajdžić's attempt to, through the new US Vice President, Joe Biden, disrupt the Prud agreement.

It was found out that Dodik, in his discussions with Daniel Fried, as well as with European officials, Javier Solana, Carl Bildt, and Wolfgang Ischinger, the organiser of the conference, managed to neutralize the negative impact of Silajdžić and his lobbyists.

CRITICISM

Criticism of government as one of the very important determinant of any democratic society is, by observing and analysing the Republic of Srpska, multiple. Namely, the RS Government and the Prime Minister Milorad Dodik had been criticised by everyone and much more than anyone else in other Western democratic country.

The RS Prime Minister, in addition the RS opposition, was criticised by the Bosniak politicians in Sarajevo, by both those in power and the opposition and various non-governmental organizations. More than 1,300 of them existed in BiH, which spent about 125 million BAM a year. He was also criticised by the media and most of all, the High Representative and the famous OHR. Normal states do not have this kind of protectorate as it is the case in BiH, and their governments do not have that kind of criticism. The role of the High Representative and the OHR should be expanded to usual critics who faithfully and loyally follow the OHR, and these are the embassies of the United States, Great Britain, and the officials of the European Union and NATO.

Criticism came one after another. Informal groups should be added to this, for many of them, it is yet to be revealed how

they might have operated, like Raffi Gregorian's and the BiH Court and Prosecutor's Office, which were used as tools, and non-governmental organisations and the media. It is not easy to be so much under watchful eyes and scrutiny, but sometimes can be very useful, because it can point to some errors in any system, particularly in transition communities, such as Republic of Srpska.

An interesting event occurred on February 10, 2009 when all the above listed kept silent when the media reported they had discovered a scandal. Namely, a restaurant in the RS government, whose lessee was Slavko Roguljić, worked without a fiscal cash register. The Fiscalisation has been introduced throughout the RS with the RS Government decision. But the restaurant in the government seat, where the Prime Minister and ministers have lunch, does not have a fiscal cash register, or the restaurant at the RS National Assembly," commented the media.

An economic analyst, Damir Miljević, commented, "Obviously, Laktaši connection has allowed Roguljić to make profit in the RS government building without having to fiscalise".

This criticism has confirmed that the Republic of Srpska, in terms of press freedom, is high on a democratic scale. Media scan and monitor more than the opposition sometimes, even the fact that a private owner in the government building had not purchased the fiscal cash register, and the source was inside the government building.

CLEARANCE

The PDP leaving the coalition with the SNSD caused certain visible and invisible reactions in the party itself and around it. Therefore, one of the most prominent members, Boško Tomić, left the PDP on February 11, 2009 because of disagreement with the

party decision to break the coalition with the SNSD. He made a decision to leave the PDP two days after he had resigned as the Minister of Labour and Veteran-Invalid Protection of the Republic of Srpska. "For me, the PDP positions and final decisions which were adopted, are unacceptable," said Tomić.

The Member of the Parliament and the former Prime Minister of the RS, Dragan Mikerević, who believed it was a mistake, joined the list of those dissatisfied with the PDP decision to terminate the coalition, "My stay in the party entirely depends on the behavior of the party and how broad political space for action I will have."

Mikerević said he did not object to the PDP criticism of the government but he would not support "criticising without foundation." "Milorad Dodik and the SNSD have significantly improved the position of the Republic of Srpska, and I expect the PDP parliamentary group will be able to obtain a constructive attitude towards the RS Government", but he also warned that if it did not happen, it would be a problem between him and the PDP.

CALCULATIONS

Parliamentary struggle means a lot, and citizens assess later all this work or inaction of the authority and the opposition in the elections. At the RS National Assembly session on 17 February 2009, the PDP joined the opposition of the SDS and the SRS. They all left the assembly hall during the presentation of information of the RS Government on how to relieve the financial crisis.

When the Prime Minister Dodik presented the above-mentioned information to the delegates, the opposition was not in the hall only their jackets were left hanging on their seats. The reason for leaving the room was the Government decision to reformulate the announced "measures" to overcome the financial

crisis into “information”. Opposition was bothered about not being allowed to enclose amendments to the information.

The RS Prime Minister said that the priority of the RS Government was social security of citizens of the RS in the global crisis. Dodik promised that salaries and pensions in the Republic of Srpska would not be reduced. Strategy measures comprised two basic measures - encouraging and supporting domestic production.

COMPLAINT

Belgrade news agency “Beta” launched on February 19, 2009 the information through its correspondent in Banja Luka, Ljiljana Kovačević, the wife of Slobodan Vasković, “The SIPA has filed a criminal complaint against the Prime Minister Milorad Dodik and 14 persons to the BiH Prosecutor’s Office.

Immediately after the publication of this information it was discovered that the complaint was submitted on February 17 at 16 hours and 25 minutes after working hours, without the knowledge of the SIPA Director Mirko Lujčić and the BiH Chief Prosecutor Milorad Barašin, by the order of the Deputy Director of SIPA, Dragan Lukač, who had signed it.

“The Chief Prosecutor, Milorad Barašin, and the Director of Investigation and Protection Agency (SIPA), Mirko Lujčić, as the leading managers of these people institutions, did not know anything about the criminal complaint against the Prime Minister Milorad Dodik, ministers and others filed by the Prosecutor’s Office and the SIPA,” said the Minister of Justice Džerard Selman on February 19, 2009.

Selman said that Barašin had opened an internal investigation to examine how this information might have appeared without his knowledge. In the event that the information had been given from

these institutions without the knowledge of their leaders, then the question was what kind of institutions we had. In case that the documentation had been delivered, it was a criminal offense.

The SIPA Director, Mirko Lujčić, said that on Tuesday, 17 February, at the end of working hours of the Prosecution, several officers of the Crime Investigation Department submitted a report on committed criminal offense against a larger group of persons to the SIPA. The Deputy Director and the Head of Crime Investigation Department, Dragan Lukač, signed the report there were not more than 11 persons accused.

Lujčić said that he was informed about the report on February 19, 2009 after the media had reported the news. "I think this kind of communication is absolutely unacceptable and inappropriate and it does not at all contribute to establishing the rule of law or to improving the situation in BiH," said Lujčić. He added that the way of conduct of certain SIPA officers had been unacceptable and that, pursuant to the law, he would undertake appropriate measures.

Milorad Dodik said it was about the abuse of authority and that all his information indicated and that there was no official communication about that complaint. "The SIPA has nothing to do with it and, as I understand the director of this institution, he has not been familiar with it, meaning that they have avoided legal procedures."

He added that the Chief Prosecutor in the Prosecutor's Office had also been circumvented, "it means that it is a sectarian group which the RS Government reported to the Prosecutors' Office several months ago."

"All of this has been done in the preparation for the designation of a new High Representative, for which we strongly disagree. They have been using the old recipe to file a complaint and to say that I cannot perform the function because of it, and thus to make an introduction to my dismissal," said Dodik.

FREEDOM ACCORDING TO CHARLES ENGLISH

The US Ambassador Charles English said that the US strongly supported the full freedom of the media. "For us, it is one of the foundations of democracy. Without a free press, democracy cannot flourish," English said after receiving the journalists who hosts '60 minutes'.

"Journalists hosting '60 Minutes' and also others from the FTV, receive threats, and the editor of the show has received a death threat, this is absolutely unacceptable. My support to him and to all journalists in BiH is provided so that they can do their job. I condemn all threats to journalists and advocate that they have the freedom to be able to do their job," said English.

"Just because I have received the journalists from '60 Minutes', it does not mean that I agree or disagree with the content of what they cover or say, but I want to show that journalists have the right and responsibility to do their job. Therefore, I support the freedom of the press and the right of journalists to do their job without fear of retaliation. I hope that journalists will always act responsibly. I am absolutely against the restraint of journalists in any way. They have the right to investigate and if others do not like it, I can complain. What must not happen is to encourage others to send physical threats to journalists. It is absolutely unacceptable," said English.

Charles English knows very well how the media work in his country, as in all European Union countries. What the freedom of the press in the Republic of Srpska and BiH is, shows the information, "there is no fiscal cash register in the restaurant of the RS government building that has been leased", as well as many others, every day. The media are more critical of the RS Government than the opposition itself. Freedom of the press or media in the Republic of Srpska is evident.

However, his statement, “journalists have the right and responsibility” was not honest because it was about the journalists from the show ‘60 Minutes’ for whose work he said, “This does not mean I agree or disagree with the content of what they cover or say.” English also knows very well that there are no such programmes as ‘60 Minutes’ in the US, or in any EU country, whose journalists he gave his support for some alleged threats that they had received. The truth is that the mentioned show, which lasts for 60 minutes, had been sending threats to the entire Republic of Srpska, the Prime Minister, ministers, directors of public companies and to ordinary citizens. English did not remember to protect them all against these threats but received those who each week for 60 minutes had been threatening.

Research, as English said, is not in the domain of media but of science and institutes. The media should inform and analyse. Nevertheless, analyses should be conducted based on facts and arguments. Analytical journalism involves the search for truth, and the show ‘60 Minutes’ certainly does not do that and English knew it well. He knew that journalism entails responsibility for the uttered statement, what he confirmed, but it obviously did not apply to the journalists from this show. English should answer many questions, and the first one was how it could happen that all the Bosniak media, not just ‘60 Minutes’, without any responsibility could call the defendants who were not convicted war criminals and many other names like “monster”, “gravedigger”, “executioner” and so on.

English did not demand responsibility of those who called the Serbs genocidal, what the Bosniaks and their media did every day. One should not spare words on the statements of the show ‘60 Minutes’ and on the terms such as criminal, criminal group. For English it was normal. The international community created mechanisms for the defense of ‘60 Minutes’ and those similar

to them, because it abolished the Ministry of Information and established the Communications Regulatory Agency, which is a separated power center. CRA is influenced by international factors that assess whether a particular program, such as '60 Minutes', is in accordance with journalistic ethics and legal regulations. If the CRS allows something possible illegal and unauthorised, it goes to court where, again, mostly "foreigners" have an impact, as they established it for themselves. So, as far as these 'spitting' shows are concerned, like '60 Minutes', they were allowed. If someone threatened them accidentally, which was disputable, English received them and provided support so they could continue to do what they had been doing.

In the USA the show '60 Minutes', after the first broadcast, would receive a million dollar worth fine from the court, from which it would never recover and would be immediately removed from the programme.

DETECTION

The Director of Investigation and Protection Agency, Mirko Lujčić, ordered the internal control to review process in the SIPA, which a group of inspectors conducted lead by his deputy Dragan Lukač, by bypassing legal procedures and without his knowledge.

After the complained had been filed, the Republic of Srpska media discovered a lot of information about it, by citing a confidential source from the SIPA. The investigation, as the same source reported, against "Dodik and others" was opened, while the SIPA inspectors were taking statements from the editor of the journal "Patriot", Slobodan Vasković, and a journalist Miljan Kovač, in the premises of "Patriot" in Banja Luka on November 9, 2007. Many political observers and legal experts considered that

criminal charges against the RS Prime Minister, the manner in which they were filed and the fact that they had been announced two days before the continuation of negotiations on constitutional reform in BiH, showed the intention of the OHR, to put pressure on the Prime Minister Milorad Dodik to agree to constitutional solutions that he otherwise would have never accepted.

Analysts and experts pointed out that the rush to file an action against Dodik, several ministers and businessmen from the Republic of Srpska for the alleged embezzlement of 145 million BAM, probably “buried” the investigation into budget expenditure for the RS government building, in respect to which legal action was filed in the first place. The creators of this complaint, by “hitting” Dodik in this way, completely missed the target because, they had bypassed the legal procedures and destroyed arguments against the RS Prime Minister and his associates.

The fact is that the complaint was filed without the knowledge of the SIPA director and the BiH Chief Prosecutor and the whole process would be transferred to the field of politics and would cause restraints judiciary. Even though Dragan Lukač and his associates, who had submitted the complaint, had compelling evidence against Dodik and others, it would be very difficult to prove, because the whole case went into politics. It was unclear why they submitted the file after working hours and it was received by the officer who was not competent to do it.

Political observers and legal experts warned that the complaint was submitted after the departure of the High Representative Miroslav Lajcak and the designation of his deputy, Raffi Gregorian, as acting Head of the OHR. It is known that the RS Government, in late November of the previous year, filed a criminal complaint against Gregorian, several foreign prosecutors, including the Chief Prosecutor, Milorad Barašin, for conducting activities against the Republic of Srpska. Interestingly, one of the reported was a

prosecutor Harij Furlan from Slovenia, who was assigned the case against Dodik. However, even more interestingly, the head of the Special Department for Organised Crime and Corruption Drew Engel suddenly went on sick leave.

The main actors of this “legal - political soap opera” were civil servants who the former High Representative Paddy Ashdown appointed. It is Dragan Lukač, the Deputy Director of the SIPA, who Ashdown appointed in September 2005. On the same day, the Assistant Director of the SIPA, Lisinović Mirza, was appointed, who would conduct the internal investigation into the violation of procedures while filing criminal charges against Dodik ordered by the SIPA Director Mirko Lujčić.

Political observers and legal experts claimed that in this chase of the RS Government, in addition to the OHR as the creator of the affair, the staff of the SDP played the active role as tested member of the SDP. Dragan Lukač was a trusted SDP member and the man in whom the SDP had unlimited confidence. Mirsad Barjaktarević and Damir Muhanović, two Lukač’s associates who had written the criminal complaint against Dodik, were devoted SDP members.

Apart from these truths that “well-informed sources” from the SIPA and the State Prosecution revealed, the other information also conveyed by the media, was about the confrontation between the SIPA Director Mirko Lujčić and his Deputy Dragan Lukač.

When Lujčić asked Lukač why he had not been notified of the complaint, Lukač told him, “it is a case for me as any other cases”. Then Lujčić warned that he had violated legal procedure and Lukač replied, “You cannot do anything about it because the OHR appointed me.”

TOUGH PLAN

Obviously, the plan of the Bosniaks and a certain structures of the international community to abolish the authority of the Republic of Srpska, was intended to eliminate the Prime Minister, Milorad Dodik, who was a major obstacle in the realisation of this scenario.

Public media uncovered confidential information about the plan of the Office of the High Representative “to remove Dodik”, divided into three phases.

The first phase envisaged the withdrawal of the PDP and Mladen Ivanić from the coalition with the SNSD and the information was passed to Ivanić in London in early 2008. He was told that, at the beginning of 2009, the SIPA would press criminal charges against Dodik. In return, he was promised a verdict of realise in the case “Srpske šume” in which by the first instance verdict he was sentenced to 18 months of imprisonment.

In this context a sudden departure of the High Representative Miroslav Lajcak, who was against this process, should be viewed, and the establishment of the Democratic Party Dragan Čavić.

The aim of the plan was to destabilise the Republic of Srpska, which would discourage investors who showed interest to invest in the RS, through the criminalisation of Dodik, the RS Government and the ruling SNSD party.

The second phase of the plan envisaged that the Prosecutor’s Office confirmed the indictment, after which Dodik would be asked for certain cessions to the disadvantage of the Republic of Srpska. This model had already been applied to Dragan Čavić, who after the decision of the High Representative, had been returned to the Assembly seat. He was a soft negotiator and suitable for cooperation with the international community. The same thing happened to Ivanić, who, after being convicted in the first instance, did what the others had told him to do.

If these two phases did not produce results and did not “break” Dodik down, the third phase was foreseen, which would begin in the first half of 2010. International donors should support the political parties with which they would put an end to the transfer of authority of the Republic of Srpska to BiH, through the so-called reforms aimed at European integration.

These parties were a newly formed party Dragan Čavić’s Democratic Party, Mladen Ivanić’s PDP the SDS and the SRS. Prior to that, the High Representative would get back all the SDS officials into the political life, on whom they had counted in throwing down the SNSD and Milorad Dodik. They would strengthen and support the media assisting the plan, which was designed by the specific structure of the international community.

There are local and foreign mentors and local and foreign actors – a symbiosis of clients and executors.

CLEARANCE

Milorad Dodik said, at the meeting of the ‘Prud Trio’ in Mostar on February 21, 2009 that he had expressed the Republic of Srpska positions in relation to constitutional change and said that they would not participate in negotiations until the following conditions were met. “Firstly, to accept the Republic of Srpska in its current political and territorial capacity, secondly, the right to vote and, thirdly, entity’s right to self-determination up to secession.”

The Executive Secretary of the SNSD Rajko Vasić said that after the submission of the report against the Prime Minister Milorad Dodik to the BiH Prosecutor’s Office and the failure of Mostar meeting of Dodik, Tihić and Čović, the SNSD prepared a request to complete clearance of all disputable relations in BiH joint institutions within a month. Otherwise, all the SNSD staff

would withdraw from those bodies. In BiH, it was an entirely new situation and, apparently, BiH could not function in that way.

Most of the BiH common institutions were created only for achieving goals of the Sarajevo political circle, which were reflected in the constant attacks and pressures on the Republic of Srpska. "Therefore, we will not allow the establishment of any common institutions at the state level. While the 'Prud Trio' tried in Prud, Banja Luka and Mostar to agree on the most serious issues, behind our backs classic ambush and insinuations were being prepared. On the scene, there is an attempt to make of the Republic of Srpska what was once made of Hercegovina. All this is done in order to present the Republic of Srpska as a genocidal and criminal creation," said Vasić.

"Dodik presented our positions in Mostar, which are now in the form of a platform placed on the paper and literally unchangeable! We talked earlier about the right to self-determination. The story of unquestionable Republic of Srpska has been told for years so it cannot be said that he presented such views in Mostar because the SIPA had done something against him.

The review of the performance of common institutions, including the SIPA in the first place, is a task that the representatives of the Republic of Serbia have begun to realise. Thus, on February 23, 2009, a member of the Commission for Defense and Security of both Houses of the BiH Parliamentary Assembly, Okolić Mirko, said he would investigate the detailed information about what has been happening in the SIPA, pointing out, "I think that this institution does not operate according to law."

The president of the RS Lawyers' Association Jovan Čizmović, commenting on the report of the SIPA sent to the Prosecutor's Office, said that all lawyers of the RS Lawyers' Association were ready to provide legal assistance to protect the RS institutions, the RS Prime Minister of the RS, all the members of the RS Government,

business and public figures that were included in the SIPA report on committing felony.

Obviously, many had been trying to turn the Republic of Srpska and BiH into the “Balkan inn”, where they wanted their guests to get drunk first and then to turn off the lights. Evidently, many powerful swindlers stirred up already troubled water, because it was only on 24 February when it became clear what had actually happened in the SIPA and Prosecution. All sorts of information or rather disinformation had been released for five days and it seemed that responsible officials had not even tried to clarify the situation.

The Minister of Justice, Džerard Selman, after the meeting in Sarajevo on February 24, 2009 with the BiH Chief Prosecutor, Milorad Barašin, Chief of the Special Department for Organised Crime of the Prosecutor’s Office, Drew Engel, and the SIPA Director, Mirko Lujčić, said that no new charges against the RS Prime Minister Milorad Dodik and other persons suspected to have embezzled 145 million BAM of the budget revenues intended for the construction of some important buildings in the Republic of Srpska.

The SIPA did not submit any new criminal charges against the Prime Minister of the Republic of Srpska! This was a report from July last year against John Doe, according to which, in August last year, the RS Government had submitted to the investigators the documentation they had requested. No new report was submitted nor did the Prosecution initiate an investigation. BiH Prosecution conducted preliminary investigation within which they demanded specific documentation from the SIPA, which they finally delivered but with the incomprehensible violation of procedures.

While explaining what the fuss was about, Selman said that someone obviously intended to create a media stir in order to ruin the negotiations on constitutional reform and to “bury” the Prud

agreement. "The Chief Prosecutor Barašin and Engel convinced me that no new report was filed," said Selman.

TAX EVASION

Slobodan Vasković from Banja Luka, a correspondent of '60 Minutes' at the time when he was the owner of the company "Patriot press" avoided taxes, due to initiated bankruptcy proceedings and the registration of another company, he did not settle his tax debts. Given to this, criminal charges against him were pressed to the District Court of Banja Luka.

A group of public figures, whose reputation had been damaged, filed charges against Vasković and, because of the lack of confidence in the work of the District Court of Banja Luka, they also submitted these allegations and a criminal complaint to Raffi Gregorian. They stated that since they had no confidence in the District Court of Banja Luka, they asked him to continue to monitor this process. Three hundred and seventy-eight public figures in the Republic of Srpska and BiH were the subject of smearing in the newspaper published by Vasković, if it really could be called a newspaper.

SUPPORT

The President of the SDS Mladen Bosić believed that complaining a file (?) against Dodik shocked only those who had been filed. "We, in the SDS have been indicating crime, millions of BAM spent from the budget, and we requested from the investigation authorities and the RS prosecution to check our claims. No one has reacted to this, as nobody reacted to our complaint about the misuse of funds for the road network in Srebrenica. We are now in the situation, because for fear of falling afoul of

the ruling structure, that the investigation will be conducted by someone who might not care about returning money to the RS budget, but might use the situation for political purposes. “

Bosić said that we had a situation where the Government was doing a good job under the slogan, “How dare you touch our thieves?”

“So, now everyone is just talking about procedures not about the essence of the problem, presenting the whole issue as a conspiracy of the international community, the Federation and Sarajevo against the Republic of Srpska. This unusual situation creates a paranoid situation in the Republic of Srpska. We had the opportunity on February 23, 2009, to see an organisation similar to a “Dodik Jungen”, trying to convince the citizens to accept the thesis “We are all Dodik”, said Bosić.

“It won’t pass, but it is true that an atmosphere was created in which Dodik has been telling the story of the Republic of Srpska being threatened. Therefore, I think we should provide full transparency of the indictment and the entire judicial process, so that the Republic of Srpska gets off the “mortgage” as the most corrupted area on the Balkans”, concluded Bosić.

Bosić wholeheartedly supported the group that worked on the criminalisation of the RS Government and the Prime Minister. He clearly saw the complaint, although it was confirmed that there were no report of the SIPA against Dodik or any investigation with this regard. Only the preliminary investigation about the charges was conducted, with all the deception and manipulation. There was nothing about the indictment or judicial process. Perhaps Bosić was familiar with the scenario in which he played a role but was not following the act, enthralled with director of the “political-legal soap opera”. To call a group of young members of the National Assembly of the Republic of Srpska “Dodik’s Jungen” i.e. to compare them with the youth of Adolf Hitler, was too strong even for the local Bašćaršija slang.

Bosić, perhaps blinded by the promises of his mentors, had forgotten that one could come to power in the Republic of Srpska only by the citizens' will, not by any threats and promises of the worldwide "imposters", who from Sarajevo cafes and grills, would promise anything. Bosić's problem was that he believed all that.

Milanko Mihajlica, the President of the SRS and one of the two MPs of the this party in the RS National Assembly, said "BiH institutions used up the Republic of Srpska authorities failure to respond to the allegations about the theft Dodik's government had performed, and have opened their investigation. However, we cannot identify a personal vandalism with the RS, because the fact is that many want to prove that it is "genocidal and criminogenic. It is a stopgap, as it turns out that Dodik is the only one who defends the Republic of Srpska, and, that we are all, allegedly, against it. According to this thesis, each mentioning of Dodik in a negative context, is the attack on the Republic of Srpska! It is true that there are parallel structures in BiH institutions, but the question is why the SNSD has realised it just now."

Mihajlica said that the public got the impression he had led the parliamentary struggle against the government in recent years, but he was not too happy about it, especially because the SRS had only two MPs. "Likewise, the fact is that my work in the Parliament creates a presumption that I could be the leader of the opposition."

A member of the expert team of Southeast Europe to combat terrorism and organised crime, Dževad Galijašević, said that authorities had parallel structures in the Investigation and Protection Agency (SIPA) through which the Bosniak intelligence sector conducts its missions. The SIPA coordinates all activities to abolish BiH as created by the Dayton Agreement. The SIPA operates within the Muslim Intelligence Service," said Galijašević, adding that the Director Mirko Lujic had no authority over the

agency, but was only faced with the procedural issues and did not take any measures.

ANALYSIS

The RS Government will perform a complete operation analysis of the BiH institutions in the coming days, from the standpoint of advocacy and respect for the representatives of the Republic of Srpska in common institutions and inform the public about it," announced the Prime Minister Dodik.

Evidently, a well-devised plan was supposed to be implemented on the Republic of Srpska, primarily through the pressure on Dodik. "Well informed diplomatic sources" explained through the media that some third-rate American diplomats supported by the Bosniak political structures and their men in the security agencies came up with a serious plan for the elimination of Milorad Dodik from political life, and they would not give it up. The information about the criminal complaint was released to see Dodik's reaction and the entire people in the Republic of Srpska. Now, once again they told the story that no complaint existed. Undoubtedly, the story about the report would be quickly reactivated and, then again, it would be denied, until they decide to press charges. It is a known tactic of fatiguing both the people and the politicians.

The same diplomatic sources considered that the RS Government, at first, was not prepared to adequately respond to the whole plot, but a few days after the noise had started, they realised in what position they were. The situation was not good at all. After the meeting of Selman with the officials from the Prosecutor's Office and the SIPA, things would calm down a bit, but would be far from being resolved. Moreover, there would be

new, more powerful attacks, so that it would be very difficult for the RS authorities to find a way out of these troubles.

Minister Džerard Selman said on February 25, 2009, "criminal charges have been pressed against John Doe in the BiH Prosecution, and the RS Government by the Court order handed over the documentation related to the case. The prosecutor can make judgment that there is no element of the offense and dismiss the complaint or issue an order to start the investigation. In this case, we would have to know the names of persons being under investigation.

The RS Minister of Justice Gerard Selman, who, after this famous complaint, had become the most requested minister due to the current situation, said that the RS Government, after obtaining written information, would urgently request from the Council of Ministers and the BiH Ministry of Security to adopt certain legal and personnel solutions for the SIPA. This would transparently resolve the internal functioning of the SIPA, "which absolutely does not work in accordance with the law. Each department works for itself without cooperation with the Director of the SIPA, although Lujčić ordered that all statements, information and evidence to other institutions must go through the Director's Cabinet, which is not respected in practice," said Selman.

RECURRENCE

After criminal charges, which had put a lot of pressure on the Republic of Srpska for more than 10 days, a new information, evidently lobbied by the Bosniaks and their "friends" from the international community, was published in "New York Times". It stated that in BiH "peace was fragile" and, as a realistic possibility of further developments, they mentioned the secession of the

Republic of Srpska from BiH and the Croatian military attack and occupation of Banja Luka, as Zagreb's response to that situation.

A political analyst Dževad Galijašević said that we did not need to doubt at all that the text in "New York Times" had been also written by Haris Silajdžić who returned from the USA the other day and no one knew with whom he had met, formally or informally. "I am convinced that he had known about the text in the "New York Times" even before it was published. He advocated a protectionist role of the international community in BiH, and for such a policy, it is necessary to constantly rehearse the tensions within BiH. Silajdžić is the generator of crises in BiH ".

ACCELERATION

"The European Union considers that accelerating the process of European integration of BiH is incompatible with the further existence of the Office of the High Representative in BiH, and the eventual implementation of the Bonn powers," said Milorad Dodik, after the meeting in Brussels with the EU High Representative for the Common Foreign and Security Policy. "The position of the EU and Javier Solana is clear: BiH cannot advance on the European road with the OHR. Within the European Union, the prevailing opinion is that BiH cannot apply for candidate status for the EU membership until the OHR is in the country," said Dodik.

REQUEST

The SIPA Director Mirko Lujić asked the Council of Ministers to dismiss his deputy Dragan Lukač. Lujić's request was included in the information of the SIPA internal control investigation conducted because some SIPA officers had submitted a report on

the criminal offense against the RS Prime Minister Milorad Dodik to the BiH Prosecution. The Council of Ministers considered the information marked as 'confidential' on March 5, but did not decide on the request for dismissal.

The old rule of the "Balkan inn" with lights off continued. Thus, Lukač, for whom Lujić had filed a disciplinary complaint, now reported Lujić, probably because he had filed him of non-compliance with legal procedures when filing reports against Dodik. The aim was to present all as depreciated and frivolous. The situation was created according to an old saying when no one knew "what came first, the chicken or the egg".

Playing 'seesaw' continued and mostly everything was running in a circle. The impression was that something had been done, but in fact, everything remained the same. On March 10, 2009, at the session of the Commission, it was concluded that the Director of Investigation and Protection Agency Mirko Lujić and the Council of Ministers should submit a comprehensive report on the situation in the SIPA within 15 days to the Joint Commission of the BiH Parliament on Defense and Security.

The Assistant Director of SIPA, Dragan Lukač, was doing what he had been told to do and thus, when taking part in '60 Minutes', he said that experience of history taught us, "criminals and dictators end up either in the cemetery or behind bars". He hoped that the same would happen to the Prime Minister Milorad Dodik and 14 other people.

The Prime Minister Milorad Dodik, commenting on this statement, said there was a possibility of getting a bullet in his forehead, but he would not certainly end up in jail.

Dodik assessed all the mess about the SIPA reporting to the BiH Prosecutor's Office against public figures from the Republic of Srpska because of a "political game". Foreign prosecutors and judges in the judicial institutions of BiH started the whole story

because their mandates would expire soon and there would be no political support for their extension. He added that foreign prosecutors could start proceedings until May, and that from December 31 of the year they had to go home because no one from the Republic of Srpska was ready to accept the extension of their mandates. They launched the story about the building of the RS Government in retaliation, and the fact was that we had done everything in accordance with the law.

The Chairman of the BiH Presidency, Nebojša Radmanović, said about the whole case, “as soon as the leader agreed in Prud, problems immediately occurred. The opposition has created a difficult atmosphere trying hard to obstruct the implementation of this Agreement. Simultaneously the process against the RS Prime Minister and other people from the Republic of Srpska was initiated. It has been a political campaign against Dodik and the people around him prepared by some Bosniak politicians and individuals from the international community who want to remove Dodik with a fictitious story about crime. Some media and intelligence services created the basis for all this. The report has caused a number of problems and showed that within the system institutions there are groups operating, trying to achieve their national and private goals. Competent institutions would have to address this problem seriously.”

Speaking of the reasons for attacking Dodik, Radmanović said that this was done because the Republic of Srpska Government knew what it wanted, and made huge steps forward. “Certain circles in Sarajevo and individuals from the international community consciously started this chase to further destabilise the situation in BiH which opened an important issue of functioning institutions. Some institutions at the state level have shown that, instead of being in the interests of citizens, they are in the service of national groups. We do not need that. The Republic of

Srpska does not question the existence of BiH. For the Republic of Srpska, it is unacceptable that individuals abuse the common institutions. Additionally, it is unacceptable that individuals from the international community do that. Therefore, they pose a question about the existence of BiH. The problem is whether there is sufficient capacity to strengthen institutions, otherwise, forces, which will completely destroy institutions because of parallelism and private schemes, will be stronger,” stated Radmanović.

Commenting on the SIPA report to the BiH Prosecutor’s Office, German Federal Minister, Gemot Erler, said that Germany was not satisfied with the manner of filing a complaint against the Prime Minister and several people from the Republic of Srpska and that someone had to bear the consequences for that. “It is bad when it happens with such institutions, which are partially controlled and influenced by the OHR and the international community, which must strictly comply with the rules.”

Comparing it with German, Erler said that it would be impossible that something like happened in Germany, “because we have institutions that operate under the law and regulations, and we are not under the control of the international community, but if something like this would happen, it would cause, as in any other country, much anger. “

RATING

The PDP President, Mladen Ivanić, accused the Prime Minister Milorad Dodik of behaving in a manner that had not existed in this region since 1948. Dodik behaved as if the PDP had been a banned organisation claiming that there were certain centers of power behind the PDP.

The SNSD Executive Secretary, Rajko Vasić, said on March 10, 2009 that Mladen Ivanić was raising his rating with his story

that the SNSD persecuted the PDP staff. He said it was normal that, after breaking the coalition with the SNSD, the PDP staff withdrew. Ivanić's story about the economy did not fall on a fertile ground, because the Republic of Srpska, compared to the Federation, was an economic paradise.

After "The New York Times" had published an article, which claimed that another war would be in BiH and the region, and the "International Herald Tribune" on March 11 had announced a new bloody conflict on the Balkans and the destruction of the Republic of Srpska.

A member of the International Crisis Group and its former head for BiH, James Lyon, in his authorised text foresaw a disaster on the Balkans, which, according to him, might cause a secession of the Republic of Srpska from BiH. Lyon, referring to the assessment of the US intelligence sources, claimed that a new war was likely to happen on the Balkans, which would leave serious consequences not only in BiH, but also in Croatia, Kosovo, Macedonia and Serbia, leading to the destruction of the Republic of Srpska.

Lyon claimed that the US intelligence agencies predicted that BiH would be the biggest threat to European security then, adding that the war could only stop Washington by appointing a Special Representative for the Balkans, who would have the role as once had had the creator of Dayton, Richard Holbrooke.

It is interesting that the "International Herald Tribune", owned by "The New York Times", which published a similar article ten days before claiming that, in the case of the secession of the Republic of Srpska, Croatia would occupy Banja Luka.

The Chairman of BiH Presidency, Nebojša Radmanović, said the background for these texts was a difficult situation. "Some American analysts have been obviously informed by the intelligence circles that in BiH there are certain forces prepared for various types of incidents and terrorist activities. The SIPA and

the Intelligence Protection Agency should address this issue. It is possible that the aim of the articles is to retain the OHR in BiH. However, such assessments are contradictory to the view that the current contingent of EUFOR troops would be reduced from 2,500 to 200.

All serious political analysts claim that after these texts, it was about an “apocalyptic scenario” that has nothing to do with the reality and the goal is to prepare the ground for a more radical approach of the new US administration on the Balkans and more intense pressure not only on the Republic of Srpska, but also on Serbia.

Obviously, the Bosniaks wanted to get a new Holbrooke, who would twist arms of the Serbs and make their wishes come true. This was nothing but a dream.

IRB

The most challenging issue of oppositional political parties was the business and bank loans of the Republic of Srpska Investment-Development Bank (IRBRS). It should be recalled that, in this region many, things are quickly forgotten and that the bank was a promise of the Prime Minister Milorad Dodik and the SNSD. The basic capital of the bank based on which it was established, in addition to other funds, were from the sale of “Telekom Srpske” the RS oil industry. All loans are provided through commercial banks so that there is a strict financial discipline with regard to the eligibility for loans and repayment period.

Out of many opposition critics about the IRB, we separated a view of a Democratic Party delegate Branislav Škobo, who claimed that the IRB loans were provided under political lines and that there were some other “deals”. “This is classic spending money and providing loans to the SNSD funders, their members and

delegates! In addition, one should look which commercial banks are financial intermediaries. These are Balkan Investment bank and Nova bank in which the Minister of Finance, Aleksander Džombić, and the Director RBI, Brane Stupar, were the managers.”

IRB spokesman, Zoran Popović, called the story of uneven distribution of loans an attack on this bank and a political demagoguery in which the IRB did not want to participate. In addition, the IRB did not want to comment on the claims that some businesses were close to the authorities.

“For us, it is only applicable that financial intermediary approves loans for these companies, which also bears the risk for the repayment of loan, and which is consistent with the objectives of the Development Program. The IRB do not disburse loans, but approve or reject loan applications that come through commercial banks. Intermediary, which bears the risk for the repayment, first brings the decision on the approval of a project or a loan application. The IRB RS assesses the approved loan application pursuant to the goals of the RS Development Programme and the rules for providing loans under credit lines. All eligible applications are approved by the IRB,” said Zoran Popović.

Mladen Bosić, the President of the SDS, complemented the economic “mosaic” of the opposition point of view, by commenting on the information that the government budget was executed 95% by mid-March 2009 in relation to the plan and that deflation of 0.3% was registered in the Republic of Srpska. He said it was the act of throwing “dust in the eyes” of the public. “Unfortunately, it is the proof that the Government is incapable of dealing with the growing crisis in a responsible manner.

Deflation of 0.3% percent is not an indicator of prosperity, but the product of serious economic crisis since the price drop in this case is a consequence of decreasing the population’s purchase power. Nearly 10,000 people have registered at the Employment

Services in the past three months, daily strikes, a complete lack of investments are brutal denial of unfounded optimism that the RS Government attempts to spread around,” said Bosić. Citizens of the Republic of Srpska in the elections would best assess Bosić’s comment and all public statements of the SDS. This is the only measure of both the position and the opposition performance. The Prime Minister Dodik, together with the members of the leadership of the Russian company “Zarubezhneft” and the director of the Refinery Modriča, Pero Dugić, opened the facilities for the production of hydrocracker base oil and paraffin. Thus, the refinery has become one of the most modern and the most sophisticated company in Europe.

Dodik said that the refinery was now capable to five times increase production, reduce import and to increase export and employment of workers, stressing that, in addition to 500, a job in oil refinery got another 50 workers.

The opening of these production facilities during the world economic crisis has a medicinal effect to keep silent those who criticised and disputed this project.”

COLLABORATORS

The PDP President, Mladen Ivanić, said he did not believe that Milorad Dodik agreed on something secretly to the detriment of the Republic of Srpska, but he thought he was unable to manage serious negotiations. He did not believe in any radical moves of Valentin Inzko, and announced regrouping of political sense in two blocks in the Republic of Srpska. Ivanić believed that the government behaved frivolously to the evident economic crisis.

The Deputy Chairman of the House of Representatives of BiH, Milorad Živković, said on March 31, 2009 that Mladen Ivanić

and Dragan Čavić had been working for foreigners to throw down the SNSD from the power. Ivanić did not leave the government because he was not satisfied with the cooperation with the SNSD, but by the order of the international community. On the other hand, Čavić, who presented himself as opposition, had lost any kind of legitimacy, because he knew how he had behaved while he was the President of the Republic of Srpska.

Živković said that strong SNSD and a unique position in the Republic of Srpska did not suit the foreigners so they would do anything to break the unity of the RS relying on the media and the parties they could control.

“Speaking about Čavić, we all know that, while he led the Republic of Srpska, even the cook from Bratunac had been sent to the court for war crimes in Srebrenica. I do not understand how he can talk now about opposition activity. Simply, he has no legitimacy because the foreigners control him. “

MANEUVERING

Because of damaging the reputation of the Agency for Investigation and Protection Agency and serious violation of duty, the agency director, Mirko Lujić, asked the Council of Ministers to dismiss the Assistant of the Criminal Investigation Department of the SIPA, Dragan Lukač.

At the same time, Haris Silajdžić, speaking of Prud agreement said on June 4, 2009 that it was clear to him from the very beginning that it was Dodik’s maneuver with only one goal - to close down the OHR without resolving key issues which, without active international engagement, could not be resolved.

The session of the Peace Implementation Council was over, the OHR was not closed, and then Sulejman Tihić stated that Dodik

was not interested in constitutional changes, which they had agreed on in Prud. "It is good that Tihić have understood it now, but the damage has been made: a message was sent to the international community that there are Bosniak representatives who are willing to accept an agreement contrary to the fundamental interests of the state of BiH. Fortunately, our public and the international community representatives know it is not possible. After all, I'd love to see who would support Prud agreement in the SDA on, say, state property or the census, which Tihić accepted," said Silajdžić.

After Lujčić, Lukač and Silajdžić, in early April, the US Ambassador, Charles English, said that constitutional changes in BiH were more important than the global economic crisis. BiH, due to the current constitutional arrangements, was not able to respond quickly to the global economic crisis. Therefore, said English, "the constitutional changes should be a priority now, as thousands of workers have been losing their jobs."

EXTORTER

Banja Luka media reported on July 4, 2009 that Vidosav Jungić, who had been in custody for one month, was suspected of attempting extortion of 180,000 Euros from the SNSD delegates in the RS National Assembly, Ilija Vujičić and the Assistant Minister in the RS Government, Jovo Radukić. He acknowledged his guilt stating he did it by the order of the SRS President Milanko Mihajlica.

The President of the SRS "Dr. Vojislav Šešelj" Mirko Blagojević said on August 4, 2009 that the rights of the opposition in the Republic of Srpska did not exist and that the parties in the opposition would completely disappear from the political scene. "If they continue to attack the Prime Minister Dodik in this disgusting manner giving him "low blows", like on FTV and its

show '60 Minutes', his popularity will raise up to 90%, and they will condemn themselves to years of living on the margins of political life," said Blagojević.

Speaking of the RS Government, Blagojević said that he was not completely satisfied, but "compared to the Federation of BiH and the region, I believe that there is room, not really for optimism, but at least for comfort. It is good that the government is stable, because it is better this way than to have some a government composed of ten parties. "

MEDIA

The media, in addition to the authority and the opposition, are certainly the most important element of any democratic system. They are used by virtually all segments of society, and generally they promote all activities of system institutions, opposition political parties, NGOs, international community (which is very much present in BiH), as well as some of informal groups working on behalf of the international community. The media are used for announcing certain events, plans and sometimes they only report on someone's desires, deceits or failed plans. The Sarajevo press published an article on April 9, 2009, which announced the dismissal of the Prime Minister Milorad Dodik and the combinations of who would succeed him.

"The three opposition parties in the Republic of Srpska had already laid the cards on the table making combinations who of their candidates would perform a certain function in the executive and legislative authorities of the Republic of Srpska, if this scenario of removing the SNSD leader Milorad was realised. They relied on the possibility variant that the High Representative Valentin Inzko could replace Dodik, with the support of the Americans in order to unblock the story of constitutional changes. "

According to this “pamphlet”, Mladen Ivanić would be the President of the Republic of Srpska, Mladen Bosić would become the President of the RS National Assembly, while the Prime Minister chair would belong to Dragan Čavić. This “trio” did not only remain at the entity level. They would rather see Mirko Šarović taking over the function of a BiH Presidency member from the RS instead of Nebojša Radmanović, which Bosić strongly supported. They had not yet determined the name of a candidate to replace Nikola Špirić as the Chairman of the Council of Ministers.

Any comment on this, as well as on many other “attacks and blows”, against Milorad Dodik were redundant. Apparently, in the minds of some people the time of “Ayatollah” was still there when they wanted to appoint and replace legitimately elected officials of the Republic of Srpska with some decrees.

CONDITIONS

Milorad Dodik said April 13, 2009 that the constitutional change was not a condition for joining the European Union and the future negotiations it would be unlikely to talk about territorial reorganisation of the Republic of Srpska, the reduction of its authorities or abolishment of the entity voting in the BiH Parliament. “If it turns out that constitutional change is a requirement for EU accession, this means that the Europeans do not want BiH in the Union. Constitutional changes have been pushed by leading federal politicians, because they believe they could achieve solutions to constitutional reform according to their will with the international pressure,” said Dodik. He added, “Those who think to blackmail the Republic of Srpska and to put pressure on us have to know that Milorad Dodik and his delegates have to put up their hands for it. Those hands are hard to raise if there is no guarantee for a full constitutional and legal capacity of the RS! The US might

intervene, or whoever, but there would be no solutions according to their will, regardless of the pressures. I have to say that lately the situation has changed, now I am putting the pressure on them”

The scenario was to put pressure on the Prime Minister Milorad Dodik every day and to keep the tension heated. Sarajevo media on April 15, 2009 issued information, which was in fact misinformation, that the Prosecutor’s Office would press charges against Dodik in late May or early June. It was a purely political balancing, whether to do it at the time when the Prud process should proceed, which was practically stopped after the SIPA had sent the report to the BiH Prosecutor’s Office. Then, Dodik left the meeting in Mostar with Čović and Tihić.

Therefore, according to the Sarajevo media, a part of the international community in BiH feared that the charges in the next one or two months would only further complicate the already complicated political situation in BiH. Other international circles, who were in favour of a “tough hand and discipline”, believed that charges would make Dodik more cooperative and less radical in his demands for the secession of the Republic of Srpska.

On April 16, 2009, Milorad Dodik reacted to the media report on pressing charges against him by inviting the BiH Prosecutor’s Office to do it if there were elements for his criminal prosecution. Dodik pointed out that he was just under preliminary investigation. “Let them press charges and we will see how it all will end up in this country. I will not keep silent as Mirko Šarović, regardless of my being the Prime Minister or not, because this is a complete mess and attack on my personality first and foremost. But it will not happen.” said Dodik.

The Sarajevo media that published unconfirmed information about the alleged charges was a kind of pressure on the prosecution. “It is almost impossible that five or six months later since it all started, the prosecution does not have any assessment on that.

It's because no investigation is open, the legal definition of it is a preliminary investigation," said Dodik. He added, "The apparent politicisation and the political role of the Prosecutor's Office, as well as foreign interference in all of this is a kind of pressure on the Republic of Srpska."

"Of course I'm not one of those "jerks" who is willing to comply or bend on some political issues. I will be even more orthodox about it, because I believe that no one needs this country with such institutions." Dodik said that the

BiH prosecution could not survive with these competencies in the future. Prosecutors are under the direct influence of foreigners in the land of swindlers, who want to retain here and to keep wages from 10,000 to 15,000 Euros in order to provide support for their governments in their intervention.

"Prosecutors are ordinary, as people say, "hags" who are afraid of some media from the Federation. We have prosecutors "rouches", who do not do their job and waiting for foreigners to tell them what to do. Let them show that they are not "hags", as they are," said Dodik and added "judicial institutions in BiH, including the High Judicial and Prosecutorial Council, are an illegitimate and imposed hybrid, formed under international pressure, which require repacking."

Dodik said he would soon requested amendments to the Law on Court, and recommended that the media should investigate whether the Prosecutor's Office issued an order for wiretapping judges of the Constitutional Court.

Paddy Ashdown took care of another attack against Dodik and the Republic of Srpska, who on April 20, 2009 said that it was a difficult situation in BiH. "BiH has made a miracle in the reforms in the first 10 to 12 years since Dayton. Now we are moving backwards. I do not believe that the result of that bad direction will be of the war, although nobody knows what an incident might

generate,” said Ashdown. He added that the real problem was a danger that BiH would become a black hole in the middle of Europe, divided and dysfunctional like Cyprus.

Ashdown said that BiH needed to improve its functionality statehood. “There is no future for BiH or entities if it is not unique in the European Union. The RS Prime Minister Dodik spreads belief that somehow that entity can exist outside of BiH. It is dangerous to mislead one’s own people in this way. Those who destroy the functionality of the state and try to destroy reforms undertaken so far, in fact, deprive the citizens of the secure and prosperous future, which means membership in the European Union,” said Ashdown.

OPPOSITION, MEDIA, NGOs

On April 22, 2009, the Opposition MPs discussing the information on Investment Development Bank operation in the RS National Assembly argued that the bulk of loans were provided to the Laktaši, Gradiška and Banja Luka, but the Eastern part of the Republic of Srpska was neglected. The SRS delegate Milanko Mihajlica said, “Credit policy of the IRB RS is full of nepotism., Loans were given to, among others, the son, brother and son-in-law of the Prime Minister. There is racketeering in IRB, specifically for each approved loan 20% is required.”

The SNSD delegate Ilija Vujičić accused Mihajlica of racketeering. “This is what the press reports,” Vujičić said, adding, “It would be better if you could explain how you change cars and how your mistress is high on life”.

The Minister of Finance Aleksandar Džombić told Mihajlica that he lied. “Nothing of what you have said is true. There is no racketeering in the RBI, you are a racketeer.”

The Prime Minister Dodik said that the IRB RS provided a loan of three million BAM to company “Eco-Fruit”, co-owned by

his son. "This company has paid 125,000 BAM of interest rate from July up to now. They planted 160,000 apple trees and built a cold storage with the capacity of 2,000 tons. I am proud of my son and his job. It's better than to hang around here in Banja Luka," said Dodik. He added that he thought it was fair to approve the loan to that company and it was unjustifiable to expect that a member of his family cannot get a loan from the IRB RS just because he/she belongs to his family.

The pressure on the Prime Minister would continue in the coming days. What the opposition started in the Republic of Srpska, the media in Sarajevo and Belgrade 'Blic' in its edition for the Republic of Srpska continued. They passed the information on a controversial report of the Investigation and Protection Agency, which was in the possession of an NGO 'The Center for investigative journalism'. According to the report the Prime Minister Dodik and 14 other people were suspected of bid rigging, unnecessary cost overruns and money laundering during the construction of the administrative center of the Government of the RS, the RS Radio and Television building and motorway Banja Luka - Gradiška.

The above-mentioned SIPA report was published in the "Blic", describing the alleged complicity of the ruling political structure and civil servants suspected of bid rigging; Dodik and others were suspected of abusing the power.

It was the apparent collusion of the SIPA and non-governmental organisation called the Center for Investigative Journalism and the media. What kind of a security agency it is from which, accidentally or not (this was not even explained) the report prepared for the Prosecution of BiH leaked out to the so-called Center for Investigative Reporting, which published it in the media. Through this report, if it really could be called a report because it is just a "slurring pamphlet", they tried to entertain the public and to put pressure on the Prosecutor's Office to charge the Prime Minister Dodik.

When you look at the headline of the “text”, it was clear why it was “packed” and what its aim was. The headline reads, “The RS Government bought trashcans for 1,700 BAM”, which clearly showed that the aim was to disgust the RS Government and the Prime Minister Dodik to the citizens of the Republic of Srpska. Dodik and the Government were presented as spendthrifts and profiteers who earned large sums of money on government building by disregarding legal procedures. Dodik’s removal was intended with this SIPA report that appeared as a journalistic text on three pages. Criminal charges were the least that followed.

The next day, on April 25, 2009, after the SIPA report had been transmitted, the same media, or the group behind them, continued pressure on the Prosecutor’s Office to press charges, trying to further disgust to the public the RS Government and the Prime Minister with a headline “Allegedly, Dodik and others gained 115 million BAM.” Prosecution spokesman, Boris Grubešić, confirmed that the SIPA report was being investigated, and again, the text in the newspaper retold yesterday’s report of the SIPA, or of the Center for Investigative Journalism, or whosoever it was. Obviously, the goal was to repeat it several times so that the public would be familiar with it as such.

It said that suspects were: Dodik, the ministers of the RS Government Aleksandar Džombić, Nedeljko Čubrilović, and Fatima Fatibegović; the former ministers in Ivanić’s government Branko Dokić and Simeon Vilendečić; the owner of “Integral inženjering”, Slobodan Stanković, and his wife Salvica Stanković as the manager of “Integral inženjering”; the current and the former director of “RS Roads”, Nemanja Vasić, and Milorad Lazendić; the director of the RT RS, Dragan Davidović, the former Assistant Minister of Special Planning, Milenko Dakić; the Chairman of the Board for monitoring activities on Radio and TV construction of the RT RS, Dragan Kokanović and the former director of the RS Urban Institute, Miroslav Vujatović.

On the same day, the same media published a research article on the alleged affair with the headlines “the loan of three million” and “Dobrić - no explanation of partnership with Dodik”. They suspected that “Igor Dodik co-owns the orchards of 103 acres of Fruit-eco.”

Obviously, the aim was to put pressure on Dodik every day, because it was believed that by constant repetition of lies, untruths would come true. These times were far behind us and it was hard to believe that they could return.

April's assaults on the RS Prime Minister Milorad Dodik continued with the attack of the Governing Board of the BiH Prosecutors' Association on April 25, 2009. They hoped that the parliamentary representatives of BiH authorities and the international community would respond effectively and would finally appropriately sanction the public appearance of Milorad Dodik, in which he called the prosecutors “hags” and “rouches”.

BiH Association of Prosecutors issued a statement that it was not the first time that the Prime Minister of the RS Government made “trips to the vulgarity” in addressing the representatives of the judiciary. Insults were a sign of contempt of the frightened people, a demonstration of the power in order to hide their own weaknesses.

Dodik stated, “The BiH Prosecution and the SIPA completely illegitimate bodies, as they are not in the Dayton Agreement. The SIPA and Prosecution are artificially imposed and they will best contribute to breaking BiH into pieces, which will probably happen.”

Speaking about the completion of the SIPA disciplinary proceedings in which Dragan Lukač was acquitted, and about the rumors that the Prosecutor's Office could bring charges against him in May, Dodik said that in his case it was about political retaliation. “It is a political court that has nothing to do with justice because, if it had, the OHR would have appointed Lukač in

SIPA. I guess the institution would do that. The SIPA apparently has abused parallelism that occurred there.” Dodik invited the media to investigate why the Deputy High Representative Raffi Gregorian and the others had invited the commission that was reviewing the responsibility in the SIPA five times for an interview and examination and how they were forced to write a final report which set Lukač free from responsibility.

LIQUIDATION

The SDS accused the SNSD of the murder of their Vice President Branislav Garić in the SDS premises in Doboj on April 26, 2009. A businessman from Doboj Rajko Savić killed him with shots from a pistol. The SDS Secretary General Ćuzulan said, “The SDS knows that the killer was close to certain SNSD circles” but did not specify in which sense.

The SNSD Executive Secretary Rajko Vasić said that the SNSD rejected any connection with Savić and that the SDS should be, at least a few days after the death of their Vice President, “dignified and should speculate about it.”

Vasić said that the SDS made a dirty move if they accused someone outside their staff and their authorities in Doboj. “The SDS is the owner of the enclave in Doboj and the town has been a “feudal estate” of the party since the first multiparty elections in BiH,” said Vasić, adding that every life is precious and Garić’s murder could not be justified in any way.

According to the unconfirmed information, Branislav Garić and Rajko Savić on Sunday arranged a meeting in the premises of the SDS Municipal Board on April 26, 2009 to discuss the construction of residential and business premises “Diamonds” in Doboj. Garić allegedly promised Savić to take care of all necessary documentation for the construction if he gave him a 100 BAM per

square meter for the planned complex. However, Savić, according to unconfirmed information, entered the room with a gun instead of money.

Milorad Dodik did not have problems only with the Bosniak leaders and some representatives of the international community but also with the Serbs: Bosić, Mihajlica, Ivanić, Čavić, even with Bojan Bajić, the president of “Our party”. The Serbs who “suited to Sarajevo and the international community” also attacked the RS Prime Minister.

Bajić said that the public should know that the greatest enemy of the Serb interests in BiH was Milorad Dodik, who ruled by fear, nepotism, guided media, corruption and selected companies in the Republic of Srpska. He covered all this by drawing the attention of the public to referendum, a suicidal policy for the Serbs.

On May 8, 2009, Milorad Dodik said that the political situation in BiH was stable and that there were difficult political issues about the internal arrangements, but it would take time until people realise that centralisation would not pass and that the RS Government would not accept diminishing the importance of the Republic of Srpska under any circumstances.

“BiH Prosecution and Court are the places of political execution. These are not the state, but the political institutions of different swindlers. “Prior to the SIPA report I have spoken harshly about the BiH Court and the Prosecutor’s Office, because court that only prosecutes only those from the Republic of Srpska is not acceptable for us. These institutions have been imposed by the High Representative and we will advocate their abolishment,” said Dodik.

To the question whether he would appear before the court upon the invitation of the BiH Prosecutor’s, Dodik said: “It’s as if someone asks me if I’m pregnant and if I am going to give a birth to a child. Of course, I will not. This is a hypothetical question and it is not an institution that should be respected”.

Commenting on the statement of Dragan Čović, according to which Čović's arrest was planned as a "balance" to the arrest of Dodik and the SDA Vice President, Bakir Izetbegović, Dodik said that some media reported that he should have been arrested two years before but he was still the RS Prime Minister.

Dodik said that he did not support the participation of BH armed forces in NATO military mission in Georgia and invited the Serb members of the Armed Forces not to participate in these exercises. "I think it has not been seriously done in political terms, and there is no need for BiH to do it. I invite the Serbs not to go there," said Dodik and added that it was not necessary for BiH to participate in something which was a "big game".

A member of the BiH Presidency, Nebojša Radmanović, said on May 8, 2009, that frequent information about the possibility of indictments and arrests of some politicians from the Republic of Srpska and the Federation by the foreign judges and prosecutors' order indicated a classical political persecution, with individuals from the international community behind their backs. They should fight against the crime instead.

"We have a situation in which foreigners influence the local judiciary. This creates enormous pressure on local politicians and officials. Therefore, we can consider in this context the latest information on the possible processing of some politicians and high officials of the Republic of Srpska and the Federation. There is a danger that if this practice does not stop, all those engaged in politics whose positions do not agree with certain circles, will be threatened with trials. This is far from the rule of law as a basic democratic principle to which we all strive. We must get rid of those who try to affect BiH judicial institutions bypassing legal authorities, thus inflicting enormous harm to the country," said Radmanović.

According to the envisaged scenario, some media, not just federal, published the information that the BiH Prosecution had

initiated the investigation against Milorad Dodik and 14 other people. Prosecution spokesman Boris Grubješić did not want to either confirm or deny this information. He stated, "Published information has not come out of the Prosecution." The SIPA did not want to comment on the information.

On May 13, 2009, Milorad Dodik said that the BiH Prosecutor's Office did not officially inform him that the investigation against him had been opened. "That was probably retaliation for my position that I expressed on the foreign judges and prosecutors who will not be able to extend their mandate and they will not receive our approval. Media announcement on the opening of the investigation is "showing teeth" because the RS Government building was made in accordance with the law and there was no abuse. The Court and the Prosecution are the places of political executions, illegal political authorities imposed by the High Representative," said Dodik.

Struggle with the Prosecution did not prevent Dodik from establishing a joint concession company "Highway Network" on May 19, 2009 in Banja Luka, in which with the Austrian company "Strabag" had 90 and the Republic of Srpska 10% of proprietary capital.

On May 19, 2009, the Vice President of the United States of America, Joe Biden, and the European Union High Representative for EU Common Foreign and Security Policy, Javier Solana, visited BiH. This visit was announced as a "sword" that had come to "cut down" the Republic of Srpska and the disobedient, Milorad Dodik. It was "much ado about nothing."

After the discussion with the USA Vice President Joe Biden, Milorad Dodik said that the US Vice President, even in private conversation with him, confirmed his commitment to Dayton. He said that BiH had to resolve the issue of its internal organisation alone and that no one from the outside could interfere. He was

very explicit, "The US wants to help BiH without intending to impose any kind of unilateral decisions or solutions," said Dodik, adding that he told Biden that he possessed a number of erroneous information, and that BiH had progressed towards Euro-Atlantic integration.

Addressing the BiH Parliament, Bajden called for the reform of defense, which had ended, tax reform, which had been completed as well and for many other issues, which were finalised.

"I am very pleased with the way the US has promoted its future policy towards BiH. It is clear that without consensus, compromise and agreement in this country it will not be possible to achieve anything," said Dodik. Speaking of stories that the Biden had asked the President Tadić to "discipline" him, Dodik said, "If these stories had been true, Biden would have probably refused to meet with me." If Dodik had been such a problem, he would not have been meeting with Dodik, but with someone else.

Dodik said that Biden's visit to Serbia was a very important event, especially because he stated in public, "the US sees Serbia as the leader in the region."

Dodik said that Biden's visit to Serbia was a very important event, especially because he stated in public, "the US sees Serbia as the leader in the region. I do not think that Tadić had any inconvenience because of me, and even if someone would demand of Tadić to "calm me down", it would be totally inappropriate," said Dodik.

The US Vice President Joseph Biden said at the end of the visit to the Balkans that BH did not need a new peace agreement and that the country had moved away from the massacre and brutality. "Dayton is the only guarantee of non-violence and the people in BiH do not want to return to war. "Dayton Two" is not necessary. On the contrary, it would only strengthen the position of the nationalists and would mean the acceptance of their policies,"

said Biden, adding that the situation had improved radically on the Balkans, but still much had to be done to ensure the integration of the region in the European Union. It would be counterproductive to appoint an American special representative for the Balkans and BiH.

INZKO

The High Representative Valentin Inzko damned the Republic of Srpska in the report to the Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon about the situation in BiH in the period of the past six months. On May 23, 2009, Inzko sent the same report to the Chairman of the UN Security Council, the Russian Ambassador Vitaly Churkin.

Inzko accused the Prime Minister Milorad Dodik of being the one to blame for the halt of BiH path to the EU accession and for the lack of progress. From November 1, 2008 to April 30, 2009 in BiH challenges of the authority of the High Representative and the Steering Board of the Peace Implementation Council Steering Committee continued. "Of particular note are the ongoing attacks against the state institutions, competencies and law."

In the reporting period, officials and institutions of the Republic of Srpska had taken steps and issued statements related to the idea of a possible secession from BiH.

A professor at the Law Faculty in Banja Luka Petar Kunić said that Inzko had taken over his duty on March 26 that year! This meant that he signed the report when he was not the chief of the OHR! It was unbelievable that he allowed himself to sign a report that had been prepared by the OHR bureaucracy. They had stigmatised the Republic of Srpska for years, only because the Republic of Srpska struggled to preserve the Dayton Agreement, likewise the Prime Minister Dodik.

The DS President Dragan Čavić said that the report was a disaster for the Republic of Srpska, as it was marked as a generator of all the problems in BiH. The RS authorities were most responsible for it, which had contributed to the preparation of such a report with their irrational, unrealistic and conflicting policies.

Milorad Dodik said that the Office of the High Representative connoted to degradation the Dayton to the point that encouraged the divisions that were the most visible then in BiH. The divisions were the product of the OHR bad policy, which had spent years trying to implement something imaginary, to conduct individual reforms and to change the essence of relations in BiH. It had to fail one day. Dodik said that the Republic of Srpska had no reason to change anything. "Our strategic position remains the same - the Republic of Srpska within Dayton BiH, constitutional changes with amendments to the Dayton Agreement could be done, but only with a consensus and a key role of domestic political forces, without the guidance of the international community," said Dodik.

CHARGES

Prosecutor's Office "expressly" granted the request of the Croat member of BiH Presidency, Željko Komšić to initiate an investigation against the Prime Minister Milorad Dodik for his calls on the Serb members of the Armed Forces not to go on a military exercise in Georgia. Just a day after the Komšić's initiation, the Prosecution nominated a prosecutor to verify the charges against Dodik. Komšić charged Dodik for the crime of "rejecting the orders of execution, endangering BiH road into NATO and the violation of the decisions of state authorities."

The SNSD Executive Secretary, Rajko Vasić, said that Dodik had not committed any crime. Dodik had only expressed its political

position on sending troops into Georgia. However, the speed at which the Prosecution responded to the Komšić charges was a clear signal that individuals from Sarajevo and the international community used such accusations in daily political purposes. On May 26, 2009, Vasić said that their speed was of no surprise, since it was a “political hit” to charge Dodik. It only testified the fact that the Prosecution was the most appropriate for manipulation by people like Komšić, who only followed the orders of his party leader Zlatko Lagumdžija, always prepared to “slander”.

Valentin Inzko demanded that the RS National Assembly vote by 11 June 2009 to nullify its conclusions on the effects of the transfer of competences from the Republic of Srpska to BiH, thus preventing their entry into force. Inzko noted that the RS Government position and the RS National Assembly conclusions were “misleading, erroneous and therefore unacceptable.”

On May 25, 2009, the Prime Minister Dodik said that the conclusions of the Republic of Srpska National Assembly on transfer of competencies from the Republic of Srpska to BiH were not anti-Dayton and it could not be expected that the Parliament would change its conclusions. He added that for the RS the implementation of the Bonn authority was completely unacceptable. “If someone reached for it, the Republic of Srpska will decide how to react. Inzko apparently succumbed to the feeling that a group from the OHR had created, which is always against the Republic of Srpska,” said Dodik.

PRECEDENT

On May 31, 2009, the Constitutional Court ordered the municipality of Trebinje and the Government to immediately repay five million BAM to brothers Salih and Muamer Alijagic as a compensation for the material damage that the municipal

authorities took away from their locksmith's workshop in 1993. The BiH Constitutional Court rejected the police report that the Alijagićs deliberately faked evidence on seized goods, to enlarge the repayment.

On June 5, 2009, the Former Prime Minister of the RS Government, Dragan Mikerević, stepped from the PDP and resigned as the President of the PDP Municipal Board Doboj and a member of the party Main Board. Mikerević said he had no choice but to resign from all duties and membership of the PDP. "I do not want anything to attribute to me when it comes to the party, because I have not been able to impact any occurrences in the PDP for the past three years," said Mikerević, not wanting to talk about the deeper reasons for leaving the PDP.

Meanwhile, the former President of the Republic of Srpska and the SDS president, Dragan Čavić, having been expelled from the SDS, founded the Democratic Party and organised the party convention in Banja Luka. Čavić said that the DP political activities were not intended to be the opposition to the Republic of Srpska, but the opposition to the government. Alternatives in this society were necessary because there were fewer alternatives, especially in Banja Luka.

The former US Ambassador, William Montgomery, published an article in The "New York Times" on June 4, 2009 in which he called for the referendum and a possible secession of the Republic of Srpska from BiH and for the division of Kosovo along the Ibar River. Montgomery started Obama's thesis that in Iraq they should cease to insist on the maximalist objectives that prevent resolution of the available goals, seeking to apply the same method on the Balkans.

When asked what motivated him to change his policy that he himself had been carrying out for so many years, Montgomery said, "When I started working on these issues, my daughter was

six years old and just started going to elementary school. Now she is finishing her college. It is, therefore, about the whole generation. The whole generation has been trying to reach the goal in one way, and obviously, even though we have invested so many resources, it does not work. Our new leaders may take a week or two and think about different possibilities." Montgomery said that he was quite sure that the US Administration had not initiated any serious analysis of the feasibility of its objectives in these regions for the last 15 years.

"Milorad Dodik tells the same story which the Serbs told 15 years ago and it will not change. In BiH there is no progress, even the freedom of speech." To the question what would happen to the Croats in the case of separation of BiH, Montgomery said that the formation of the federation proved to be wrong and it did not work. If BiH was to continue to exist, the Croats should be given an entity with the same authority as the Republic of Srpska.

In response to Montgomery's text, the former US ambassador to Croatia, Peter Galbraith, for *The "New York Times"*, stated, "The international community by allowing a referendum for the independence of the Republic of Srpska, would reward it for genocide and other heinous crimes committed against the Bosniaks and the Croats who lived in that area."

CONCLUSIONS

The President of the SNSD Executive Board, Nebojša Radmanović, said that the SNSD believed that the RS National Assembly should not discuss the change of the conclusions based on the letter received from the High Representative Valentin Inzko.

On October 06, 2009, The President of the RS National Assembly, Igor Radojičić, said that seven political parties from the RS gave approval for the RS Parliament conclusions. Radojičić said it was pity that Valentin Inzko had not come to the Parliament because the atmosphere would have been different. The RSNA recognised that certain conclusions of May 14 concerning the transfer of competencies from the Republic of Srpska to BiH should be clarified legally and politically. The RSNA remained committed to the rule of law in its conclusions pointing out that neither by them nor by their implementation, they did not call for unilateral illegal activities. The NARS reiterated its commitment to undertake all activities exclusively within the framework of the Constitution and law and statutory options and procedures, including the right to address judicial institutions and to respect their decisions.

The beginning of the parliamentary session was postponed several times due to a series of telephone conversations between the leaders of the OHR and the Republic of Srpska, who under time pressure were trying to find a compromise. At the same time, the SIPA agents in Banja Luka office began hearings on the investigation of the RS Government building, the seat of the RS Radio and TV, and highway Banja Luka–Gradiška.

The SIPA spokesman, Željka Kujundžija, confirmed this information, and stated that the hearings about the collection of evidence from 20 May were conducted by order of the BiH Prosecutor's Office. According to unofficial information, about a hundred people received the invitations, including some officials in the Ministries of Transport and Communications, Urban Planning, Finance and the former members of governing boards of the institutions of the Republic of Srpska.

According to reliable information, the deputy director of SIPA, Dragan Lukač was in charge for this operation, monitored by Raffi Gregorian, who wanted to force the BiH Prosecutor's Office to charge the Prime Minister Milorad Dodik.

The RS SRS President, Milanko Mihajlica, considered that the RS Special Prosecutor's Office should review the findings of the Supreme Audit Office of the RS Public Sector, related to the construction of the RS Government building, highway Banja Luka–Gradiška and Radio and TV. "Thus we are in a position that the SIPA conducts investigation, for which the government claims to be purely politically motivated," said Mihajlica commenting on the SIPA hearings conducted in Banja Luka.

he Prime Minister Dodik said that it was very strange that firstly, it was said there was a complaint against him and some other people, and the SIPA inspectors were only looking for evidence. How could they report a criminal act without any evidence wondered the Prime Minister, adding that the hearings conducted by the SIPA, which had been taking place in the past three days, were in fact "coordinated action of attack."

Dodik said he would not let the SIPA inspectors interrogate him, and told them that if they wanted, they "are free to bring me in." On June 11, 2009, he announced that the Republic of Srpska would sue all the former high representatives and the lawsuits would be filed in the countries of their origin. "We will prove through these lawsuits that during their operation in BiH they broke the law. The first lawsuit will be against Paddy Ashdown."

Commenting on the statement of the European Commissioner for Enlargement Olli Rehn, who said that the conclusions of the RSNA on the transfer of authority were a "pure own goal", Dodik sent a message to Rehn that it could be given an own goal, "But it does not mean you have lost the game. To score an own goal and two to the opposing team means it is 2:1 to us."

The Minister of Foreign Affairs of Sweden and the former High Representative for BiH Carl Bildt said he believed the time had come to give BiH representatives far greater responsibility for the future of BiH. Sweden therefore supported the closure

of the OHR and strengthening the role and the presence of the European Union. Speaking of speculation regarding the convening of a new international conference on BiH, called "Dayton 2" he said that it was not likely or desirable. "The most important thing now is that local politicians take more responsibility for the fate of the country," highlighted Bildt.

SANCTIONS

The High Representative Valentin Inzko dismissed the Head of Operational Support in the SIPA, Radislav Jovičić, what the Prime Minister assessed "as the expulsion of the Serb personnel from the BiH institutions" and invited Inzko to disregard that decision because it was unnecessary and was made without evaluations. Dodik said that his message to Inzko was, "you are stranded, Mr. Inzko. Nothing of what Gegorian and his famous team wrote is true," and added that Inzko was the second High Representative who had been destroyed by his Office. He stated that they also destroyed Miroslav Lajcak.

On June 20, 2006, after Radislav Jovičić's replacement, Valentin Inzko repealed the conclusions of the RS National Assembly of May 14. In the explanation of his decision he said, "As the final authority to interpret the civilian aspects of Dayton Agreement, the High Representative, after a detailed legal assessment, concluded that the adopted conclusions concerning the information on the effects of the transfer of constitutional authorities of the Republic of Srpska to BiH institutions, are mostly not pursuant to the Dayton Agreement."

Milorad Dodik strongly protested against the decision and said that the RS Government condemned the use of the Bonn powers. They reiterated the position that the conclusions of the National Assembly were neither unconstitutional nor anti-Dayton,

and that in this case, there was no reason for any reaction of the High Representative, in particular not for the use of the Bonn powers. "Repealing the conclusions of the NARS as an expression of the political will of MPs, is contrary to democratic practice and focused on extinguishing fundamental human and democratic freedoms, which cannot be terminate at different opinion," said Dodik.

The President of Serbia Boris Tadić, feeling the importance of the moment after the cancellation of the conclusions of the RS Parliament by Valentin Inzko came to Banja Luka. He said, after the meeting with senior officials of the Republic of Srpska, that Serbia as a signatory to the Dayton Peace Agreement respected the territorial integrity and sovereignty of BiH, but the imposition of any solution for Serbia was unacceptable.

After Valentin Inzko and all others before him, Sulejman Tihić saw his chance to "hit" Dodik, who on June 25, 2009 said that Milorad Dodik was to blame for the failure of the "Prud process". "I refused to come to the meeting nevertheless I was called by Valentin Inzko because of anti-Dayton activities and aggressive rhetoric coming from Dodik. He, however, before had used aggressive rhetoric even before, but the drop that overflowed the glass was his interview for the RTRS in which he completely denied, the state, the institutions and the Constitution. He made it clear that his goal was the destruction of BiH. How and why I would sit down with such a man", wondered Tihić.

The US Ambassador Charles English, as usual, after each decision of the High Representative issued a statement in support of it. He also did it when Inzko removed Radislav Jovičić, a senior official of the SIPA, and after the annuled conclusions of the Republic of Srpska National Assembly.

English highlighted that the United States agreed with European partners to do the transition of the OHR into the Office of the Special Representative of the EU, and while the High

Representative was still there, he should act in full capacity. The Conclusions of the RSNA were anti-Dayton and something had to be done.

Milorad Dodik expressed his political views even outside the borders of the Republic of Srpska and BiH. On June 30, 2009 in his article in the Viennese 'Standard' he stated, "The constitutional system of BiH is decentralised and, is in line with the Dayton, the country is divided into two entities. However, in recent years calls for a centralised system have strengthened, whereas the RS Government appeals to keep the decentralised Dayton encountered deaf ears." Dodik urged the international community representatives to let BiH be independent 14 years after the war.

After Vienna, Dodik spoke in Sarajevo. The Prime Minister, according to the Sarajevo press, in his speech at session of the PIC on June 30, 2006, accused Raffi Gregorian of trying to "frame" him and Sulejman Tihić of "setting him up investigations and prosecutions." Dodik accused a representative of Great Britain of "conspiracy against him," and the OHR staff of "having been working against the Republic of Srpska and him." Dodik has threatened to sue Valentin Inzko for having dismissed Radislav Jovičić in the SIPA. He ended his speech supposedly by saying "I am ready to be replaced. And what about you?"

On the same day when the PIC was in session, the Transparency International filed a complaint against Dodik to the Commission to combat conflicts of interests in the RS authorities, for the loan of three million BAM which the Investment-Development Bank gave to the company "Fruit-eco", co-owned by his son.

Dodik said, "TI is a foreign body and I do not consider it as a relevant organisation. The Commission is the authority of the Republic of Srpska and I will certainly cooperate, if they invite me, but it is tendentiously published on the day of the session of the Peace Implementation Council and it should draw attention to the developments in the Republic of Srpska."

“There is no corruption or nepotism, everybody is talking about the loan as if money that was given free of charge. Now no one is mentioning the hailing two nights ago that caused a lot of damage. It is true that my son is co-owner of the company and that the company received a loan, not him, but somebody wants to keep this issue on the agenda “, said Dodik.

PROPOSALS

On July 2, 2009, Milorad Dodik announced his plans to propose the opposition the formation of a concentration government, to help overcome the effects of the global economic crisis.

The opposition, obviously surprised by the statement of the Prime Minister, believed that this was an evidence of the government inability to combat the economic crisis and refused the opportunity to be in executive authority without the elections. However, the Prime Minister, a day after, “relativised” his statement by saying, “now there is no need for any concentration government. It was not a concrete offer but an open discussion about the possibilities and we can think about it in the future.”

Milanko Mihajlica said that there was no crisis in the Republic of Srpska except for the one caused the inability of Dodik’s government to deal with the economic and social problems. The changes should come only by electing a new government.

An economist and an economic analyst, Damir Miljević, said that Dodik’s statement was a pure political blunder that could not bring anything good. While everything was all right, it was only him on all the time. They felt like they were the wisest government. Now that everything was going “downhill” and when they were all personally settled, they would like to share the responsibility.

How much Miljević and Mihajlica “know and are capable” of analysing confirmed Mihajlica’s words that the Republic of

Srpska “is not in any crisis.” The only problem was that he and others were not in power. They had the opportunity to be in power but the citizens had not forgotten that welfare when Mihajlica, the SDS and the PDP were in power. Miljević was obviously unable to comprehend the situation, economically or politically, when noting, “the RS went downhill,” which was absolutely untrue. Milorad Dodik did not make any “gaffe”, but used a “political trick” by throwing them an offer to which Miljević, Mihajlica and the opposition bought it.

ACCOUNTS

The opposition, some representatives of the international community, non-governmental organisations and the media in “symbiosis” tried to make failure of the greatest successes of the Republic of Srpska Government such as the construction of the RS government building, the sale of “Telekom Srpske”, the Republic Srpska oil industry, construction of the highway Banja Luka-Gradiška through the story about the criminalisation, corruption, indiscernible loot, money laundering and so on. They, who mostly had left “wasteland” behind wherever they appeared, told these stories. We should see how much money had been gained by the privatisation when the current opposition was in power.

Thus, the “problem” appeared for the organisational expenses of the World Rafting Championships, which was held in Banja Luka in May. The Organising Committee, headed by the Mayor of Banja Luka, Dragoljub Davidović, said it was spent 6.5 million BAM. Direct investment for the organisation of the World Championships was 250,000 BAM, for the very organization of the World Cup, the city administration spent 2.15 million BAM, for the supporting infrastructure for the competition cost 2,160,000 BAM including the construction of buildings and infrastructure that were not related to rafting.

Everything was transparent, no one had hidden anything, and everything was written in the report presented at the session of the Organising Committee.

CLUBS AND CLUBBING

There are many “clubs and clubbing” in the political life of the Republic of Srpska and BiH. On July 14, 2009, the Bosniak Caucus in the Council of peoples of the Republic of Srpska confirmed that they had suspended their work until the unconstitutional Rules of Procedure of the Constitutional Court of RS was in force. The Bosniak delegates considered that decision of the Council for the protection of vital national interests of the RS Constitutional Court, which enabled with the Law on Territorial Organisation of the RS the deletion of the prefix “Bosanski” for the municipalities of Brod and Kostajnica. They considered it as an example of “inequality of the RS constituent nations”.

The RS President Rajko Kuzmanović said that this decision had no basis in the Constitution and the Rules of Procedures of the RS Council of Peoples.

“The only opponent to the SNSD is the SNSD itself.” Obviously, the Republic of Srpska opposition like this understood it and attempted to cause an internal party strife in the SNSD. The Vice President of the SDS, Vukota Govedarica, said on July 25, 2009 that the Chairman of the Council of Ministers, Nikola Špirić, and Ministers, Sredoje Nović and Mladen Zirojević, supported amendments to the Law on BiH Court and the Prosecutor’s Office in the BiH Parliament, which extends the mandate of international judges and prosecutors. They directly opposed their party leader, the Prime Minister Milorad Dodik, and the President of the Executive Board of the SNSD, Nebojša Radmanović.

Valentin Inzko had sent a letter to the Council of Ministers, before the voting on the mandates of foreign judges and prosecutors

in BiH, in which he indicated that their involvement in the Court and Prosecution should be extended even after the expiry of the mandate in January 2010.

That it was not all as black as it was presented, Milorad Dodik confirmed on July 30, 2009 that while the regional level of industrial production declined, the Republic of Srpska, which had become a better part of BiH a long time ago, recorded a significant growth. It increased by 17.1 percent compared to the same period of the last year. The Republic of Srpska made a stimulative macroeconomic framework the year before, and after the “guillotine” of regulations the procedures between the business community and authorities were simplified. After that, a significant number of investments followed allowing the Republic of Srpska, through a successful privatisation of telecommunications and the oil industry, to establish its own Investment-Development Bank that proved to be crucial in those times, because there was a substantial sum of money which were invested in significant projects.

Unlike the Prime Minister, the President of the newly formed Serb Democratic Party, Dragan Čavić said that the current government had only one concept – to spend all the privatisation funds and to create the RS budget debts by the 2010 elections. The SNSD conception was abundantly clear, “To spend all the money by the next election, and to leave the abyss to those who come after them. They will leave the debt crisis, excessive indebtedness of local communities and the budget of the RS. This is the conceptual meaning of politics for the election not for the benefits or people or long-term positive effects for the citizens of the RS. Their conception is long-term positive effects for the party, and that means to spend everything at their disposal in a short time and to settle many of those who are decision-makers,” said Čavić.

FRAUD

The remains of the BiH Army Colonel, Avdo Palić, which had been searched for 14 years, had been in the identification center since 2001, when dug up from mass graves near Rogatica. Amor Mašović, a member of the Board of Directors of the Institute for Missing Persons of BiH, confirmed that the remains were exhumed in November 2001 in the village of Vragolovi near Rogatica, along with the remains of eight other victims. The Republic of Srpska had been blackmailed for eight years to find Palić's body.

To respond to something like this was almost impossible. How does a human mind can even think of, let alone do this? The Bosniaks had found the corpse and then, all the time, pressed and blackmailed the Republic of Srpska institutions to find it. This is just one example of the blackmail, but the list of all blackmails, probably, would be very long. No one commented on this heinous act or whatever we called it, let alone condemned, neither the OHR, Gregorian, English, nor any of the NGOs and the media. The question is how we can call people who were ready to do something.

On August 14, 2009 the President of the SRS "Dr. Vojislav Šešelj" Mirko Blagojević, claimed that the SDS initiative for the adoption of the Law on Referendum and Citivic Initiatives at that point was a "malicious and spiteful" move. It was the party during whose ruling the responsibilities of the Republic of Srpska were transferred to BiH without any consultations with the people. Many times during the reign of the SDS, people should have been asked what they had thought about numerous political issues. If the people had been asked, amendments to the laws on military, customs, Intelligence and Security Agency would not have been enacted, because these were all competences that had been transferred to the level of BiH in the period when the SDS was in power.

Blagojević said that the initiative was malicious and wicked, and could only be detrimental to the Republic of Srpska. "The associates of Milorad Dodik are tired, unlike him, who is in a good shape; they would not withstand the pressure that they would be exposed to in the event of the law endorsement. It is extremely difficult political and economic situation in BiH and the adoption of the law would further heat the political atmosphere and raise tensions. Now, we have to focus on the preservation of the BiH Constitution, which guarantees the existence of the Republic of Srpska," said Blagojević.

The President of the Serbian Helsinki Committee, Sonja Biserko, on August 11 in Mostar, at the seminar on "Nationalism and the current situation in Serbia," found that "the Serbian nationalism still exists and a territorial aspiration towards BiH is still present." Biserko concluded, "Since Kosovo started its independence, Serbia has radicalised the situation in the Republic of Srpska through Milorad Dodik" and stressed that Serbia did not fight for Kosovo, but for merging of the Republic of Srpska with Serbia.

Reacting to this statement the Prime Minister Dodik on August 14, 2009 accused Sonja Biserko of leading a "dirty criminal campaign" against Serbia and the Republic of Srpska. "I am not at all touched by statements of such "rogues" like Sonja Biserko, who has been living comfortably by telling lies against the Serbian people as a whole. It is not the first time this spinster has been trying to present herself as an "important factor" and to harm the Republic of Srpska and Serbia by telling stories that almost sounds like a science fiction", said Dodik.

Unlike Sonja Biserko, the Head of the European Parliament Delegation for Southeast Europe, Doris Pack, stated on August 17, 2009 that the existence of the Republic of Srpska was not an obstacle to EU integration process. She said she fully supported

the process of closing the Office of the High Representative in BiH, because “it is high time for the country to take responsibility.”

STRATEGY

The High Representative Valentin Inzko lifted sanctions against the former president of the SDS Dragan Kalinić and the former senior officials Savo Krunić, Jovo Kosmajac and Nemanja Vasić.

Milorad Dodik commented on the rehabilitation of Kalinić by stating, “Kalinić is a politically disabled person and a worn out politician who cannot harm the Republic of Srpska. However, the rehabilitation of the SDS staff re-started the speculation that the OHR offered them to come to the back to political scene under the condition to get actively involved in “throwing Dodik down”.

Slavo Kukić, a political analyst, said he was certain that by returning to the political scene of people who had marked the past 20 years the opposition would be strengthened, but the opposition could not be so powerful to endanger Dodik. In other words, a few thousand votes that could be potentially taken would not cause much changes. The rehabilitated staff might want to take the space, which had already been occupied by the SNSD and Dodik, who had taken over their political vocabulary and the whole concept a long time ago.

It did not matter what would happen to Kalinić and that group of people because the Republic of Srpska would face new challenges, according to well-informed diplomatic sources, which notified on August 25, 2009 that Washington and Brussels had been preparing a new international conference on BiH. The conference would revise the Dayton Peace Agreement and lay the foundations of a new internal organisation of BiH! The only obstacle to the

realisation of this plan was the firm position of Moscow, which did not agree to any changes of Dayton.

The US Administration, with the help of Great Britain, was trying to convince Russia and several other countries that opposed the plan that the Dayton was outdated and BiH could not exist unless the Agreement was changed. The most acceptable option for changing the internal organization of BiH was to organise a new international conference.

INDICATIONS

On August 27, 2009, the PDP President Mladen Ivanić indicated, "the situation in the Republic of Srpska is worse than it was in the postwar years. There is no new investment, announced by the Government, instead of 20,000 new jobs, in this year from 1 January 2009, 18,000 workers have lost their jobs." Ivanić said that the Government allocated 460,000 BAM for Lepa Brena concert in Banja Luka, which could be used to provide internships for 70 trainees. If you added the waste of money for the World Championship in rafting, which is not an Olympic sport, the number of young people who could complete their internship was up to a thousand. Ivanić added that it was sad that the anti-recession measures pompously announced were not realised and that particularly bad situation was in public companies.

On the same day when Ivanić criticised the Government, Milorad Dodik proposed to introduce a moratorium on political issues over the next five or ten years in BiH, and to give a chance to the economy. "If we open the question of constitutional change every month, we certainly have a heated political situation. Those who reopen the issue of constitutional change must take into account the destabilization of political situation. Obviously, everybody maximizes their positions," highlighted Dodik.

He believed that a rational idea for BiH would be that, "instead of spending huge amounts of money on military service, which BiH has already been unable to allocate, to request for the international guarantees for its safety, to abolish the army and to demilitarise the country, which would release huge money for development.

If we are joining NATO and if we have to allocate two percent of gross domestic product for the military service, according to their structure, it means the increase of already large expenditure of budget revenues. What do we need the army for? Does it contribute to my progress? Does anyone want to use it for local confrontations? We only need a parade unit that will welcome state officials and a peacekeeping operations unit. Now we have 8,000-9,000 soldiers who do not do anything, come to work every day, receive large salaries and have increasing demands," said Dodik.

On the same day when Dodik that called for the demilitarisation of BiH, he also visited the President of Serbia, Boris Tadić, with the President of the HDZ BiH, Dragan Čović in Belgrade.

"Boris Tadić has supported the concept of decentralised BiH with four regions," said Čović.

Milorad Dodik stated that the Prud process "failed because of some people from the OHR, although he thought it still was not dead. The greatest BiH enemies are negative reports generated by foreigners to justify their existence and great appendage. The big problem is their vanity, for the one who is not included in the discussion is immediately against it, no matter how good the discussion is. We could notice it about the Prud Agreement. All those who were not in, immediately, without reading the agreement, were against it.

"Apart from vanity, which is evident," said Milorad Dodik on September 3, 2009, "there is no need for that kind of submissiveness which Mladen Ivanić and Dragan Čavić showed

during the meeting with the US diplomat Stuart Jones. They have supported the unjustified demand that in negotiations on constitutional changes, the reduction of entity voting can be discussed. This topic had always been misused in Sarajevo and some international circles, and it seemed it had received support from some politicians in the Republic of Srpska. Dodik specified that the abolition of entity voting would never be on the agenda of the BiH Parliament and he informed the Deputy Assistant Secretary Stuart Jones about his position in Banja Luka.

Dodik said he was glad that Jones met with the representatives of the opposition. "Let him get to know who they are! Unlike Ivanić and Čavić, my position is clear, and it is whenever we will be able to use the entity voting, we will do it. If someone thinks that we should not use the entity voting only to be "good guys", and to be left without competences, then he/he is hugely mistaken. Čavić and Ivanić had not used any entity voting, during the five-year rule, which was detrimental to the Republic of Srpska because it was deprived of a number of competences. "

Responding to Dodik's criticism, Mladen Ivanić said that Dodik had to arrange relationships with his people. The issue of extending the mandate of international judges and prosecutors "is an example of disparity within his party and it would be better for him to solve it. I did say that the entity voting has been abused referring to the case when the members of the SNSD proposed a law and then the people from the same party blocked it. Entity voting is sacred and no one should endanger it, but this attitude of the SNSD has threatened it. "

Dragan Čavić said, "It would be better for the RS Prime Minister to remain silent. When he speaks of foreign hired man, he should be reminded that he had come to power with the SFOR tanks! It would be better for him not to talk either about it or the entity voting, for it was him, who when trying to find a way out of

his grotesque policy two years ago in the United States, agreed to reduce quota for the entity voting with one-third to one-fourth.”

Even a superficial analysis of Ivanić and Čavić’s responses confirmed that both of them had accepted the reduction of the entity voting, which was the main standpoint of the Republic of Srpska in the defense of its integrity and an essential element of decentralised BiH. They did not even try to deny it and Ivanić acknowledged that he pointed to “the entity voting abuse.” Evidently, during the SDS and the PDP coalition, the entity voting had not been used and the RS authorities had been smoothly transferred to the BiH level. This was the result of their joint five-year rule.

Ivanić and Čavić and behaved like children having been caught in a “dishonorable” activity and since they had no arguments to defend themselves, they attacked.

Dragan Čavić knew that on January 1998, the RS National Assembly at its session in Bijeljina elected Milorad Dodik and not some SFOR tanks. If someone had to explain something, it would be him, who was banned political activity by the High Representative, then he was suddenly amnestied and returned to political life. He should explain how he had managed that.

The entity voting is a foundation pillar of Dayton, decentralised BiH, which is a guarantee of the Republic of Srpska. Obviously, Ivanić and Čavić did not respect these values. Their goal was power and they probably considered that all the means were allowed to achieve this goal, including sacrifice such as the Republic of Srpska.

BOSIĆ

Milorad Dodik, unlike Ivanić and Čavić, found a common position with the President of the SDS, Mladen Bosić, when it came to entity voting. After the meeting on September 9, 2009, the Prime

Minister said that, there was not absolute unity of all political issues between the two parties the SNSD and the SDS. However, there was no doubt that there was a unique view that the abolition of entity voting was not an option and that the constitutional reforms could not be implemented at the expense of Republic of Srpska.

Dodik stressed that the meeting did not mean they would not communicate with other political parties, but not with Mladen Ivanić and Dragan Čavić. The SNSD, SDS, DNS, SP and the SRS RS agreed on entity voting, and as far as Ivanić and Čavić were concerned, it was irrelevant what they thought about it.

Mladen Bosić said the SDS remained the opposition party, but it would support any activity of the ruling party in the Republic of Srpska, which protected the interests of the RS. The SDS could not be the opposition when the Republic of Srpska was concerned.

JUSTIFICATION

On September 15, 2009, Dragan Čavić said that the regime ruled in the Republic of Srpska which wanted to use money to buy some media that were not under their influence. "The regime directly influences the editorial policy of RT RS and keeps under control the press and has at least two or three their own media that create this unanimous image of me and Ivanić. It is a stereotype according to which Milorad Dodik and his associates are the Republic of Srpska and all the others who point to their mistakes and the way of leading the Republic of Srpska and BiH are enemies. This is simply a political conception of elimination, which will even more powerful in the future. The situation in the Republic of Serbian is such that it is only a matter of time before the police, which is completely under the influence of the SNSD, as many

judges and prosecutors are under the direct political influence, will take people who think differently out of their homes,” said Čavić.

Considering the fact that Čavić said that the Republic of Srpska was in “terror”, the Minister of Finance, Aleksandar Džombić, claimed that the RS Supreme Audit Office had delivered a negative opinion of the RS Investment and Development Bank due to misuse of international accounting standards, not because the IRB RS operated illegally. The report did not not indicate any illegal work or criminal act in IRB RS. The problem was in a different interpretation of international accounting standards between the Ministry of Finance and the Audit Office. “We have previously indicated this” said Džombić, “but the auditors have interpreted accounting standards in their own way, to which they have every right, and gave a negative opinion. In any case, nowhere the concept of the IRB RS and its role in the development of the Republic of Srpska was questioned.

The discussion of the RS Prime Minister and the President of the SNSD, Milorad Dodik with the SDS President, Mladen Bosić, resulted in a proposal of joint conclusions of the two parties which delegates would discuss at the RS Parliament session on September 23, 2009. They requested from the High Representative to annul all the decisions of his predecessors related to removal of personnel, mainly the SDS. Interestingly, these conclusions were included in the information on the effects of the transfer of competencies adopted in the RSNA, which Valentin Inzko had annulled.

After a joint proposal of the conclusion of the SNSD and the SDS for the rehabilitation of the SDS staff, the Vice President of the SDS, Predrag Kovač, declared that no one had been rehabilitated without certain promises to the international community on how to create the Republic of Srpska political scene. Kovač said they had been invited to the meetings at which they were suggested to change their political attitudes relating to the issues of vital

national interest for the Republic of Srpska. They were requested to redefine the policy through different staff solutions within the SDS in accordance with the needs of the OHR and some foreign embassies.

Kovač said that representatives of the OHR invited the SDS dismissed officials based on submitted applications and then they were rehabilitated and returned to political life. Their goal was to influence these officials to revise the policy in the Republic of Srpska led by the SDS, entirely based on a complete preservation of the Republic of Srpska.

Valentin Inzko did not keep quiet when it comes to Dodik and “condemns the Prime Minister’s statement on the denial of the massacre in Tuzla Gate and Markale in Sarajevo.” Speaking about possible sanctions against Dodik, he said, “Nothing is excluded from the sanctions.”

Milorad Dodik, ignoring Inzko, in his article published in the “New York Times” stated that it was time that people and entities in BiH and their democratically elected leaders had taken over full responsibility for their future and rejected the panic cries of those who would like to make this country permanently dependent on the international community.

On September 30, 2009, at the special session of the RS National Assembly, Milorad Dodik said, that the international community offered to accept constitutional changes three weeks ago, and in return, the BiH Prosecutor’s investigation against him would be stopped. He said he had evidence for it. “Representatives of a country and embassy, which is powerful in the region, have offered me to soften with regard to the BiH Court and Prosecutor’s Office and to be a little more cooperative in relation to constitutional reform in BiH, and that they could commit they would take care of the investigation conducted, “ said Dodik.

ATTEMPTS

Amendments to the Law on the Court and the Prosecutor's Office of BiH did not get the support of the House of Peoples of the BiH Parliament, in the first reading on October 1, 2009, meaning that the foreigners were leaving BiH justice by the end of the year, if new legal solution was not proposed. The Serb delegates voted against them and thereby these laws were completed parliamentary procedures.

This ended a precedent regarding the judiciary, since such kind of justice is unknown in democratic societies. International judges and prosecutors had been elected by foreigners to whom they were responsible. They judged mainly the Serbs by the order of those who had elected them and who paid them.

The US Ambassador Charles English, on February 10, 2009, invited the Prime Minister Milorad Dodik, the President of the Democratic Party Dragan Čavić and the PDP Vice President, Branislav Borenović, to negotiations on constitutional changes that should start on October 8, at the NATO military base of Butmir near Sarajevo.

The DS President Dragan Čavić intensified his party activities and, obviously, he had become a favorite of Sarajevo and all federal media in which he was present every day. Therefore, on October 1, he said that what had been implied to happen in the summer of that year actually began. "Autumn is becoming more than hot. Problems of this country have been increased, the alienation of the ruling oligarchy from all the citizens, they are increasingly dissatisfied, the economic crisis is becoming more difficult, political vocabulary is aggressive and scandals and abuses are numerous," stated Čavić.

Dodik did not pay attention to Čavić's criticism and on October 7, 2009, the day before the Butmir negotiations, he stated

he would not allow any changes to the Dayton Agreement, which would be at the expense of the Republic of Srpska. "If anything is imposed, we will organise a referendum!" Dodik believed that BiH could be an equal member of the European Union and the period of conflicts had passed. It was time for the international community to leave BiH and leave it to the Serbs, Croats and Bosniaks. He said he did not believe that the great powers, primarily the US, had decided to create a unitary BiH and abolish the Republic of Srpska. "I have the impression that this will not happen, because I know that the big powers know that the Dayton Agreement and the organisation of BiH may be changed only with the consent of the RS. No relevant political party in the Republic of Srpska would sign the abolition of the Republic of Srpska and the formation of some unitary BiH," said Dodik.

While preparing for Butmir, Dodik had learned that the City of Sarajevo filed a criminal complaint against him for the abuse of power, racial and religious hate crime and aggressive behaviour. It notified that Dodik denied the war crimes at Markale in Sarajevo and Tuzla Gate at the public meeting in Bijeljina on September 11, 2009.

In response to this complaint, Dodik said those who sued him should invite the judge of the Hague Tribunal, "who said there were some controversy about Markale." Previously, the Korean judge O-Gon Kwon, proposed that the Hague Prosecution in the indictment against Radovan Karadžić delete the Markale crime, noting, "There is a dispute about who fired the grenade."

The DS President Dragan Čavić said he would not go to Butmir meeting, "Let Dodik swallow a bitter pill for us all." Čavić criticised the Government for not even having tried to reach consensus with key political actors over issues that would come up for discussion at the most serious meeting after the signing of the Dayton Peace Agreement.

Milorad Dodik replied that there was no need for the Republic of Srpska to be in any spasm or fear by the announced meeting in Butmir, adding that his priority was not BiH, but the Republic of Srpska. "I have nothing against BiH, the one in which the Republic of Srpska is clearly seen and recognised, only such BiH makes sense to me. It's something I want to say both to the organiser and the participants of the Butmir meeting." Dodik reiterated, "The Republic of Srpska should not participate in the constitutional changes if the foreigners model them. This is also true for this meeting. Nevertheless, if someone else has the initiative, will consider it and see how we shall respond."

Officials of the European Union and the United States did not offer any "paper" for discussion to the leaders of seven political parties of the Republic of Srpska and the Federation at a military base in Butmir on October 9, 2009, but presented the principles necessary to accelerate reforms for BiH accession to the EU. Although it had been announced that representatives of the United States and the EU would present a "package" of reforms by principle "take it or leave it", and the meeting Butmir as "mini-Dayton" and "Dayton 2", none of this happened. It was also announced that a new meeting with the same participants would be held on October 20.

According to reliable sources, there was a divergence between the EU representatives and the United States at the meeting. Carl Bildt was angry when James Steinberg presented the paper that he intended to provide the leaders for signature. Bildt said he was angry, because they had not agreed on that and in negotiations with the leaders, they could not demand maximalist issues, so he could not give his consent to it.

Although announced, there was discussion about the abolition of entity voting in Butmir, which particularly disappointed Haris Silajdžić.

After the meeting, The Deputy Secretary of the USA, James Steinberg, said that there were some promising elements to move on and that party leaders must understand that no one will be met maximalist demands. Whereas the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Sweden, Carl Bildt, said that the EU and the US did not want BiH to lag behind other countries in the region, as it had happened in the case of the visa regime. Domestic political leaders had to make decisions that would enable BiH to join the EU. The meeting set the basis.

The SNSD leader Milorad Dodik said after the meeting that the Republic of Srpska did not want to see a situation in which the “five plus two” conditions spread to the “five plus two plus one”, which represented an amendment to the Constitution. “We have said that the Republic of Srpska is a signatory to Annex 4 of the Dayton Agreement, i.e. the Constitution of BiH and only institutions can agree on future constitutional changes. If the process of constitutional change is to be led by the Americans and Europeans, we will not sit there,” said Dodik.

Announcing further discussions, Dodik reiterated the RS position that there was no need to change the constitution of BiH. He confirmed that discussions in Butmir had not been held on the principle of offer pointing out that no one had asked or imposed anything. The need to accelerate the European path of BiH and to unblock the process was stressed. “They expect that we in BiH reach an agreement and this is crucial,” said Dodik and added that some participants wanted to turn the constitutional change into a new condition of the European Union. “I think it’s not fair, it was said “five plus two “and it remains as a condition for BiH candidacy,” Dodik concluded.

REVENGE

A member of the expert team of Southeast Europe to combat terrorism and organised crime, Darko Trifunović, said that international officials, notably the US officials in BiH, were the creators of media pressure on the Prime Minister Milorad Dodik, whom they could not forgive the selling of refinery in Brod to the Russians. The Russian domination on the Western Balkan energy market had been a deadly blow to the American project "Nabucco". These were two very important projects in the energy sector, namely the "Nabucco" and the "South Stream". The US project team had intended to put under their control the entire oil market of Southeast Europe, but the Russians and Dodik blurred their plans. "The Americans, and above all Raffi Gregorian, cannot and do not want to forgive Dodik. Given to this, they have been looking for ways to get rid of Dodik and to return things under their control," claimed Trifunović.

Dodik was not only criticised, but also often threatened with lawsuits. The Mayor of Foča, Zdravko Krsmanović, sued for defamation the Prime Minister Milorad Dodik and the trial began in Foča. Krsmanović said he would not drop the lawsuit with the aim to stop hate speech of the smaller BiH entity Prime Minister. He said that Dodik promised that some of the funds from the sale of "Telekom Srpske" would be invested in the Eastern part of the Republic of Srpska, but the money was only directed "from Gospodska Street in Banja Luka to Laktaši." He had not fulfilled his campaign promises about the investments in Sutjeska National Park, the construction of student dormitory, and from the Miljevina mine, which the RS Government had bought, Foča did not have a sack of coal to heat the school.

"I was most bothered by statement of the Deputy Minister of Finance in which she announced the investment of 75 million

BAM in Foča. She said it was Čemerno tunnel, which is entirely on the territory of Gacko,” said Krsmanović.

Milorad Dodik had no time nor need to deal with minor matters such as Krsmanović’s lawsuit for defamation, but commenting on the situation in BiH after the meeting in Butmir, he said, “If the international community is to continue pressuring BiH, the country will disintegrate. The Serbs do not accept to be victims of the Muslims eager for revenge and the West, which wants to save its reputation, with the violent change of the constitution, and thus legitimised the mistakes of the past. For any change of the Constitution, which is Annex 4 of the Dayton Agreement, a consensus is need of all the signatories to the Agreement, including Serbia and Croatia. The approach of Belgrade to BiH crisis was a constructive dialogue and in the interest of the Republic of Srpska.”

EXTORTERS

Many people dealt with the Government of the Republic of Srpska and Milorad Dodik by moralising and criticising. The most persistent and dirtiest attacks, almost primitive, with the vocabulary that was not worthy of public speech and public media, came from the president of the NGO “Narodni front”, Dragomir Babić. Minimum dignity and morality requires from a person who criticises everyone and everything to be morally pure. However, Babić was caught red-handed in racketeering a businessman whose company had been operating for years with the RS Railway. It was confirmed with an audio recording and transcript of the conversation that began with Babić’s introductory sentence, “Pay 200,000 BAM and you will be able to continue the work with the RS Railways”. Babić requested the money in the name of Milan Kiković, the executive director for transport of the RS Railways

in July 2007. The transcript of conversation and the audio record were published in the media on October 13, 2009.

The Chief of the Criminal Police Department, Gojko Vasić, said that there had been repeated threats to the Prime Minister Dodik, from the Federation, in emails and letters sent to the Cabinet.

Dodik had been threatened with assassination several times and the police possessed information about the possible assassination of the Prime Minister. Previously, the information had indicated that a group called “Zemunski klan” (*Zemun clan*) had prepared to assassinate the Prime Minister. The last it happened was during the arrest of Darko Elez’s international criminal group, and in the information of the Sarajevo Canton Ministry of Internal Affairs was submitted to the SIPA. The RS Ministry of Internal Affairs and the commissioner of EUPM had been previously informed that “Zemunci” had been preparing the assassination of Dodik.

Regardless of all the threats, even with the assassination, Dodik continued his activities within “Butmir process” and after the discussion with the US representative Stuart Jones and the EU representatives Zoltan Martinus in Banja Luka, he said that the proposals presented by those two representatives were unacceptable. Dodik reiterated that the Dayton Peace Agreement was the basis for the functioning of BiH and nothing would be changed unless it logical and consistent with the interests of the Republic of Srpska.

“It has started with wrong premises. The Dayton Peace Agreement has been ignored, based on which BiH was created, and which prescribes how the Constitution may be amended. If we are going to change the constitution then, firstly, we should incorporate the right of any entity to referendum on its status, including the approval of others for that matter. However, in

principle, the SNSD is not interested in constitutional changes and we will not accept any blackmail and conditioning. We have clearly stated that BiH cannot have its own government and the Prime Minister," said Dodik.

CONTINUED

Prior to the second round in Butmir, Dodik said on October 18, 2009 that the political leaders in BiH participating in Butmir talks would be presented proposals that should satisfy one nation to the detriment of the other two nations in BiH. The scenario of changes at the state level they were trying to make were the mission impossible.

"I am going to the meeting in Butmir because of my position, but with a clear view that things have been prepared and in favor of one nation. The leaders were left a deadline, until October 20, to consider the proposals to constitutionally establish the Government of BiH, to reduce the competences of the BiH Presidency and to include the already transferred authorities in the Constitution."

Dodik believed that the model of one president in BiH, which everybody was talking about, was not acceptable and that it would be normal that the BiH Council of Ministers proposed the budget to the Parliament of BiH, instead of BiH Presidency, as was the case.

"We would support such a proposal but to keep the existing model of the election of the BiH Presidency, their rotation and the competences of the Presidency. We will not accept the reduction of competences of the House of Peoples," said Dodik.

After the talks had ended in Butmir Milorad, Dodik said on October 20, 2009 that all relevant political leaders in BiH rejected the proposal to change the Constitution offered by the US and EU representatives. The package offered was not acceptable for

the Republic of Srpska, and there was no conditionality by the principle “take it or leave it”.

“We have been assured that there will be no imposition. The proposal put on the table has an anti-Dayton character and cannot be a basis for negotiations. We can talk about some new details again, but this cannot be a basis for discussion, because it dramatically changes the way of decision-making in BiH, which is unacceptable,” said Dodik.

He added, “We are ready to talk about property and to resolve the issue of closing the Office of the High Representative, but if someone wants the OHR to remain here, we do not mind. We have clearly stated that any imposition from the OHR means immediate call for a referendum in the Republic of Srpska.”

The atmosphere in Butmir was perhaps best illustrated with the case of the US Ambassador in BiH, Charles English, who got sick during the talks. The US diplomat “collapsed” after the heated discussion of the Serb and the Federation representatives, who could not agree about anything. English was carried out with the help of two security guards. However, after a while, he returned to the room and was actively involved in further discussions.

MEETING

On October 20, 2009, the Prime Minister, Milorad Dodik, talked with the President of the Russian Federation, Dmitry Medvedev, in Belgrade, during his visit to Serbia. Medvedev confirmed that the Russian Federation is a guarantor of the Dayton Agreement and that this role will not change. Moscow believed that everything in BiH should take place without pressure and with the agreement of all three nations and two entities. “Russia considers Butmir talks as the initiative of the US and the EU and

does not mind what everyone in the country agrees on, but without imposition and pressure,” said Dodik.

ANALYSIS

The University Professor of National Defense of the USA, Stephen Meyer, said that the meetings in Butmir was a big failure because these talks showed that the US and the European Union did not want to admit that only three ethnic communities have true authority and legitimacy in the country. “Any constitutional reform that includes Bosniaks’ control over the entity voting and the possibility of law enforcement despite the opposition of some representatives of ethnic groups inevitably leads to the separation of the Republic of Srpska from BiH,” said Meyer on October 20, 2009.

The Russian Ambassador to BiH, Botsan Kharchenko, said that Russia considered that it was time for the transformation of the OHR into the Office of the Special Representative of the EU in BiH, since the Bonn powers of the OHR had become a barrier to the development and agreement in the country.

A Member of BiH Presidency from the Republic of Srpska, Nebojša Radmanović, claimed that James Steinberg and Carl Bildt were deceived because people who work for the US and the EU in Sarajevo told them that the offered solutions would be accepted. “I do not know how they can now respond to the fact that they have been deceived, and whether their staff who work there bear consequences in any way, but it is certain that these gentlemen understood that not only the country but also the whole society in BiH is divided. The process should be based on reality, not on someone’s wishes for the centralisation of the country,” said Radmanović.

WARNING

Butmir process did not prevent the RS Auditor Boško Čeko from announcing that the RS Government behaved as if the money in the budget had only belonged to them, as if it had not belonged to all the citizens. "Government has to understand that the money from the budget and on the accounts of privatisation and succession belongs to all taxpayers. They should report to the RS National Assembly on the expenditure, and any decision should be made public. The Auditor's opinion was that the Government had been spending money from escrow accounts on the things that they should have not been spending on without the consent of the NARS.

He reminded us that the law stipulates that any money from the escrow account is used for the development, production and material costs for the Directorate for Privatisation. "In 2006, the law was amended and did not define for which purposes the money from privatisation could be used. In 2007, the money was used and returned. However, in 2008, the Government approved payments for different purposes from the privatisation account, and it is not known how and whether the money will be refunded," said Čeko.

Its place and influence on the Balkans and BiH did not only see the US and the EU, but also Turkey, which was evident after the statement of the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Turkey Ahmet Davutoglu, "The Turkish foreign policy goal is the rise of the Ottoman Balkans, as the center of world politics."

An islamologist from Belgrade, Darko Tanasković, estimated on October 26, 2009 that the strategy of the Turkish scene of the rise of the Ottoman Balkans, which had been implemented consistently and confidently, "step by step." This theory is very comprehensive, and Davutoglu formulated it in his book

“Strategic Depth” published in 2001, in which he wrote, “We will make the Balkans, the Caucasus, the Middle East, together with Turkey, the center of world politics in the future.” Tanasković said that we should be grateful to Davoutoglu for an unusual openness, unambiguity and clarity and for his announcement and explanation of neo-Ottoman claims of Turkish foreign policy in Sarajevo.

SCHEMES

The newspaper “Global” from in Sarajevo, on 29 October published a document that was produced by the OHR phantom team in which the mysterious schemes of the alleged terrorist Bosniak connections going top-down were explained. At the very top of it there were Grand Mufti Cerić, Haris Silajdžić, Zlatko Lagumdžija, Sulejman Tihić and others. The mentioned press claimed that, according to the document in their possession, by using the same principle similar things had also been prepared for the most prominent Serbs and Croats. Setting up was made by inventing non-existent connections with many suspicious clans all around the world whose names were picked from the Internet. These schemes under the guise of intelligence data were delivered to all embassies in Sarajevo and elsewhere.

The fate of BiH should be in the hands of domestic political forces and therefore, guided by this principle, Milorad Dodik on October 30, 2009 arranged a meeting of local BiH leaders without the presence of foreigners to talk about important issues.

The leaders from the Federation did not come to the meeting and it was not held. Milorad Dodik said, “Politicians from the Federation of BiH think the international representatives should model everything in BiH and, therefore, they refuse to participate at the meeting.”

A day after the scheduled meeting, the Prime Minister acknowledged that his initiative to organise negotiations of local leaders on the future of BiH failed, but he pointed out that it was not his defeat, but a real picture of BiH, in which an agreement is missing due to the conflict of two political conceptions. "It is clear that I am advocating the concept, which assumes that national leaders should meet and discuss the country's European course, just as it is known who are the people representing different concept and who agree to sit in such meetings, provided that foreigners attend the meeting."

"After the failure of my initiative of reaching agreement between the local leaders, I will no longer accept the concept that the international representatives propose something, as they had suggested Butmir document, and I will never give legitimacy to the concept advocated by Sulejman Tihić.

The international community spoiled the Bosniaks and Tihić and he thinks that he can constantly "wheep and cry" to get favourable solutions. It was possible earlier, but not any longer," said Dodik.

CLARITY

Dodik's position on constitutional change was clear and the situation had become clearer regarding the complaint against him and 14 other people that the SIPA had sent to the BiH Prosecutor's Office. Banja Luka press published an order issued by a BiH Prosecutor, Harry Furlan, under "urgent and confidential", dated on September 8 of that year, requesting from the SIPA to collect evidence and to open an investigation on the highway Banja Luka-Gradiška, the government buildings and the RTV RS facility.

Furlan issued an order and sent it to the Assistant SIPA Director, Dragan Lukač a day before the expiration of his mandate.

The ordered was to collect records on all subcontractors on the highway Banja Luka–Gradiška and to review all financial reports and accounting records. “Integral inženjering” had hundreds of subcontractors and these are mostly companies from the Republic of Srpska, so they would all be the target of investigation.

Furlan asked the SIPA to orally report on advancement in collecting evidence every ten days, and he would give them an endoresement to search the premises.

The deadline for collection of evidence on the highway and the RS Government building was October 16 and for the RTV, December 12, 2009. Furlan was obviously rushed to complete the investigation until December 12 and to press charges by December, when the mandates of international judges and prosecutors would expire.

Thus, the most powerful politicians were under investigation, as well as the strongest company in the Republic of Srpska and the region and the most powerful medium, which supported the thesis that the whole of this judicial mess up had a political objective, which was to discipline the Republic of Srpska by cutting of the “strongest heads”.

REQUISTION

The SDP President Zlatko Lagumdžija asked the Socialist International to exclude the SNSD from its membership because of the welcome that Milorad Dodik prepared for Biljana Plavšić, after a prison sentence of the Hague Tribunal. He wrote in the letter sent to the President of the SI, George Papandreou, and to the Secretary General, Luis Ayala, that he was sure that they knew that the Ethics Committee of the SI had been estimating for several years whether the SNSD was a true social democratic party. “We in the SDP BiH believe that the evaluation time has run up.”

The SNSD Executive Secretary, Rajko Vasić, said that the case “Plavšić” was finished for BiH, and that Lagumdžija “continues his politics in the manner of Cominform and Stalinistic filing complaints.”

IRB RS INVESTMENTS

Political life is diverse like a mosaic. The Republic of Srpska authorities, led by the SNSD, was forced to respond to the attacks of the opposition, whose favorite theme was the Investment-Development Bank. The PDP Vice President, Branislav Borenović was concerned that, towards the end of the year (November 8, 2009), the RS Government did not report on the IRB RS.

“The reason is probably that the report would show that the concept of the RBI failed, because it is designed in a manner to be an instrument in the hands of one political option, that of the RS Government and the Prime Minister Milorad Dodik. Obviously, the IRB reminds of what had happened in Kristal Bank prior to its privatisation,” said Borenović.

“Namely, this bank approved loans to members and supporters of the SNSD, with the intent never to return them, in a way that the bank is liquidated and debts written-off. Now, it is also happening with the IRB, except that it will be done in a more sophisticated manner. We are afraid that the way they approve loans in the IRB, since the final approval for the provision of loans is given by the Government of the RS, will eventually lead to two or three commercial banks through which the IRB operates, become insolvent.”

Borenović obviously did not read the Law on the RBI, though he had voted for it. He was telling a story and criticizing the RBI, which he should have said at the RSNA in 2006. He himself

knew that it was not so and he was very well aware of how loans were provided and who was responsible for their repayments. The point was that, as the opposition, which was unable to do anything concrete, disparaged what the IRB did.

There is a saying “lies have short legs,” so it was with these Borenović’s untruths. He, as well as their “opposition leader” Mihajlica, attacked every move of the Government with the vocabulary of deceivers, and not with strong arguments.

Statements of the Republic of Srpska opposition, some non-governmental organisations, a part of the international community, public media and the BiH Court and the Prosecutor’s Office were obvious and any additional comment was unnecessary. They were not interested in the progress and prosperity of the Republic of Srpska but only in the power. They wanted to grab it so that they could throw down Dodik with blows in which everything was permitted. The opposition in democratic societies does not lead such a campaign.

IDENTIFICATION

The RS Government at its session held on November 9, 2009 adopted the information under the title “Misrepresentation of social and economic situation in the Republic of Srpska” with the subtitle the “OHR creating and sustaining instability in BiH through the activities of Raffi Gregorian and the others against the Republic of Srpska.” The information alleged that a nine-member group against which the RS Government had filed a criminal complaint a year before, was encouraged by the refusal of the BiH Prosecutor and the Court to engage in an investigation of the illegal action, continued to work even harder in inflicting as much harm as possible to the Republic of Srpska.

The Government, a year after submitting criminal charges against the nine persons considered to responsible for the demonisation of the RS, published evidence of their additional activity. The group consisted of the Chief Prosecutor of BiH, Milorad Barašin, international Prosecutor, Harry Furlan, the Deputy High Representative, Raffi Gregorian, the head of the Organised Crime Department of the BiH Prosecution, David Upcher, the Judge of the BiH Court, Šefko Šahbegović, the editor of the magazine '60 Minutes', Bakir Hadžiomerović, a correspondent of '60 Minutes', Slobodan Vasković, the president of the NGO, Dragomir Babić and the former SIPA official, Dragan Lukač.

Apparently, according to the Government information, an organised group encouraged criminal acts by influencing judicial institutions and diplomatic circles. This group had made the whole system of insinuation and lies based on alleged investigations and analysis conducted by the OHR, without any solid evidence. It had been confirmed in the affair that was exposed after the announcement of the OHR analysis of political-criminal network in the Federation BiH.

Bakir Hadžiomerović, one of the reported, revealed how the cases were created for the media and judicial persecution in his statement before the Municipal Court in Sarajevo. He stated, "Based on multiple sources we have consulted and based on extensive documentation that we possess, about which Vasković can tell much more, our sources are from diplomatic and domestic circles."

He added that, since the Prosecution had not even attempted to respond to its role seriously, the RS Government based on publicly available data, presented a series of evidence of this group's unlawful activities, which had been carried out jointly or individually.

The international organization, Transparency International BiH, had been used as an instrument in all these activities. Its

director, Boris Divjak, appeared as the leader of the campaign against the authorities. TI BiH was abusing its international status by putting itself into the hands of Raffi Gregorian.

It was also pointed out in the information that for a long time in the public service of the FTV through the show '60 Minutes' a campaign against the institutions of the Republic of Srpska had been on in order to prepare media for the criminal charges for crime, corruption, and the support network for the Hague defendants.

MOVE

The Prime Minister Milorad Dodik, despite the pressures and insinuations, continued to work on the economic development of the Republic of Srpska. On November 10, 2009, Dodik said that the growth of industrial production in the first nine months was 16.7 percent in the Republic of Srpska. However, the effects of the global economic crisis were felt in the Republic of Srpska. The government measures prevented from worsening the situation.

Coalitions sometimes did not agree on all issues, no matter how homogeneous they might be. Thus, the DNS delegates in the RSNA unexpectedly voted against the Draft law on amendments to the Law on Pension Reserve Fund of the RS, in, allegedly, revenge to the SNSD for the recent amendments to the Law on public roads. It did not suit the proposer of the Law, the Vice President of the DNS and to the Minister of Transport and Communications Nedeljko Čubrilović, which the SNSD did not support.

COUNTERATTACK

On November 11, 2009, the Chief Prosecutor Milorad Barašin sent an Open Letter to Valentin Inzko, to the Ambassador of the European Commission to BiH, to the media and BiH

citizens. In the “letter”, Barašin remained of the lawsuit of the RS Government against a group of nine people (including him) of the last year, which was quickly declined, as well as the Government’s complaint, after its rejection.

Barašin recalled the latest information of the RS Government on misrepresentation of social and economic relations in the Republic of Srpska “performed by the above mentioned nine people” considering it slandering and diminishing the reputation of these relations.

However, Barašin said, “Our investigations are directed against specific people with full name, who in many cases, with different political and media abuses have been trying to protect themselves from criminal investigations by hiding behind the entity institutions and even behind the whole nation.”

Anyone who is suspected of any type of crime, including the organised crime, in accordance with the law, has the right to defend before the judicial institutions with legal means, but not to avoid responsibility by hiding under the guise of institutions or the whole people.

Barašin’s addressing in an open letter showed all the insolence, arrogance and readiness to “low blows”. Barašin said, without naming the Prime Minister, that he (the PM) had committed an organised crime and, “instead of defending himself in the court, he has been hiding behind the institutions of the Republic of Srpska and the whole people of the Republic of Srpska.” The RS opposition had almost identical position.

The RS Minister of Justice, Džerard Selman, in response to Barašin’s letter, said that it was completely inappropriate that the Chief Prosecutor, Milorad Barašin, addressed the population of BiH in his letter, without respecting the basic principles of the code of conduct for prosecutors. In addition, it was up to him, as the Chief Prosecutor, to present information about the lawsuit of the RS Government, or any other, whether justified or not.

“This is done with official documents that the prosecution addresses to persons who filed a criminal complaint. The prosecutor in this case made a statement about it, and there is no need for Barašin, as the holder of the highest positions in the Prosecutor’s Office, comments decisions of the prosecutors.”

“In general, the work of the Prosecutor’s Office is at the lowest possible level and it is absolutely inefficient. The reasons for establishing the BiH Prosecutor’s were not met. This Prosecution has proven to be completely dysfunctional,” said Selman.

PRECEDENT

On November 13, 2009, at least 200 civil servants of the RS government could not enter the RS government building because they came after eight, when the working time begins. The security service told them they were late for work and, therefore, could not enter their offices.

Exactly at eight, when working time begins, members of the Security Service locked the front door of government building, not allowing to any employee who was late for work to enter the building. The decision to “blockade” the government building was issued by the Prime Minister Milorad Dodik. Among those who could not come in were several deputy ministers. Several ministers were late too, but they were allowed to enter in the end, because they referred to the “liberal” working hours. Their secretaries could not enter the building either, so some ministers did not have anyone to answer their phone calls.

Despite the ban, some senior government officials tried to circumvent the order, so that an assistant minister approached a security guard saying, “I am the Assistant Minister, let me go in!” The security guards told him, “You are the Assistant Minister, but this has been ordered by someone who is in a higher position than you are. Take it as a long weekend.”

This event would surely be remembered as the most poignant thing that happened in the third Dodik's mandate and this was the reason why we have pick it up, to save it from oblivion, but also to teach a lesson those who are late for work.

FEEDBACK

The International Crisis Group in its report for BiH (November 15, 2009) wrote, "The OHR has become a part of the problem in BiH."

The Prime Minister Dodik agreed with this statement, adding that they did not mention that constitutional changes were the obstacles to European integration, except the OHR.

EVENT

On the occasion of the death of His Holiness Patriarch Pavle, the leader of the Republic of Srpska and the Serb officials in the BiH institutions paid respect to his bones in Belgrade on 18 November 2009 and attended the funeral.

CIRCUMVENTING

On November 22, 2009, the RS Prime Minister, Milorad Dodik, accused the High Representative Valentin Inzko of preparing a malicious report on the situation in BiH for the UN Security Council.

In the report, he tried to put the blame for all the problems in the country on the RS Government. The report stated that the Prime Minister was the greatest culprit for blocking reforms and BiH's accession to the European Union. Dodik determined that

the OHR, instead of arguments, stated a number of trivial things trying to prove that the RS authorities were responsible for each problem in BiH.

He pointed out that, apparently, it was a bad intent of the OHR. "But, they can work like this as much as they want. We are going to develop, and let them write reports."

In his report Inzko accused the Prime Minister of "challenging the authority of the international community and blocking the reform process" and "the RS authorities are undermining the state authority, including the fulfillment of the European requirements for the liberalisation of visa regime with the European Union."

After Inzko, who apparently just "read" what Gregorian and his "group" had wrote written, Dodik met in Banja Luka with the Director General for Foreign and political-military affairs in the General Secretariat of the Council of Europe, Robert Cooperon, on November 25, 2009.

Cooper stated that he submitted to the Prime Minister new proposals related to constitutional changes and the leaders of BiH should decide on the issue of the BiH Constitution, adding that in the interest of all in BiH, the process that would lead to the European Union membership should begin. Suggestions to change the Constitution were drafted in co-operation with the United States, and the solution was designed to provide a compromise, not to favour one side or the other.

Milorad Dodik considered it as a constructive meeting, adding that he had received a document but did not have time to read.

RIGHT

The Croatian President Stjepan Mesić, during his stay in Berlin in Germany stated, "The RS Prime Minister Milorad Dodik

takes action leading to the disintegration of BiH and that it was a continuation of the policy pursued by Slobodan Milošević, but in another way.”

The Serbian President Boris Tadić, commenting on Mesic’s statement on November 26, 2009, after the meeting with the Croatian President in Belgrade said, “The Prime Minister Milorad Dodik has the right to fight for the legitimate interests of the Republic of Srpska.” He said he did not agree with Mesic’s statement, considering that such statements coming from the region were not useful and did not encompass the whole of political processes. Tadić said that no one could divide BiH. “It is not useful or good for any country in the region, not only for BiH. This is contrary to the Serb national interests. Dodik is a very responsible man and he knows that it is not good to take moves contrary to the interests of the Serbs. ”

Tadić underlined that it would be good if the politicians in the region, not just with statements on common regional problems, but also with concrete actions, would consider their responsibility for the country. “On the other hand, Dodik has a full responsibility to the citizens of the Republic of Srpska and BiH to take these political moves and has the right to fight for the legitimate interests of the Republic of Srpska,” said Tadić.

The SNSD Executive Secretary, Rajko Vasić, said that the demands of the Croatian President were only one more internationalised political battle in order to abolish the Republic of Srpska. Vasić said that the President continued Jasenovac policy towards the Serbs in BiH and he was a perpetrator of the Croatian “chauvinistic and Ustasha” slogans about the Croatian flag on the Drina, which had been promoted even before the beginning of the wars in the Balkans,” said Vasić.

On 2 December 2009, under the pressure of the Bosniaks and their demands for constitutional changes with which they

wanted to establish centralised and unitary BiH, the Deputy Secretary of the United State, James Steinberg, stayed in Sarajevo discussing with the local leaders the revised “Butmir package” of constitutional change.

After the meeting with Milorad Dodik, the RS Prime Minister said that the USA position clear, there was no imposition of any solutions and each decision had to be the result of the agreement between local leaders in BiH.

Dodik reiterated that some wanted constitutional changes to be more extensive but they had to be based on what was possible. “We have offered eight points for the possible talks, but we are against any foreign management in the process of constitutional changes.

“Constitutional changes have appeared suddenly and unnecessarily on the agenda,” said Dodik, “They have been enforced based on certain pressure from the Bosniak politicians, which is why we have come to stalemate, because those who demanded constitutional changes are now dissatisfied with the development of the situation. Vital interests must be preserved, and no level of protection of the rights of the Serbs with constitutional amendments will be changed. “

At the end of his visit to Sarajevo, James Steinberg said, “we have not made any progress, which we wanted, but we do not give up. Finally, it is up to BiH leaders to decide. We cannot make decisions for them. We can help, suggest, but the decisions are yours. There are leaders who often look at some others expecting their decisions. This is not the way forward to the European Union and NATO.”

“If the leaders are not prepared and do not want to make decisions, they should be responsible before their citizens,” said Steinberg.

MANDATES

The mandate of foreign judges and prosecutors in the BiH Prosecutor's Office and the Court should expire by December 31, 2009 and, therefore, the High Representative, the OHR, and the international representatives had been trying to lobby an extension of their mandate. Looking at this situation, the senior officials of the Republic of Srpska authorities, representatives of the RS in BiH institutions warned that if the High Representative imposed a decision on the presence of foreigners in judiciary, the Republic of Srpska to hold a referendum in which people would vote.

"If others can vote about the rivers, rafts and minarets, then we can do it on the essential issue. We will show that these people know what democracy is and that a referendum is the most democratic right," said the member of BiH Presidency Nebojša Radmanović from the Republic of Serbian and added that he as a member of the BiH Presidency would not sign the decision on the stay of foreign judges and prosecutors.

Radmanović said that the High Representative's function should be based on the Dayton Agreement, which he did not respect and changed it. He also wanted to do in the coming days by imposing a decision on foreign judges and prosecutors, adding that instead of BiH becoming a developed democratic country, with the help of international representatives, they imposed decisions and rolled the country back.

"We are not free because the country is led by someone else, not the ones elected by the citizens, who should be responsible to those citizens, not to the High Representative," he said, stressing "it is time to fight for our freedom and for this country to become sovereign."

The story about foreign judges and prosecutors continued so that the Head of the Special Department for War Crimes,

David Schwendiman, on December 11, 2009, his last working day, stopped the investigation in the case Tuzla convoy and Bradina for crimes committed against the Serbs in Konjic in May 1992.

“Schwendiman believed that the investigation in these cases was conducted in accordance with the law and the evidence collected did not support the allegations against any suspect of war crimes suspect,” announced the Prosecution.

ROLES

Schwendiman was the past and we should think about the future and work for it. To this end, Milorad Dodik, participating at the conference the “Republic of Srpska – state-of-art and perspectives”, organised by the Center for National Strategy in Banja Luka, on December 11, 2009 said that the Republic of Srpska had no secession plan from BiH, but only wanted to implement the Dayton Peace Agreement. Dodik said that BiH has to clear the relations based on that agreement if wanted to be a stable country!

Unlike Milorad Dodik, Mladen Ivanić said that the PDP played a major role in the preservation of the Republic of Srpska, since the PDP exercised power at the time of Paddy Ashdown when he put most pressure on it. “With our approach, we enabled the existence of the RS and preservation of its authority. We believe that the preservation of the Republic of Srpska is completed and that it is no longer in danger, and no one on the international scene can endanger its existence,” said Ivanić.

Having left the Government, Ivanić was spreading demagoguery all the time that the Republic of Srpska was not in danger and that there was nothing more to do about it although the pressures did not stop. We should recall the Butmir process organised under the umbrella of the USA and the European Union aiming at constitutional changes in two sequels. Prior to that,

the Vice President Joseph Biden had come with almost the same objective. And not to mention the pressures of the BiH Prosecution and the Court and various “transparencies”.

The victim of Ivanić’s policy could only be the Republic of Srpska. The thesis that it suggested, “You have nothing to defend, no one attacks you” was a typical delusion with a very expensive price. Ivanić gambled with the fate of the Republic of Srpska to discredit the current government and to earn some points from his mentors. If no one attacked the RS, which was false, it meant that the authorities were deceiving people so that they could protect them. The citizens are the best judges who assess the work of each person in the election every two year.

When someone is filed with criminal charges, it does not mean it is automatically guilty. Apparently, the Mayor of Foča, Zdravko Krsmanović, thought so, who was sued the Prime Minister Milorad Dodik for the alleged “hate speech”. The Basic Court in Foča brought his acquittal on December 11.

Explaining his verdict the judge Čedo Škipina, among other things, stated that Dodik did not mentioned Krsmanović’s private or his family life in his speech, and that Krsmanović, as a public figure, had a duty to endure criticism that were much tougher and sharper than usual, because he himself criticised and attacked his opponents every day.

REACTION

Reacting to David Schwediman’s decision, Milorad Dodik said on December 13, 2009 that it was a scandalous decision of the BiH Prosecutor’s Office to suspend the investigation of war crimes in Brčanska Malta, Tuzla, and Bradina near Konjic, precluded any further discussion on the extension of the mandate of international judges and prosecutors in BiH.

“We know that the OHR has already discussed the possibility of imposing decision on the extension of the mandate, but we assure them they will face with refusal. The RS authorities will act in accordance with the imposed decision, followed by our members in joint institutions being passive in certain activities. I think all this will inevitably produce voting of the citizens of the Republic of Srpska in the referendum, in which they should say it was enough of legal violence,” stated Dodik.

IMPOSITIONS

The High Representative Valentin Inzko imposed on December 14, 2009 the decision to extend the mandate of international judges and prosecutors working on war crimes for three years, whereas in the Department for organised crime they would remain to act as advisors. Inzko, explaining his decision, said that leaving of foreign judges and prosecutors in BiH in war crime cases threatened the closure strategy for the ICTY, which would result in repeated testimonies of war victims.

According to him, staying of foreign judges and prosecutors in the Department for organised crime and economic crime in the capacity of advisors, did not mean that any case that they had been engaged in would be stopped and put into a drawer.

He believed that BiH needed to increase its efforts in the area of judicial reform and the fight against crime. These were difficult decisions, because the institutions of BiH had not done anything to prolong the presence of international staff in the judiciary, or to provide their replacement.

On the same day, the RS Government refused to accept and to implement the decision imposed by the High Representative underlining they would request the position of the RS Assembly and the people to decide through a referendum on them.

“The High Representative has no legal authority to revoke the decree of a legitimate decision made by democratically elected representatives in the BiH Parliament,” announced the government RS. The government pointed out that the legal authorities of the High Representative are established in Annex 10 of the Dayton Peace Agreement, which does not given him the power to elect judges and prosecutors, or to reject the decisions of the elected representatives in the BiH Parliament.

Therefore, from the standpoint of law, Inzko’s decision is ineffective.

The SDS opposition did not react either to the decision of the High Representative of retaining international judges and prosecutors, or to the RS Government decision to reject it. However, they reacted to the referendum announcement.

“We will soon find out if the story of a referendum is pure demagoguery or they are really ready to establish this mechanism in the Republic of Srpska. At the next regular session the MPs will find our Draft Law on the Referendum and Civic Initiatives, and we will see how the ruling parties, and also other parties are prepared to support the possibility to run a referendum in the Republic of Srpska,” said the President of the SDS Mladen Bosić.

He reminded that they believed that the Law on referendum had been enacted in the wartime, could hardly be applied now, specifically because it did not provide the possibility for citizens to start the initiative for referendum announcement.

ADVENTURE

A former member of the Socialist Party, Zdravko Krsmanović, unhappy because Petar Djokić had won the race for the President of the SP, founded a new socialist party on December 16, 2009. He said that the new party would cherish the idea of social

justice and already had more than 5,000 members, among them many were the former SP members.

Milanko Mihajlica, in the absence of his own ideas and activities, tried to attract public attention by criticising the SNSD, Milorad Dodik. Mihajlica deliberately had been deceiving the public by claiming on December 17, 2009 that the SNSD stole the election slogan of the RS and the SRS announcing a lawsuit in which he would demand millions of BAM worth indemnity.

“Srpska forever”, most likely motto in the upcoming SNSD election campaign was not the same as “With us forever Srpska”. This did not need any comment. After all, why should the winning SNSD took over the slogan of the losing and minor SRS RS?

After the “non-crowned” leader of the Opposition, as Mihajlica saw himself, Mladen Ivanić continued to criticise the Government with the criticism of the pension system on December 22, 2009.

He believed that the pension system in the Republic of Srpska was to collapse, because the RS had 212,000 retirees, whereas the 230,000 employees received salaries without contributions being paid.

“The number of pensioners increases and the number of those receiving salaries decreases. It is a sign that the system does not and cannot function without systemic reforms and it will experience a complete collapse,” said Ivanić adding the NARS considered the revised budget at the end of the year, which indicated that domestic income decreased and the budget survived thanks to the International Monetary Fund. “Last week of the year the government produces an imbalance, which is so unusual and rare that shows all the trauma which the Republic of Srpska faces”, said Ivanić.

STRASBOURG

After constant lawsuits and criticism of the Republic of Srpska, another decision came against BiH, which, however, was ultimately directed against the Republic of Srpska.

The European Court of Human Rights issued a decision on December 22, 2009, considering unacceptable denial of the right to elect or be elected to the representatives of national minorities in BiH, including the Roma, Jews, Slovenians Macedonians and others, to all citizens of BiH; except the Serbs, Croats and Bosniaks, who are constituent peoples, and who already have these rights on that basis.

The decision was made based on the appeal of a Jew, Jakob Finci, and a Roma, Dervo Sejdić, whom the Election Commission banned from standing for election to the presidency member of BiH 2006, because they were not members of one of the three constituent peoples in BiH.

"To ban on minorities to participate in the elections has no objective or reasonable justification and is therefore contrary to the European Convention on Human Rights, which prohibits discrimination," assessed the judges in Strasbourg.

The SNSD representative in the BiH Parliament, Drago Kalabić, said that the party would not cause problems in constitutional changes related to the indictment from Strasbourg. "We will not rush to launch this issue but we will not block it either. However, we will not allow the Bosniaks to try set up a wider debate and try to push some other changes to the Constitution. I believe they will try, but we do recommend that there will be no other discussion except for the mode of election of the BiH Presidency and the House of Peoples! Broader changes to the Constitution will not be allowed to back door," said Kalabić.

PRESSURES

“Local prosecutors have the competence and expertise to perform their duty in full capacity,” said the President of the Association of Prosecutors of BiH, Miroslav D. Marković on December 12, 2009, adding that the departure of foreign prosecutors in one part of the public, namely the Federation, was unjustifiably presented as a complete disasters and a D-Day for BiH. Local prosecutors have enough expertise to do their job and they showed it. No case would be left unfinished.

Speaking of foreign prosecutors in the Department of organised crime and corruption, Marković reminded that they had not been prosecutors anywhere else, unlike local prosecutors, who had been working here for ten, twenty or thirty years. They often had problems with the language and the ignorance of the regulations. “The fact is that we have a large number of acquittals in cases that they led,” said Markovic, adding that the problems were also political pressures. “Prosecutors have been working under pressure and there are attempts to manipulate the judicial system, often by filing criminal charges. It is not correct to say that by departure of international judges our judicial system would lose objectivity.”

There were many paradoxes and they alternated on a daily basis. On December 24, 2009, Valentin Inzko made effort to produce a new one in Banja Luka. He presented a list of BiH property complied by OHR team of experts at a press conference with the opposition leaders Mladen Ivanić and Dragan Čavić, whom he handed over a CD with the aforementioned list.

On that occasion, the President of the RS National Assembly, Igor Radojičić, said that he had learned about the list from the media. The list was handed over to the opposition leaders, not to him. It was unusual that Inzko had a press conference with the

opposition parties and refused to hold it with the President of the Parliament and the Prime Minister of the Government of the RS.

Another paradox was that the listed BiH property or, as both the Bosniaks and foreigners both liked to say “state” property, included the building of the RS National Assembly, the RS President’s Palace, Basic and District court in Banja Luka, the seat of the Pension Fund, the penitentiary in Tunjice. It also listed almost all buildings in which the police stations are located, the Hydro Meteorological Institute of the RS, and even the House of pensioners in Kotor Varoš.

The Deputy Minister of Justice and a member of the Committee for State Property of BiH, Dragan Spasojević, said that first it should be determined whether the list of state property made by the OHR was usable at all. “The list has no legal force or effect until it is verified by the competent authority. The list is done without clear legal basis and without clear criteria for what should be an inventory. Therefore, the question arises whether the list is valid in a formal sense,” said Spasojević.

CONGRATULATIONS

Mihajlica was apparently neither interested in anything that happened in the Republic of Srpska nor in the list of property made by the OHR, but only in unfounded criticism of the Government.

At the end of 2009, he said that this was a difficult year both for the Republic of Srpska and BiH, and very rich for those in power in this tormented country. “The fact that the country ranks first in corruption and crime in Europe, all credits go to the ruling majority in BiH, including the fact that with Albania, we are the only country that has not allowed its citizens to travel visa-free in Europe. For this kind of social-economic situation in the RS and BiH, the SDA, the Party for BiH, the SNSD, and both HDZ

parties are the most responsible. All attempts to shift burden of responsibility to others is the greatest degree of hypocrisy,” said Mihajlica on December 29, 2009.

The High Representative continued in his “style” to try to annul the decision of the Government of the RS and the RS National Assembly.

The OHR judged the position of the RS National Assembly, which rejected Inzko’s last decision on the judiciary and amendments to the Law on Referendum, as anti-Dayton.

In response to Inzko’s behavior, Milorad Dodik and Nebojša Radmanović stated on December 30, 2009, “The Republic of Srpska citizens’ right to a referendum vote on imposing decisions of the High Representative in BiH, Valentin Inzko is not anti-Dayton”.

Dodik invited Inzko to clearly indicate an article in the Dayton Agreement which prohibits a referendum. “The referendum is not an anti-Dayton issue and none provision says it is forbidden,” said Dodik.

“After harmonising the Law on referendum, given to the announcement of the Bosniak veto in the Council of Peoples, we will see what the deadline is to make accurate decisions about voting,” said Dodik and added that it was the violation of the Constitution and laws and they wanted to draw attention to it.

Dodik said that the SNSD strategic goal in 2010 was the winning a clear majority in the upcoming general election. Dodik substantiated his view with the facts that the SNSD would enter the upcoming election race with a stronger party structure and a number of municipal mayors and representatives at all levels of government than it had been the case before the last election.

The Republic of Srpska and BiH certainly remembered Paddy Ashdown by the devastation he had left behind, because during his “reign” as the High Representative, the Republic of Srpska had lost many of its competences. Ashdown, who went into

“retirement”, was still trying to lobby for a unitary BiH in order to eliminate the Republic of Srpska.

On December 30, 2009, he wanted to teach a lesson by saying, “When I was the High Representative, I learned that jobs can be done best when performed in coordination with neighbouring countries. If you want to solve the issue of the Republic of Srpska and Milorad Dodik’s obstruction, then your most powerful ally is not Brussels, but Belgrade and Podgorica.”

“If you want to resolve the status of Croats in BiH, then your are the greatest ally is Zagreb.”

“If you want BiH to be a real state to implement reforms and to help itself and to neighboring countries in the reform path, then you must have the Balkan not only the Bosnian policy,” said Ashdown.

PART FIVE

Year 2010

(January, February, March)

REFERENDUM

As it is the case with any issues, so it is with Milorad Dodik's announced referendum on the decision imposed by Valentin Inzko on staying of foreign judges and prosecutors. The opposition tried to discredit that, so Mladen Ivanić on January 3, 2010 said, "The PDP has intentionally tried to make a story about referendum absurd. We in the NARS proposed to organise referendum on independence, or what the SNSD once had asked and promised. And, who voted against our provocative proposal – the SNSD, the SP and the DNS, i.e. the ruling coalition.

"So, it shows that they have never thought about the referendum seriously, nor they will. They use the story about the referendum to entertain people, and the organisation of referendum

on the decision of the High Representative on staying of foreign judges and prosecutors is irrelevant and unimportant. Such referendum would leave no consequences, and the ruling structure has, in fact, already been implementing the High Representative's decision", said Ivanić.

"While the SNSD rules, there is no referendum. Sarajevo and international institutions can be at peace for that matter", said Ivanić.

The SNSD Executive Secretary, Rajko Vasić, said on January 4, 2010 that Mladen Ivanić had been given a task by the international community to break the unity of Serbian parties in the organisation of the announced referendum on staying of foreign judges and prosecutors in BiH.

Vasić accused the PDP leaders of consciously proposing the announcement of referendum on the independence of the Republic of Srpska in order to create a situation in which the RS would disappear from maps.

"With that proposal, they wanted to show to the citizens that they were supposedly radically patriotic committed and that they were allegedly for the independence of the Republic of Srpska. In fact, the whole story was "spun" in collusion with foreigners in order to take us into an adventure that would bury the Republic of Srpska," said Vasić, and added that it was pure collaboration between the PDP and the international community aimed at the destruction of the SNSD Government. "The leaders of the PDP were usually provokers who, on behalf of their mentors, wanted to take us into the adventure," claimed Vasić.

Explaining who Ivanić's "mentors" were, Vasić said that it was a part of the international community and that it was well-known that Ivanić was the main promoter of the international community and the leader in delivery of information and some so-called analysis about the political situation in the Republic of Srpska and BiH to the international community.

Dodik was forced to defend himself not only from the attacks of Ivanić and others, but also from complaints coming from the FBiH. After the District Court in Bijeljina had decided not to institute proceedings against him based on a charge filed against him by the mayor of Sarajevo, Alija Behmen, the Prime Minister Dodik reiterated on January 1, 2010 that he stood behind each of his statement in connection with war crime committed in BiH. He added that not only him, but also some others, among who was the UNPROFOR general, doubted findings related to what had happened in Sarajevo Markale during the war.

The story about the announced referendum was particularly interesting not only for the international community, but also for the opposition in the Republic of Srpska. In 2010, after Ivanić, Dragan Čavić also said, “Even if the referendum happened, it is not clear what it would bring, because the referendum serves the ruling structure to show what citizens think about an important issue. When it comes to the decisions of the High Representative, it is obvious the citizens of the Republic of Srpska are against them. The SNSD could say so themselves, because the citizens have given them mandate to do that. The only way to make their “ruse” meaningful is to make the laws of BiH on the territory of the Republic of Srpska inapplicable. The SNSD should stop hiding behind the people’s backs.”

CAPACITY

The Prime Minister’s advisor, Arias Livno, said on January 10, 2010 that the conflict with the international community in BiH was unnecessary, because “Banja Luka does not play politics, but Washington.” On a global scale, Livno believed that it would be for the best if the Republic of Srpska was placed in a good place in the great world game as a spectator in the stadium, from where it could see everything clearly and survive”, said Livno.

Speaking of Dodik's opinion, Livno pointed out, "Nobody listens to anybody, but can hear out, and that's something. The Prime Minister is responsible before the people, the Parliament and the Government. I'll just say that Dodik is a very capable man with incompetent surrounding."

Predicting the results of the upcoming elections, Livno said, "Honestly, I see no rival to Dodik. He is, above all, the man of the people. It is not by chance that people on a street pull his arm and say, "Mile, Mile", because they know him as a neighbour Mile from Laktasi. Public opinion research shows, and I believe, that he will win the elections."

Dodik listened to praise and criticism, and came forth before the citizens everyday to show the results of his work and ideas, which some understood, some did not and some might understand them some day.

The Prime Minister announced on January 14, 2010, that the city of East Sarajevo should be renamed in order to eliminate speculations of the Bosniak politicians about the number of Serbs living in Federal Sarajevo.

Dodik reacted to Bakir Izetbegović's statement, who said that 100,000-150,000 Serbs lived in Sarajevo.

It was high time to stop with manipulations on the number of Serbs living in Sarajevo. They should talk with the Serbs from East Sarajevo about the changing of its name, regardless of their emotions, because those were the people who had been forced out of Sarajevo during the war.

"In conversations with the representatives of the international community we have been explaining that 95% people who live in Federal Sarajevo are the Bosniaks, and that there are no 150,000 Serbs living there, as Bakir Izetbegović said. The name East Sarajevo gives the possibility for Izetbegovic to manipulate and say that it is all Sarajevo, because foreigners do not understand

that! I think that Sarajevo should be left out in the name of the city,” said Dodik.

Reacting to Dodik’s proposal, the mayor of East Sarajevo, Vinko Radovanović, said that he did not see too much need to rename the city, but he was willing to discuss it.

“We can talk about this issue, but, considering the emotional connection of the Serbs from Sarajevo with that name, I don’t know what will be the result of the conversation.”

The Head of East Sarajevo municipality and the Vice President of the SDS, Predrag Kovač, said that deleting the determinant Sarajevo from the name East Sarajevo was not an option, except for a possible return of the old name Srpsko Sarajevo.

MESIĆ

Čavić, Ivanić and Inzko continued with manipulations and pressures of all kinds because of the announced referendum, and even the President of Croatia Stjepan Mesić joined in. He said if he had been the President of Croatia at the moment the Republic of Srpska had announced referendum, he would have cut off the corridor in Posavina with the Croatian army.

“Croatia is a guarantor of the Dayton Agreement. If Dodik broke the Dayton Agreement by the referendum on secession, the Republic of Srpska would immediately be gone and that is why the military would cut off the corridor”, said Mesić and accused Dodik of defrauding the international community and playing the exhaustion card, because he thought that the world would get tired of BiH.

“I stated my opinion before representatives of the international community, but in a somewhat milder form.”

On January 20, 2010, the Prime Minister Dodik believed that Mesić showed himself as a leader among warmongering hawks through his statements, especially through the last one, because he was the first leader who had openly threatened by war and violence in the region in the past 15 years. It was obvious that even before the political retirement, Mesić could not refrain from making statements, confirming that he was an ultra-nationalist.

Mesić presented himself as an “Europeanist”, and now that Europeanist openly threatened with war. Dodik stated that, Mesić showed that a criminal always returns to a crime scene with that statement. “At the beginning of his career, he spread Ustasha ideology in Australia and many other countries, and now, once again, rattles with weapons, although it is clear that the time of wars and weapons is past. Mesić should finally realise that his time has passed”, said Dodik.

INFLUENCE

On January 22, 2010, talking about political pressure on BiH’s Prosecutor’s Office, BiH Chief Prosecutor, Milorad Barašin, said that Milorad Dodik’s statements, in which he said that prosecutors were “hags and rouches” and the Court and BiH Prosecutor’s Office were unconstitutional categories like many others, should be viewed through a broader discussion. It was a matter of his political attitude and culture. I would only say, frankly, that no prosecutor in BiH was a faggot or an asswipe as he had expressed in his statements. It was normal that such Dodik’s stories were a kind of pressure and it might have been a part of his pre-election campaign,” said Barašin.

NEW PATRIARCH

On January 22, 2010, His Holiness Bishop Irinej of Niš was elected the new Patriarch.

BILEĆA

Dragan Babić, the SRS RS, the PDP, the SDS and several small parties' candidate, won in the early elections for the mayor of Bileća, held on January 24, 2010.

Babic got 3,798 votes and the SNSD candidate, Blažo Vujović, got 3,135 votes. More than 70% of registered voters gave their votes in the election in Bileća, which was the record turnout of voters in the elections in the Republic of Srpska at all levels in the past ten years.

The President of the SRS RS, Milanko Mihaljica, whose candidate had won the election in Bileća, said that Dragan Babic had already secured the parliamentary majority and sent the President of the SNSD, Milorad Dodik, best regards from that little town in Herzegovina.

Mihaljica claimed that those elections, to use a boxing term, had knocked down the authority in the Republic of Srpska, and in the coming months they would try to inflict more hooks and uppercuts to them in order to knock them out in the elections in October.

Milorad Dodik admitted defeat of the SNSD candidate and congratulated the winner, saying that the defeat in Bileća was a disappointment for the SNSD, but it was not a tragedy, adding that the municipality could not be representative when political relation in the RS were concerned. Dodik said that it was possible that the opposition would stand together for the general election and he would like that to happen, but that was their problem.

It was true that the SNSD had won a record number of votes in the elections, 700 votes more than in the last local elections in 2008, when the SNSD candidate Bekan had won the elections. At that time, the difference in votes between the SNSD and the DS candidates had been 201 votes in favour of the SNSD, but the SRS RS had also had 1,251 votes. Now those two parties, together with the PDP, had made a coalition and made the difference, contributed by the large turnout of voters.

Simply speaking, Bileća was a place which had never been particularly inclined to the SNSD, and therefore, was not representative for the whole of the RS. The SNSD had reasons for satisfaction, because they had got more votes in Bileća and adhering to a proverb, "every cloud has a silver lining", it was a big warning. It should be said that Mihajlica had been deceiving the public that the new Mayor, Dragan Babić, had parliamentary majority, but it was not true. The parliamentary majority led by the SNSD remained unchanged.

REPAYMENT

On January 25, 2010, responding to a question from one of two SRS RS delegates, Nova Grujić, who was interested in how Dodik repaid the loan for his house in Belgrade, "since an installment is greater than his wage", Dodik said that he had rented his house in Belgrade to the Israeli Embassy for around 55,000 Euros per year. "I use rental fee to pay off the loan for the house which is under mortgage for a period of ten years," said Dodik.

SUGGESTION

On January 26, 2010, the RS Government has sent a draft proposal of the Law on Referendum and Civic Initiative to

parliamentary procedure to be considered as a matter of urgency, at a special session of the RS National Assembly.

According to the Minister of Administration and Local Self-Government, Zoran Lipovac, the proposal did not contain questions that could possibly be asked in a referendum. He pointed out that it was clearly a technical law, which would not get veto in the Council of Peoples, nor would the OHR oppose it," said Lipovac.

There were several significant differences between that proposal and the referendum in 1993. However, the main difference was expended period of referendum organisation. The law was created in a different political environment, and it indicated a swift procedure. "Nowadays, under the legislation it could not pass the full procedure. Simply speaking, it was unenforceable," pointed out Lipovac.

The OHR announced that the referendum proposed by the RS Government brought the Dayton Agreement into question. It fell outside the scope of the constitutional responsibility of the entity and was contrary to its obligations to BiH constitution and, as the High Representative had already made clear, violated the Dayton Agreement.

The OHR stated that the SNSD manipulated voters in the Republic of Srpska by the referendum in order to divert their attention from real economic problems they were faced with.

"Such actions were contrary to the rule of law and endangered the reputation of the Republic of Srpska," announced the OHR on the same day.

If the OHR announcement was compared to Dragan Čović and Mladen Ivanić's statements, it was obvious that they were almost identical. The question was where they had been written, whether in the OHR to be reported by Čavić and Ivanić, or vice versa.

The manipulation, apparent at first glance, was obvious. Paddy Ashdown's "phraseology" had been used: it was not in accordance with the Dayton Agreement; the right and the constitution were violated – without mentioning which article of the constitution and which article of which law were violated, as well as which provision of the Dayton Agreement. The RS Constitutional Court would confirm that later on.

The terms "Manipulation, deception and distraction from the problems of citizens" were also used by Ivanić, Čavić and the OHR. It was unfair, cynical and arrogant. The OHR was engaged in all sorts of things, but not in economic and social issues, which were left to the legally and legitimately elected government. In his well-known statement Charles English, who stood up for the change in BiH Constitution, i.e. the change in the Dayton Peace Agreement, said that amending the constitution was more important than the world economic crisis, because if it was carried out, the world economic crisis would supposedly be easily to overcome.

The goal of the above "three" was not the preservation of the Republic of Srpska, but its elimination. They were not interested in economic and social situation. If they had wanted to improve the economy and social justice, they would have solved it while being in power. There were many manipulators and deceivers, covered and protected by very high and respectable positions at the RS political scene.

On January 29, 2010, Milorad Dodik said that there would be a referendum in the RS asking people, "Do you support the High Representative to impose laws?"

In connection with Raffi Gregorian's statement that the referendum in the Republic of Srpska was an anti-Dayton act which stroke fear and represented unnecessary cost just to obtain the already known answer, Dodik said that Raffi brought the Republic of Srpska into that situation with his ignorance and disdain.

The aim of the referendum was to strengthen the support to the Dayton Peace Agreement and to deny the claims that the Republic of Srpska had been working against the Dayton Agreement.

Responding to Gregorian's charges that the referendum was expensive and unnecessary, Dodik said that it was not his money and that the RS Government and the National Assembly handled money, not him.

Dodik said that if the RS Parliament brought the decision that money should be spent for certain purposes, it would be done and it did not depend on Gregorian,.

TENSION

High tension should always be maintained in order to make room for deception and manipulation. Thus some senior diplomatic sources said on January 2, 2010 that Valentin Inzko was getting ready to freeze all SNSD accounts and "speed up" filing criminal charges against Dodik, if on February 9 the RS Parliament adopted the Law on Referendum.

According to that source, Inzko would immediately annul the Law if it was adopted, and would also institute penal actions.

Besides those threats, on the same day, at the session of the SDS Main Board in Bileća, the SDS longtime former president, Dragan Kalinić, was expelled from that party. It was unclear why Bosić had advocated for the release and removal of sanctions against the former SDS officials, and then just to expelled them from the party, like Kalinić. It was obviously political hypocrisy.

The Director of the Dayton Project and a professor at American University Tufts, Bruce Hitchner, said on April 02, 2010 that the framework of the Dayton structure was sufficient to satisfy the interests of all its citizens. BiH problem was not the Dayton

Constitution, but the lack of BiH leaders' readiness to agree and to make the country a functional state.

Hitchner said that the Dayton Constitution certainly enabled the development of the country and its institutions. It did not only enable that, but even called for it, but the problem was the interpretation.

Speaking about the announcement of appointment of the USA special representative for the Balkan, Hitchner said that neither a special representative nor "Dayton 2" was needed. "The appointment of a special representative would send a message that the situation is as critical as in Afghanistan, Iraq and in other countries with special representatives, and that's not true", said Hitchner.

HATRED

On February 10, 2010, the SNSD said that the last case in which the President Milorad Dodik was called a fascist on FTV was the best work on dissolution of the country. On February 8, in a political magazine, '60 Minutes'" on FTV, a video clip posted on youtube was broadcast showing the Prime Minister Dodik like Adolf Hitler.

The SNSD pointed out that the latest case of presenting the leader of that party like a fascist was one of the main reasons for the official bodies on common level to react.

"System hate speech produced in Sarajevo, with the assistance of the international community, carries out its second stage. First, the Republic of Srpska was proclaimed genocidal, now its leaders are called fascists, and in the third stage all the Serbs will be labeled with fascism and genocide", said the SNSD Executive Secretary, Rajko Vasić.

Vasić claimed that what FTV had been doing in its main political programme exceeded the minimum tolerance required for co-existence in BiH.

Under pressure of some representatives of the international community, the editor of the show '60 Minutes', Bakir Hadžio-merović, allegedly apologised to anti-fascists for broadcasting the video clip in which Milorad Dodik and his closest associates had been shown like fascists, adding that the apology did not apply to the Prime Minister, Milorad Dodik.

THE LAW ON REFERENDUM

On February 10, 2010, the delegates in the RS National Assembly adopted the Law on Referendum and Civic Initiative, proposed by the RS Government. The voting was 46 in favour, 16 against and 6 abstentions.

The President of the RS National Assembly, Igor Radojčić, believed that the law could stand the test of the RS Constitutional Court. There were no principal objections to the Law, but the remarks were related to the referendum issues, which were not included in the Law.

The day after the law had been adopted, Valentin Inzko arrived in Banja Luka and talked with the Prime Minister Dodik about the Law, and then he said that he could tell the difference between the Law on Referendum and the referendum, and that the OHR would peruse the Law on Referendum and Civic Initiative.

He said that the fact that the RS National Assembly had adopted the law did not mean that the referendum would take place. "There is no referendum. Now there is the law, which will be referred to the RS Council of Peoples, and, maybe, then it might be referred to the RS Constitutional Court for consideration. We can tell the law from the referendum", repeated Inzko.

On February 16, 2010, Milorad Dodik said that the Republic of Srpska would not vote for secession as some were maliciously trying to impute it. The referendum on secession would never be on our agenda, however, nobody could completely exclude that there would be no talk of the referendum on the status of the Republic of Srpska at one point and in accordance with the percentage and the right that citizens had.

“The RS has the right to protect its status in BiH. For years, the citizens of the Republic of Srpska have been faced with the decisions of High Representatives, who made the laws for which they had no basis in international law or in their job description. The Dayton Agreement has been violated all the time and we were forced to respond to lawlessness”, said Dodik.

GREGORIAN

On February 16, 2010 Brčko supervisor Raffi Gregorian said that the RS electric-power industry always charged electricity at higher rates in Brčko District than in the Republic of Srpska.

In response to that statement, Dodik said that Gregorian lied. “He is a pathological liar. What he said is a complete nonsense. If the electricity in the Republic of Srpska was more expensive than in the Federation, then he should have supplied it from the Federation.”

“We have been forced to supply the electricity to Brčko since Mirsad Djapo was the Mayor, because it has been cheaper than in the Federation BiH, said Dodik. “We renew the contract every year without pressure.”

Dodik wondered why Gregorian was lying when he said that Brčko was a vassal of the Republic of Srpska. “Djapo couldn’t be the vassal of the RS. Which fool came up with such a thing,” said Dodik.

He accused Gregorian of being focused on inflicting harm to the Republic of Srpska by all means. Gregorian was past here and he was slowly going away because, for him, it was not enough to be a member of an intelligence organisation and to be feared by everybody. I was not afraid of Gregorian or his lies. We showed that.

Talking about the arrival of the European Union High Representative for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy, Cathrine Ashton, in BiH, the Prime Minister Dodik said before the meeting with her that she had been deluded by lies that the Republic of Srpska was preparing for secession, and that the situation in BiH was not as bad as it had been presented to her.

VETO

On February 22, 2010, the Bosniak Caucus in the RS Council of Peoples raised an issue of vital national interest to the Law on Referendum and Civic Initiative of the Republic of Srpska.

As a condition to support that Law, the Caucus announced several amendments, and they would try to adjust them in the Council of Peoples, i.e. in the Joint Commission with the National Assembly. If no agreement was reached then, they would require the review of constitutionality in the RS Constitutional Court, which should assess whether it offended national interest of some of the peoples.

DIALOGUE

Milorad Dodik and Valentin Inzko participated in a debate on the topic "Open dialogue in an open society" organised by the Center for Cultural Dialogue in Sarajevo on February 23, 2010.

On that occasion, Dodik said that the Republic of Srpska was not a problem in BiH, but the problem was dysfunctional Federation BiH. "We would prefer that it is not so, but it is obvious that we must suffer the confusion."

"I will not deny the existence of BiH, but I will not allow the existence of the Republic of Srpska to be denied. The Dayton Agreement, the part of which is BiH Constitution, should not suffer major changes. BiH cannot be a country of overruling, and it cannot survive that way", said Dodik, pointing out that compromise and consensus are the key to the success of the country.

BiH was not disputable in the Dayton Agreement and, as such, it should join the Euor-Atlantic integration. The RS rights were neither against BiH nor the FBiH. Our rights were against the denial of the RS. Unfortunately, we do not have interlocutors in FBiH, because no agreement on political correctness or on how to move on has been met in BiH," pointed out Dodik.

At the session held on February 25, 2009, the RS Government concluded that inventory of property made by the OHR did not reflect the factual and legal situation. "Based on the list, the RS Government will not participate in further negotiations on the allocation of state property. Therefore, the Government has asked the BiH Council of Ministers to list property within 60 days, because it is necessary for BiH institutions. If they do not do it, the RS Government will propose to the RS National Assembly to urgently adopt a law on the RS property," said the RS Minister of Justice Gerard Selman.

DUO

On February 25, 2010, the DS President Dragan Čavić rejected the Prime Minister Milorad Dodik's claims that he, as the President of the RS, had signed a document stating a greater

number of victims in Srebrenica than the real number, stressing that it was a blatant lie.

He said that Dodik was a Serbian tragic character and the greatest liar among politicians. "I believe that Dodik should be ashamed of his statements, because he tells one story to the audience in Sarajevo, another in the media in Croatia, and the third in the Republic of Srpska. This proves that, all these years, Dodik has been consistent only in inconsistency", said Čavić, adding that Dodik was showing himself to the Serbs as a great patriot.

Čavić said that Dodik's inconsistency was seen in the attitude of the ruling coalition in the Republic of Srpska which did not to accept the adoption of the resolution on Srebrenica in the Serbian Parliament.

He said that, despite Dodik's insinuations, he would keep asking him, "who was granted credits in the Investment-Development Bank; who was given concessions by the RS Government; why "Srpske šume" operated worst; why was a new 10 million Euros worth loop being built only for Dodik on a highway Banja Luka – Gradiška?"

After Čavić, the PDP leader, Mladen Ivanić, on March 09, 2010, used the same pattern to criticise the Prime Minister. Commenting on criticisms that he was a Serbian traitor and poltroon of the international community, Ivanić said, "It wasn't me who invited ambassadors to family St. Patron's Day, like Dodik did. It wasn't me, who was inducted by foreign forces, like he was.

He was not forbidden to enter some countries like me, because I wasn't in government with him. to It's not me who has used the international community services, but Dodik. It is just a sign that Dodik has no arguments. The PDP and Ivanić will never be traitors.

This Government is nervous. They live in a virtual world. They invent things that are not there. This is a characteristic of any government that is afraid," said Ivanić.

The basic characteristic of Čavić and Ivanić's "attacks and strokes" against Dodik was that they lacked arguments. They did not give facts that would deny a specific criticism, but kept silent, and then by the same already well-known scheme they spoke ill of Dodik. Their vocabulary used to criticise Dodik was almost identical to the criticisms of certain representatives of the international community, who have been mentioned many times.

It was frivolous that Čavić got "angry" because of the criticism for the list of those killed in Srebrenica, because it was well-known that the list was incorrect and exaggerated. Many people from the list had been killed in other places or were still alive – something that Čavić knew very well. He should say why he had dismissed it.

Ivanić knew very well that Dodik had been elected the Prime Minister not by SFOR, but by the RS National Assembly in Bijeljina 1998. He would not admit that he had been the first person who had been offered to be the Prime Minister and he had refused to accept it, because he had been afraid of the divided Republic of Srpska. Afterwards, while Dodik had been joining the divided Republic of Srpska and had been opening it to the world, Ivanić had been learning English in London in order to do what he was doing.

Mahovljani loop was going to be a link of two future highways, not the Prime Minister's private loop. It was interesting that Čavić in his "roaming" criticised the Government for not supporting the Resolution on Srebrenica adopted by the Assembly of Serbia. It only confirmed that Dodik's criticisms to Čavić were legitimate.

ASHTON

The new European Union High Representative for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy, Catherine Ashton, said in her report to the United Nations that the political situation in BiH was getting worse. "There is very little progress in key reforms, particularly

in relation to the five objectives and two conditions of the PIC as a condition for the closure of the OHR.”

Ashton pointed out that the political situation kept getting worse. There was a decline in communication between political leaders, increase divisionary statements from the Republic of Srpska and inter-ethnic disagreement in the FBiH. According to her statement, the Republic of Srpska was the key problem because it did not implement the Dayton Agreement.

The report was an indicator of the attitude of a part of the international community toward the Republic of Srpska and BiH in general. Ashton, who had recently come to that position, was obviously manipulated by incorrect information. The problem was those who had written the report that Ashton, obviously, had just read. The continuity of those tendentious and incorrect reports carried on. Thus, Valentin Inzko submitted a report to the UN in less than a month after he had arrived in BiH for the period of time he had not been there, like Ashton.

We are not talking about ignorance or the lack of information, but about tendentiousness. It was obvious that the OHR and a part of the representatives of the international community in Sarajevo modeled such reports in which the Republic of Srpska was guilty of not implementing the Dayton Agreement; but the truth was that the RS was fighting for its consistency. It was obvious that someone evoked “the spirits of the past”.

The Serbs were shown as “bad guys” and that was a well-known and tested “system” of elimination of the Republic of Srpska. The RS Government policy had resisted all those pressures so far, to which the former authorities led by Dragan Čavić and Mladen Ivanić, i.e. the SDS and the PDP, had given way and because of which they had given the mandate to Dodik in 2006, thinking that Dodik would be “a gravedigger” to the Republic of Srpska, not them.

Milorad Dodik, as the Prime Minister, saved the Republic of Srpska in 2006, by refusing to reform the police, just like he had saved it from division and isolation in 1998. Ivanić and Čavić knew that very well, as well as the citizens of the Republic of Srpska.

INVESTMENT

After the representatives of “Autoputevi RS”, the contractor, Czech consortium, “OHL ZS” and “Niskogradnja” had signed the construction contract, Dodik said on March 16, 2010 that Maholjvani loop was the first structure on Banja Luka – Doboj highway which, besides connecting the two highways, represented one of the most important communication that would open the Republic of Srpska to the world and Europe.

Dodik stated that the construction of Mahovljani loop was one of the most important projects, worth 11.5 million Euros. It was an object on a highway section Banja Luka–Doboj, which was essential for the connection with the highway Banja Luka–Gradiška. All preparatory work had been completed, property-law relations had almost entirely been resolved and contractors could start to work undisturbed. The completion deadline was 20 months.

CLEARING UP

A large number of illegally acquired pensions in the Republic of Srpska had led to audit. The Prime Minister Dodik said on March 16, 2010 that the RS Government would not withdraw the audit of disability and other pensions which had been determined on the basis of privilege. Not even protests or elections could stop them and added all users of pensions acquired by war privilege had to pass the audit!

Dodik specified that all pensioners, participants in national-liberation war, would get back all rights they had had before the amendments to PIO came into force, and added that the audit was inevitable in order to finally determine the extent of abuse during the determination of disability. Dodik claimed that fifteen years before, medical board issued certificates of disability for a small sum of money, so that there were many pensioners in the Republic of Srpska who had retired because of some mental disorders, but who operated a vehicle without any problems and had a license to possess weapons.

Besides the current stuff, there were times when you needed to make “big” decisions. Therefore, Dodik said on March 22, 2010 that there were many examples that indicated that BiH was not a sustainable state and that another concept should be approached. “In BiH, we should primarily ensure peace and stability, within which we can talk about peaceful disintegration. Why is this option impossible?” said Dodik and added that BiH was sustained only because foreigners had been trying to sustain an illusion of its functioning and that it was time for a discussion on peaceful separation.

He accused the foreigners in BiH of breaking an agreement between the local leaders, citing an example of appointing the director of Communication Regulatory Agency and six leaders signed an agreement on the structure and rotation for that post, but the foreigners disputed it. “It is evident that the foreigners destroy the concept requested from BiH in order to make local leaders agree on how to resolve the problem,” concluded Dodik.

According to reliable information, the Deputy High Representative, Raffi Gregorian, left BiH on February 25, 2010. Gregorian would supposedly continue his career in the Centre for Strategic and International Studies, with which he signed a one-year contract. Otherwise, some famous people like Henry

Kissinger, Zbignjev Brizinski, William Cohen and others also attended CSIS.

Gregorian's arrangement in BiH would be remembered for having led the reform of BiH armed forces and for commitment to make decisions that had caused major political disturbances in BiH.

Although he was not the first man, the public got the impression that he had the last word in the Office of the High Representative, and that he also had a strong influence on BiH institutions, primarily on the SIPA, Prosecutor's Office and BiH Court.

In recent years, he had entered into an open conflict with Milorad Dodik, because of the number of decisions that were made to harm the Republic of Srpska, for which the Prime Minister Dodik believed were the consequences of Gregorian's actions.

After the OHR scheme of organised crime in the FBiH had spread into the public, which listed some of the most influential Bosniaks, like Reis Cerić and businessmen, Gregorian's work suffered harsh criticism even from Sarajevo.

OPINIONS

Participating at a scientific conference called "Fifteen Years after the Dayton Agreement" in Belgrade, the former President of the FR Yugoslavia, the academic Dobrica Ćosić, said that the Dayton Agreement, no matter how unfair it was, led to a stable life in BiH.

Ćosić said, "the lucky circumstance for the Republic of Srpska is that it is now led by people who are best coping with these difficult situations.

"Nowadays, Milorad Dodik represents an exemplary type of pragmatic and realistic politician who is aware of dangers

awaiting the Republic of Srpska and, at the same time, is ready to defend what was acquired”, pointed out Dobrica Ćosić, adding that Dodik was the only realistic politician in Serbian politics.

On March 28, 2010, the Head of the RS Representative Office in Israel and the Prime Minister’s advisor, Arie Livne, said, “I am in friendly relations with Dodik and take him for my son. There is no doubt that there has been a change in his behaviour, compared to the beginning of his political career. However, in contrast to his first term, he is now often pressed in many ways, and I don’t always agree with his responses, but I understand him. He believes he is the guardian of the Republic of Srpska. Once he told me, “Listen, if you do not agree with my politics, form a party, win the elections and do what you want.” He has been elected by the people on the basis of what he says and does”, said Livne.

“The international community doesn’t hate Dodik so much, because if that was so, they would have already replaced him. If the European Union and the USA want to remove somebody, it will happen. They do not want to do that, because they don’t have a political alternative”, said Arie Livne.

Talking about Dodik’s plans, he said, “The only possibility for him is to run for the President of the Republic of Srpska, and I would also advise him to do that. Dodik is the second generation from a village, a local patriot and he loves Aleksandrovac, his home, family and friends”, said Livne.

Talking about the referendum, Livne said, “Every nation has the right to express what they want, like the Montenegrins or the Albanians in Kosovo did. If they could do it, why could not the Republic of Srpska hold a referendum? We should ask the people, and in the democratic world, they should have the right. In discussions with various international diplomats, I have realised that they are resolved that there should be a country called BiH. Major powers want to have their own way as it has always been

the case. If we cannot separate, we have to work out how to live together, because we cannot quarrell constantly.”

According to him, the solution for BiH was that it was regulated as a federal state consisting of three units, which would have maximum autonomy they could get within a state.

A political analyst from the USA, Obrad Kesić, said that the position of the Republic of Srpska had never been stronger and better in the situation when the BiH future was negotiated.

REGROUPING

On March 28, 2010, the SDS leader Mladen Bosić, the PDP leader Mladen Ivanić and the SRS RS leader Milanko Mihaljica signed an agreement on coalition for the upcoming elections.

The three opposition parties united against the ruling SNSD did not name the coalition “Together against Dodik”, like everyone called them, but they “baptized” it as “Together for Srpska”.

The agreement provided joint participation in the elections for the RS member of BiH Presidency and for the President of the Republic of Srpska, but not for candidates for the RS and BiH Parliament. Signatories committed themselves that, after the October elections, they would form joint executive authorities at all levels, with the participation of their members in proportion to the election results.

The signatories agreed that a candidate for the President or the Republic of Srpska was the Vice President of the SDS, Ognjen Tadić. The PDP would make a decision on whether Ivanić would be a candidate for the BiH Presidency. It remained unclear whether Milanko Mihaljica would be the President of the RS National Assembly if the coalition “Together for Srpska” won the elections.

The SNSD President, Milorad Dodik, said that he was convinced that the ruling coalition in the Republic of Srpska would get 56 percent of votes in the October elections, despite the joining of the opposition parties. Dodik pointed out that the coalition of the SNSD, the DNS and the SP was “the favorite in the elections”.

“The ruling coalition has been using their possibilities and previous agreements very successfully and I am convinced that we are the favorite in the elections. Our goal is known – to have individual candidates as the President of the Republic of Srpska and a member of BiH Presidency, and to win 56 percent of votes in parliamentary elections”, said Dodik.

He said he had no comment on the agreement between the three opposition parties, because everyone had a free will to articulate their political activity.

The SNSD Executive Secretary, Rajko Vasić, said on March 30, 2010 that the coalition agreement of the three opposition parties on joint participation reminded him more of a gathering of young scouts or of a mutual agreement between “an old woman Spasenija and an old man Mikajlo” then of a serious political platform for the participation in the upcoming elections. The coalition was no threat to us, because it was clear to a political laymen that it was a desperate move.

Vasić said that it was clear that several weak factors gathered around that agreement seeking for salvation and thus reminded of young scouts who gathered around the fire so that they were not cold. They did not have enough firewood, although they ruthlessly cut down the forest. Among the parties that entered the coalition “Together for Srpska”, not a single person could offer a strong opposition programme, which would be accepted by the public and the citizens, and thus those parties sought for solution in collective action.

“SPIRITUAL FATHERS”

The Center for Civic Initiatives claimed that the RS Government had seriously hampered the plans of the RS National Assembly's, because they were slow in fulfilling their obligations.

As an argument, the CCI stated that 46 out of 113 planned laws passed the parliamentary procedure.

At the same time the CCI contradicted themselves, because they said that 41 unplanned laws had been adopted.

The Prime Minister of the Republic of Srpska, Milorad Dodik, rejected the claims of these so-called CCI analysts, pointing out that the RS Government was only responsible to the Parliament, not to the “frustrated individuals from non-governmental organisations”.

“People around the Center for Civic Initiatives were “a frustrated group” that received financial assistance from international organisations,” said Dodik.

INSTEAD OF CONCLUSION

BiH has always been the country of absurdity and, apparently, it will remain so.

In Dayton BiH, the Republic of Srpska pushes for the consistent compliance with the Dayton Agreement, while the Bosniaks and a part of the international community push for the implementation of the “spirit of Dayton”. In this region, spirit is associated with something dark, mysterious and uncertain.

Perhaps, Max Levenfeld depicted the situation in BiH best in a letter to his friend Ivo Andric, writing it on his leaving BiH in 1920, “Perhaps your greatest misfortune is precisely in that you do not suspect how much hatred there is in your loves and passions, traditions and pities.”

The Serbian Nobel laureate, Ivo Andrić, clearly reveals his opinion, “that Bosnia is a country of hatred and fear”, as well as the need to treat this hatred as an infectious endemic disease, and to analyse and to study it thoroughly and accurately before it spreads fatally as a result of the instinct for self-destruction and

annihilation. "But no one either wants or knows how to do it", Ivo stated Levenfeld's judgement, "for the fatal characteristic of this hatred is that a Bosnian is unaware of the hatred that lives in him, he shrinks from analysing it, and hates everyone who tries to do so."

THE REPUBLIC OF SPRSKA IS A LIGHT
IN THE DARKNESS OF HATRED AND FEAR,
WHICH IS WHOLEHEARTEDLY CARED FOR BY
ITS CITIZENS AND "THE GUARDIAN OF SRPSKA
– DODIK".

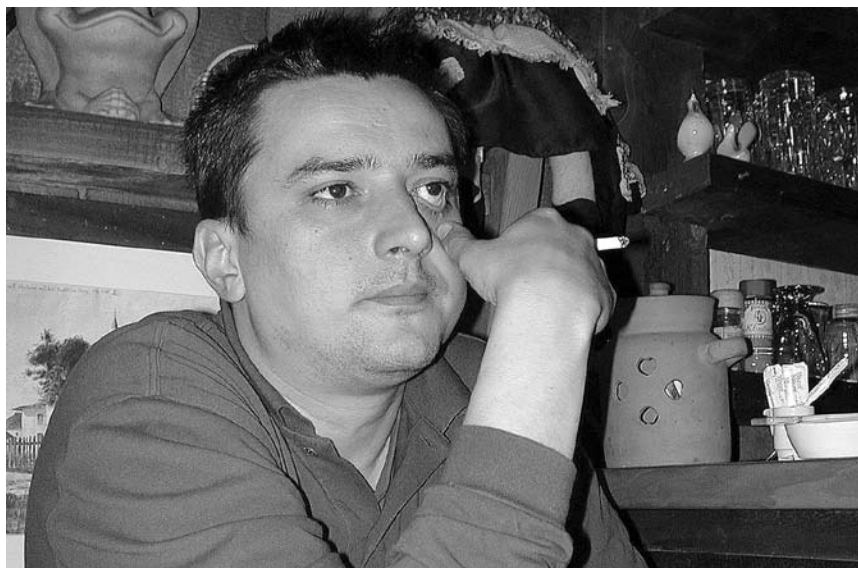
ATTACKERS



The Leader – Milorad Barašin



Ideologist – Raffi Gregorian



Café – Bakir Hadžiomerović



Beer and Bakir



Unskillful -David Schwendiman



Landing operation – Paddy Ashdown

Milan Ljepojević



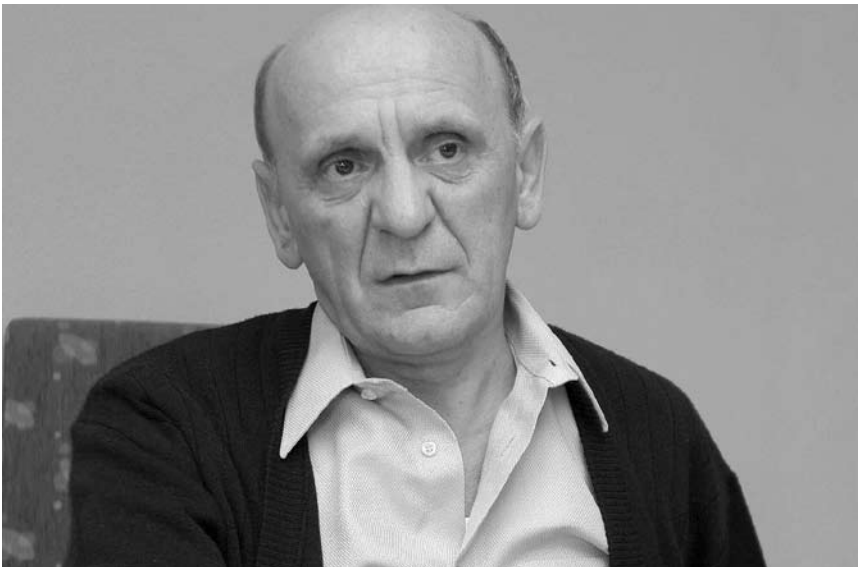
An attempt – Richard Holbrooke



Articulation of hatred – Haris Siljadžić



Crucifixion – Zlatko Lagumdžija



Bishop – Sulejman Tihić



Heir – Bakir Izetbegović



Threats – Charles English



"Support" – Matthew Rycroft



Ruse - Matthew Rycroft

Milan Ljepojević



Pressure – Douglas McLain



Deception – Miroslav Lajcak



Group of three – Mesić, Komšić, Siljadžić



Validation – Mesić



Duet – Mesić, Incko



Scratching –Mladen Ivanić



Deceptions – Borenović, Ivanić



Quibbling



Excuse – Mladen Bosić



"Partners" – Čavić, Bosić



Accountants – Bojic, Bosić



United – Vasić, Ivanić, Čavić, Dokić



Sticking out his tongue – Vukota Govedarica



Company – Ognjen Tadić



Making the sad laugh – Ognjen Tadić



An umbrella – Čavić



The lost – Mihaljica, Bosić



Aspirant



Tattling – Bosić, Cenić, Mišić



Negation – Michael Schmunk



Editing – Doris Pack



Anger



Clifford Bond



Executor – Sven Alkalaj



Expelled – Dragan Kalinic



"Lukashenko" – Karel Vosskuhler



Vosskuhler – Swede man



One of two – Novo Grujić



Support – Davutoglu, Siljadžić



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