

## THE VITAL IMPORTANCE OF THE MAY ELECTIONS

### Promotion rally of the Serbian Radical Party Hrtkovci, 6 May 1992

**Milan ŽIRIĆ:** Dear members and supporters of the Serbian Radical Party, God be with you! I wish you health and happiness on this afternoon of St. George's Day in what is now the Serbian town of Hrtkovci! Today you are with the board and members of the Serbian Radical Party in the local commune of Hrtkovci. This is the fly-wheel that will set in motion the drowsy Serbian engine, the fly-wheel that will separate us from all the delusions and lies and put us all into gear, for a better and happier tomorrow for every Serb in these Serbian lands.

This place where you are today is the notorious historic scene of plots by Austro-Hungarian, German and Ustasha occupiers and hegemonists who feel again today, for the third time in this century, that their time has come. It is a place where they, of course, do not distance themselves from their brothers in the mother-country who are perpetrating an unheard-of exodus /as written/ and genocide against the Serbs in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina, to which most of us here can testify. Only in the beginning of the war in the former SFRY /Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia/ or, more precisely, in the territory of the AVNOJ /Anti-Fascist Council of National Liberation of Yugoslavia/ Croatia, dozens of young men and girls, young people, fled from their obligations, from their civic duty to their motherland, their republic, to countries which are our enemies – countries of Western Europe.

We are all abreast of the latest developments, we all know that Messrs. De Michaelis, Mock, Genscher or Van Den Broek did not receive them as tourists. That evil from this environment gave birth to an even greater evil. Dozens of young men, the GRDIĆ brothers, STEPIĆ brothers, SINDRIĆ brothers, Rašo MLADEN, Mata MARKUŠ, Ivica ŠOŠTARIC, Mr. FORTNET and Mr. NEMET and others, despite their duty to /earn a living/, chose to join the MUP /Ministry of the Interior/ and the Home Guards Corps /ZNG/ of the Republic of Croatia. From here they set out to charge with Ustasha daggers in their hands. The way local Croats and Hungarians treat Serb refugees is inhumane, unfair, and only one Croat family here has taken in a family of Serbian refugees. Here, in this local commune, there are about a hundred vacant homes that can receive at least a hundred families of Serbian refugees. They transferred from Western Slavonia, and it was a requirement, but the locals have chosen to ignore the rules of hospitality. But they do not ignore and do not distance themselves from the Catholic, Mr. Nikola KALJEVIĆ, parish priest or the Serb-hater Ilija GRIZELJ when these latter collected contributions for the Ustashes from Kolarevo in the amount of three hundred thousand German marks. We know those Ustashes well – they strafe Serbian Petrinja and shell it every day. Mr. KALJEVIĆ, the parish priest is indignant about the aid to Serbian refugees, but he refused it to them on the pretext that he was unable to contact the seminary in Đakovo. The Serbs have been familiar with this sort of Vatican scheming since the beginning of the century, especially during wars, but we don't have an adequate response. We have to get that answer.

**Unidentified woman:** With whole-hearted assistance from the hegemonists, from Genscher's Europe, this country of Serbian graves, of the Skull Tower and various Serbian mass graves, falls as the first victim of that grey eminence, those heretics and atheists who hold nothing sacred. That big world that calls itself a democracy tramples mercilessly over the ethics of the living, over us, Serbs, as over a horde of bandits, at the same time defending TUĐMAN's Croatia and their bloody misdeeds. For the sake of the crown of thorns on every Serbian head, not a single Serb should forget this and stand calmly by. These are decisive days for us Serbs, ever since the Battle of Kosovo. It is Orthodox Christianity and Serbdom that must be defended today.

The Serbian Radical Party headed by our leader, Dr Vojislav ŠEŠELJ, has as its objective for all Serbian people to agree, and our ideal is Draža MIHAILOVIĆ and the honoured Serbian flag that he Draža MIHAILOVIĆ hoisted on Ravna Gora – he, a son of the Serbian mountains who, in the most harrowing days of Serbian history, led the barehanded Serbian people unflinchingly through a bloody communion and demonstrated to the whole world that one can have only one home, that no one loves their homeland more than those who choose to give their life for it. Forty-five years later, Mr. Vojislav ŠEŠELJ is the first who has dared to fly that banner high above our heads once more. We must all follow in the footsteps of the great Serbian heroes and sense what is good and what is evil. We all must follow our great heroes, those who are dead and those living. The noble spirit of Draža MIHAILOVIĆ has inspired the soul of Dr Vojislav ŠEŠELJ. A soul like that, a soul without communists and foreign oppressors, will give the Serbs freedom and glory once again. The enemies of the Serbs want to defeat the Kosovo myth, to steal and taint our legend, our honour, our glory and our freedom. In these difficult days, that myth must be our Gospel - a Gospel that will unite us until the final victory, until the Serbian Resurrection. The sworn enemies of the Serbs say: God forbid the day should come when all Serbs will be as one. Our good and long-suffering people must strive only for unity as the only way out of the inferno into which we have been plunged by force. It is in this way that we will win the right to self-determination for all Serbs as a sovereign people with one and only goal – all Serbs in one state. To reach that goal we need to go through hell and back, we need patience, brains and time and, if must be, we will fight until Judgement Day. If, even now, we cannot be one heart and one soul, then, believe me, we are not worthy of being called Serbs. But since seconds last an eternity to this unrelenting fighter for the Serbian cause, Dr Vojislav ŠEŠELJ, because his entire being is woven into the network of defence of the Serbian national awareness and the desire for freedom for all Serbs, let me greet you all and let us all greet our dear guest and thank him for accepting our invitation. In my own name and on behalf of all of you, I say: Thank you.

**Dr Vojislav ŠEŠELJ:** Serbian brothers and sisters, since this PA system is not working well, I suggest you remove these ropes, I don't know why they were put there in the first place. The Serbian Radical Party is fighting for the restoration of an independent and free Serbian state that will encompass all the Serbian lands. That is our long-term and main objective, that Serbia include not only this truncated Serbia and Montenegro we have today – the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia – but also Serbian Dubrovnik, Serbian Dalmatia, Serbian Lika, Serbian Banija, Serbian Kordun, Serbian Slavonia, Serbian Bosnia, Serbian Herzegovina and Serbian Macedonia. Nevertheless, we have accepted

this concept of a truncated Yugoslavia because we believe it to be in the vital interest of survival for the Serbian people. Our enemies outside – the European Community, Germany, the US – and our home-grown traitors, primarily the Serbian Movement of Deceit, have tried to force us and lure us into agreeing to proclaim an independent and sovereign Serbian state, as if we were stupid enough to declare an independent Serbian state and to have it remain within the present, truncated borders, and that we should apply to the European bureaucracy for recognition of our independence and sovereignty. And then they would make it conditional upon our renouncement of Serbian Krajina and the Serbian Bosnia and Herzegovina, upon our giving the *šiptars* /Albanians/ the autonomy that they had under the 1974 Constitution, granting cantons to the Hungarians in Vojvodina, granting autonomy to the Muslims in the Sandžak and enabling Slovenes and Croats to sell their technical goods in Serbia and thus continue to exploit us, as they did for half a century under that criminal and villain, Josip Broz Tito.

We realised all this in good time and that is why all of us Serbs rallied around that concept of a truncated Yugoslavia as a transitional solution. Both the regime and the opposition in Serbia backed that idea, both the ruling Socialist Party of Serbia and the main opposition party – the Serbian Radicals. Those traitors continue to oppose it even today, but never mind. They will be around as long as the Americans and Germans are prepared to keep their wallets open and finance them. The moment Western funding dries up, those traitor parties will disappear from the Serbian political arena.

We have preserved the international legal continuity of the Yugoslav state. The Germans and Americans rage and make threats, but that continuity has been recognised by China, Russia, India, Egypt, Mexico – almost half of all humanity. They cannot remove us from the United Nations, and as to whether they will strike us from the OSCE and other European fora – we don't care much, we are capable of withstanding much worse blockades, challenges and threats, because the Serbian people is today, despite everything, united and in harmony.

We have to preserve that continuity of Yugoslavia because then it will be much easier for the Serbs of the Serbian Krajina and Serbian Bosnia and Herzegovina to join Yugoslavia as federal units, much easier than if we had declared ourselves as Serbia and had them join Serbia later. As it is, when they join Yugoslavia, they can simply say – we never left Yugoslavia in the first place. That makes their position much stronger at the international level. Last year we waged war for the freedom of Serbian Krajina, for the salvation of the Serbian people. We won that war. We did not liberate all the territories, but we did liberate the greatest part, around 80 per cent. Our border is not Karlobag, but it is the banks of the former Maslenica Bridge and the sea at Novigrad. Our border is not Karlovac, but the outskirts of Karlovac. Our border is not Virovitica, but it is Pakrac. We would have liberated, my Serbian brothers and sisters, all the other Serbian territories as well if the army had not been led by that traitor, General Veljko KADIJEVIĆ, an American spy. He did his military schooling in the US, and anyone who spent two years at a US Military Academy could not have come back here without first being recruited into the US intelligence. And he did his level best to break the army from within. He turned over barracks and arms and ammunition depots to Croats and Slovenes. He sent our boys unarmed and without ammunition to take control of border crossings in Slovenia. He did all he could to get the greatest possible number of units encircled and

besieged, to overwhelm the army with defeatism, giving rise to desertion, making people lose faith in their chances of victory. We needed only a few more hours to liberate Serbian Dubrovnik, Zadar, Šibenik, Gospić, Karlovac, Virovitica, Osijek, Vinkovci – and then, KADIJEVIĆ ordered: stop, pull back. That is the only reason why we did not liberate everything. But even what we did liberate is enough reason for satisfaction. We will liberate the rest the next chance we get.

Just two years ago, none of us could have dreamt that we would also, and so quickly, hold the largest parts of Serbian Dalmatia, Lika, Banija, Kordun, Slavonija and Baranja in Serbian hands, and that they would be definitively freed from Ustasha control. Who among us could have known that, who could have even envisaged it? That means that we succeeded. We agreed to the deployment of the blue helmets under the Vance Plan. This is not the ideal option for us, Serbs. The best option would have been to have them deployed on the cease-fire line, the demarcation line, but it is never possible in politics to implement all the ideal options. Politics is...(interruption on the tape).

In this village, too, in Hrtkovci, in this place in Serbian Srem, there is no room for Croats. Who are the only Croats for whom there is room among us? Only those Croats and their families who have shed blood together with us on the frontlines. They were called Croats in name only, anyway. They have already awakened to the fact that they are, in fact, Catholic Serbs. Some of them even served with our volunteers. They will stay here with us, while all the rest must clear out of Serbia. Including those from here, from Hrtkovci, who locked up their houses and left, reckoning, I suppose, that they would come back one day, but our message to them is: no, you have nowhere to return to. Serbian refugees will move into their houses.

Serbian brothers and sisters, now that TUĐMAN has expelled more than two hundred thousand Serbs, a part of them will return to the area of Serbian Krajina, but another part cannot settle there. We have to give those Serbs a roof over their heads and feed the hungry mouths. We have no money to build new housing. We do not have the capacity to create new jobs for them. Very well, then, if we cannot do that, then we should give every Serbian family of refugees the address of one Croatian family. The police will give it to them, the police will do as the government decides, and soon we will be the government. Fine, then. Every Serbian family of refugees will come to a Croatian door and give the Croats they find there their address in Zagreb or other Croatian town. Oh, they will, they will. There will be enough buses, we will drive them to the border of Serbian territory and they can walk on from there, if they do not leave before of their own accord.

Some traitors of the Serbian people in Belgrade – members of the Serbian Movement of Deceit, democrats, reformists, the UJDI-ists /Union of the Yugoslav Democratic Initiative/ and all sorts of peacemakers, supporters of autonomy for Vojvodina – accuse us of not being democrats, of being Fascists. We fought for democracy at the time when they were high in the good graces of the communist regime. If they feel sorry for these local Croats, they might as well get right on the buses with them, go with them to Croatia, and then let them protest in Zagreb over the lack of democracy, let them complain about their fate over there, let them weep there for brotherhood and unity.

Brother and sister Serbs, the traitors of the Serb people never rest. Even the Western powers, the US and Germany, realise that they are powerless against us Serbs on the battlefield. The few remaining officers from our truncated Serbia will withdraw from Bosnia, but they will not withdraw the weapons or equipment, all that will remain there for the Serbian people. The Army is made up of Serbs, anyway. The Americans, even if they wanted to invade, do not have three hundred thousand troops at the ready, nor do the Germans, and without that, there can be no pacification of Bosnia, of the Serbian parts of Bosnia. They know what Bosnia means, geographically, they know the kind of Serbs who live there. We do not fear for Bosnia.

Serbian brothers and sisters, that is why they, our foes, thought of the old Serbian affliction, our internal discord and disunity. They will do all in their power to put us in an economic vice, to create the greatest possible discontent among the people, strikes all over the place, labour unrest and social revolt, anything they can think of. We must respond to that effectively. We must divide the little we have as evenly as possible, so that no-one starves. And we must withstand all this. We must leave all the social unrest, the strikes and everything else for the time that is coming after the Serbian lands are reunited and our borders secured. Nothing that can divide us from within should be cause for internal Serbian discord. We will exert constant pressure on the regime so that it does all that it has to do to diffuse popular discontent, to provide for the people as much as possible. Some sort of adequate solution in these times of crisis, this crisis situation should be found for all – farmers, workers, intellectuals, the unemployed, the youth, the students, everyone.

Our enemies know that, in that case, they will be powerless against us, therefore they have found their agents among the democrats and the SPO /Serbian Renewal Movement/. From the statements of the leaders of these traitor parties, we always know in advance the intentions of the Germans, the Americans. Recently, Vuk DRAŠKOVIĆ – you watched that on television – accused Serbia of aggression and Serbian soldiers of being aggressors. And you also watched on television as he offered cantons to the Hungarians in Vojvodina, offered the division of Kosovo and Metohija to the *šiptars*, offered autonomy of the Sandžak to the Muslims; it is not for nothing that Sulejman Ugljanin praised him as the best among the Serbs. Last year, DRAŠKOVIĆ praised IZETBEGOVIĆ as an honourable, honest and humane person. He congratulated TUĐMAN on winning the elections. Last year he also courted Stipe MESIĆ. He seems to like all the enemies of the Serbs, he only finds wrongdoing with the Serbs and Serbia. What is he doing in Serbia, then? If he and his ilk, the other traitors, don't like the Serbian people, let them find another people who will want them as leaders, who will trust them.

Serbian brothers and sisters, we are looking at local and federal elections on 31 May. The Serbian Radical Party will take part in those elections. We call upon all other political parties to run as well. He who boycotts the elections in the present difficult historical situation is a traitor to the Serbian cause. Regardless of who wins, those elections are of vital importance for us, because our governments must have legitimacy, both at the local and at the federal level. We must have a government that has been constituted democratically, at free, multi-party elections. Because, as long as we do not have such a government, we will provide arguments for our foes in the West to condemn us as a non-democratic state. That is why we must have the elections as soon as possible. We

condemn the current regime, both in Serbia and in this truncated Yugoslavia, for not having scheduled them a long time ago. And those traitors, such as the democrats, would like to have elections for the constitutional Assembly of this truncated Serbia. When I say truncated, we mean that Serbia is truncated even while it has Vojvodina and Kosovo and Metohija. Serbia will be truncated in our book until the day that our western borders lie along the Karlobag-Ogulin-Karlovac-Virovitica line.

Those traitors would like to have elections for a Constitutional Assembly. Why? Well, if we were to schedule elections for a Constitutional Assembly of this truncated Serbia, she would be proclaimed an independent state and would remain indefinitely within the present borders and would have to seek recognition from the West and membership in the United Nations – all things that would enable our enemies to blackmail us. Well, we are going to avoid all that. That much is clear to the Serbian people and no-one will fall for those foul slogans.

What is the thrust of those parties' seditious political activity? First of all, they are trying to impose on us the artificial dilemma of "monarchy vs. republic", as if we, Serbs, had nothing better to do today, as if it really mattered whether our state is a monarchy or a republic, as long as it is truly democratic. One day, when we have resolved all our economic and social problems, when we have united the Serb lands and secured our borders, when we are so bored with good living that we don't know what else to do with ourselves, we have nothing against putting that issue on the agenda, too, and then we can see at a referendum who wants a monarchy and who wants a republic. But until then, anything that could cause new rifts among the Serbs must be rejected, left aside. After all, we are not so stupid or naïve as to let someone divide us today into republicans and royalists and then have us split along that line, waste our energy in internal squabbles. We won't have that. In any case, even if we wanted a monarchy today, that traitor, Prince Aleksandar KARADORDJEVIĆ cannot be our king. He cannot be our king because he has never done anything to help the Serbian people. The Serbian emigration rejected him ages ago, with the exception of the Ljotić clique, and we know who *they* are. We know that, after the war, they received pensions from the German state for their service to Hitler. Well, that kind of people shall not bring any kings to our throne. And anyway, that traitor-prince Aleksandar congratulated TUDMAN on his election, praised the Slovene and Croatian democracies, accused Serbia and Serbs of bolshevism and communism, talked about his children who love the five-pointed star on the Yugoslav flag, while equating the part played in war by the Ustashas with that of the Chetniks in the Proclamation of 1 December 1988. Those traitors of the Serbian people brought him over not long ago, allowed him to graze there at Belgrade airport – he did not have to come all this way for that, he could have done that in London, he would probably have found the English grass juicier and tastier than our common, peasant, Serbian grass. He stayed in the homeland for a few days, but it never crossed his mind to tour the frontlines, to go to the Serbian Krajina, to Bosnia and Herzegovina, to Kosovo and Metohija, where the Serbs suffer the worst, where they bleed and are persecuted. No, he stayed for a few days in this truncated Serbia before returning to the West and making a statement in France that he was surprised to see that in Serbia...(interruption on the tape)...when that was dangerous, when people were sent to jail for that, were dismissed from their jobs, when our books were banned, when we were beaten in isolation cells in jails and police stations, when one risked one's life. And those who were persecuting us until not long ago in the

worst communist fashion are now teaching us how to carry on the anti-communist struggle. Well, that won't work. Let us see first how many years these traitors spent in gaol under the Communist regime – they always had it best under Communism. They enjoyed all the privileges and benefits, their rating was very high in the Communist establishment – DRAŠKOVIĆ, KOMNENIĆ, and Jovan MARJANOVIĆ, too. Jovan MARJANOVIĆ was once almost elected president of the Provincial Committee of the League of Communists of Vojvodina. They were given huge apartments by the Communist regime, they had excellent salaries, travelled abroad and things like that. They had whatever they wanted, and now they are waging the anti-Communist struggle.

Serbian brothers and sisters, we see Communism as a great social and historical ill to which most Serbs succumbed at one point in time. Two million Serbs who are alive today used to be members of the League of Communists at one time in their lives. Even Vuk DRAŠKOVIĆ, Milan KOMNENIĆ, Dragoljub MIĆUNOVIĆ, Zoran ĐINĐIĆ, Kosta ČAVOŠKI, Nikola MILOŠEVIĆ, Dragan VESELINOV and I – all of us used to be members of the League of Communists. But if we were able to be cured of Communism, there is no reason why all the other Serbs could not do the same. Surely it is in our interest to have all the Serbs cured, rather than to force one group to be and remain communists, so that we would have someone to wage the anti-communist struggle against.

Why are they doing that? To give public opinion in the West another argument to accuse Serbia and the Serbian people of communism and bolshevism and to justify their support to the Croatian and Slovene and, of late, this jamahiriyan Islamic democracy. That is their goal. They say the 1990 elections were rigged. We believe that in 1990, the Serbian people voted for the Socialist Party for the simple reason that they had no-one else to vote for. God forbid that the majority of the Serbian people should have placed their trust in the Serbian Movement of Deceit and the Democratic Party, we would certainly have had no war, but they would have sold off the Serbian Krajina and Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Kosovo and Metohija, and Vojvodina, and the Sandžak. They are prepared to limit Serbia to Ada Ciganlija, as long as they get to be its leaders. And what would happen then? We would be left without those western Serbian lands, without large parts of what is Serb, and then three million Serbian refugees, instead of two or three hundred thousand, would crowd into this truncated Serbia, there would be no-one to feed the hungry mouths, the Serbs would be smothered from within, they would go down like an overloaded ship. That was their intention. Vuk DRAŠKOVIĆ complains and shows thereby what he is made of. The people see through him and that is why they could not vote for him. He says: the state radio and the state television are bad. We agree that they are bad, but how are we going to change the situation there? If we win the elections one day, we are going to replace all directors and editors of the radio and television immediately with people of our own whom we believe to be earnest, honest, more objective, smarter and better qualified. But until then we cannot run the radio and television. There is not a single regime in the world that would allow radio and television to be conquered by an assault from the streets. The Americans and the British, and especially the French and the Germans, would also defend it and with tanks and machine-guns. They blame the television for their defeat at the elections but, remember that year, 1990, we could not switch on the TV without seeing MIĆUNOVIĆ and DRAŠKOVIĆ and the rest of them, we saw them every day on our TV screens.

DRAŠKOVIĆ blames the television, but he did get 90 minutes to promote his own political party and, as part of his social security platform, he offered a free coffin to every citizen. And then he wonders why his party was defeated. When he got 90 minutes to introduce himself as a presidential candidate, the anchor asked him: “What is your economic platform?” We all know that any politician who has no clue about economics has no place in politics. The economy is the crux, every fast, Wednesday, Friday or something like that.

And how did he fast? He had cream cheese on bread sprinkled with sugar. Has any one of you ever eaten cheese with sugar? How can anyone imagine that the Serbian people could ever vote for that kind of liar? How can Serbia be expected to trust him?

Serbian brothers and sisters, in a few days you will receive the propaganda material of the Serbian Radical Party – our political, economic and social platform. You will see what we are planning for the economy, for agriculture, for social welfare. I suppose you have heard and read about a lot of it already, watching debates in the Assembly, our press conferences, etc. We are not asking you to vote for the candidates from the Serbian Radical Party, we are asking you to vote for the best candidates, regardless of which political party they belong to. And once the elections are over, irrespective of who wins, that must not give rise to any internal hatred. Those parties that have sown hatred, always seeking to cause internal strife among Serbs, are political roadkill. Regardless of the party you belong to, you are brothers and sisters, and political affiliation must not be a reason for internal rifts or conflicts. Political affiliation is a matter for party gatherings, meetings, rallies, public debates, elections, partisan press and such things, but in everyday life we are all just Serbs who are loyal to their homeland, loyal to the Serb cause, faithful to our country and to our people. Our slogan in the electoral campaign has been and shall remain “Let the best men win”, and only the Serbian people are competent to judge, by secret ballot, who is truly the best, and we will always respect the will of the people and abide by it to the end.

I firmly believe that you, Serbs from Hrtkovci and other villages around here, will also know how to preserve your harmony and unity, that you will promptly get rid of the remaining Croats in your village and the surrounding villages, that you will know how to appreciate the fruits of freedom and democracy, that united we shall win, unite all the Serbian lands and overcome the economic and social crisis. To conclude today’s promotion event of the Serbian Radical Party, I salute you with the traditional Serbian greetings: “All for the Serb cause – the Serb cause for all”, “Serbia will live on as long as her children are true to her”. Cheers!