

IVICA PRIMORAC

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The interview was conducted at President Hotel in Split

Here we go. We are on. I will kindly ask you, at the beginning of these recordings, to introduce yourself. Please tell me your name, surname and place of birth?

Ivica, I am a son of Andrija Primorac and I was born on February 24, 1963 in the town of Grude, Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Please tell me, when the war started, meaning in early 90's, where were you at the time?

The war caught me in my native town of Grude. I worked for the company which was a part of the larger enterprise called SOUR APRO. They had their working unit in Grude and that's where the war caught me. You see, Lađa, I practically recognised the pattern which had already been applied in Croatia. I can say that I was among those who at that time... You see, you should realise what was the situation like in Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH) at the time. The war did not start yet, but there was a complete paralysis of the political system and collapse of institutions. It was a time of disorganisation. It was a time when leaders of Bosnia and Herzegovina were not in the least aware of the problems lurking over Bosnia and Herzegovina. That was evident in all their public statements and appearances. I primarily refer to the most influential Muslim politicians, such as Izetbegović who, according to the statements delivered in public, was convinced that the war would miss BiH.

Yes, he at the time claimed that the war would miss BiH and when it actually started he said that it was not his war.

That's correct.

Could you try to describe the situation at the time? The state of law is not functioning!?

That's correct.

There wasn't any civil authority?

People felt that the scenario from Croatia would be used all over again in BiH.

In what way did that reflect on practical and every day life? How did that oncoming chaos reflect on people?

People discussed the situation in Croatia on a daily basis. That was absolutely

number one topic, discussed by children, adults and elderly. Majority of people were aware of the situation and were quite certain that the war would not only spread from Croatia to BiH but struck BiH in all its fierceness following the same scheme and scenario which had already been seen in Croatia. And that scheme involved the members of Serb ethnic community and the army called Yugoslav People's Army (herewith referred to as JNA), and their attempt to invade territories and proclaim an entirely new state under Serb control both in Croatia and BiH. The war in Croatia was absolutely the main topic in that period. People talked about the beginning of the war in Croatia.

When was that?

We talk about time, let's say, before the Plitvice Bloody Easter.

That means in 1991?

In 1991 that's correct. Various meetings and public demonstrations by the then Serb extremist leaders throughout Croatia, BiH and Serbia clearly revealed that they would stop at nothing and even use arms to achieve their goals.

That's it.

First real conflicts in Croatia, although we may talk only about lower intensity conflicts shatter all the illusions about the JNA. They also shatter the illusion that the JNA would take neutral stand in the conflict, ease down tensions or stop Serbs from occupying parts of the territory. I was staying more or less in BiH at the time. When I talk about disorganisation I refer to the period associated with the collapse of state authorities. The new Croat authorities rose to power in local communities and municipalities inhabited mostly by Croats after the elections. They functioned locally in an attempt to establish some kind of normal life. Literally, it is very difficult to describe that period, but the smell of war was felt in the air. There wasn't anybody capable of organising defence from the inevitable, from the war which was surely about to come. In such a situation the scenario of Croatia repeats itself. The so-called JNA territorial defence disarms the municipalities in Herzegovina and collects arms belonging to the

companies across Herzegovina according to the principles valid in the former Yugoslav regime and established by the Yugoslav territorial defence. That means that in the former regime majority of companies owned their own arms which had to be purchased, stored and in case of necessity used and distributed among people according to the prescribed procedures. Mainly, the orders for disarmament of local territorial defence forces had been issued by the JNA under the pretext of maintaining security and safe storage of arms. In fact, a planned disarmament of Herzegovina was underway. In other words, the companies and civil units of the Ministry of the Interior civil were being disarmed. Surplus arms belonging to various police stations across western Herzegovina were also confiscated by the JNA and transported to the Mostar barracks. It was absolutely clear what would happen. Disarmament of that part of the country and preparation for an easy strike was their main objective. Regardless of the fact that people were brave and aware of what was going on they couldn't defend themselves with their bare hands.

How did people organise for defence later on?

You see, one cannot talk about some special organisation at the time, especially not at the state level in Herzegovina. You only had individuals who wanted to do something for their local community.

Here we speak about the local level...?

We speak about local communities. I am primarily referring to the municipalities. It is not possible to speak of any kind of meaningful organisation at the state level as yet. Maybe in the second phase... We only had individuals who were aware of the situation and who had some kind of initiative. They sought ways to purchase arms and organise necessary defence. People managed in different ways: by buying hunting rifles and guns at enormous prices or any other kind of weapon capable of shooting... That was the situation at the time. There were some towns where people were better organised. Finally, great quantities of arms were being purchased in Slovenia. The Slovenian government was selling arms because it had no use for them any more.

Yes, they solved their problems.

They solved it. They solved their problems. They disposed of their arms. People in Herzegovina raised funds and purchased arms through the existing channels in Slovenia. Mostly that was called self-organisation.

Where were you in all that?

At that moment, I was actually only thinking of how to get myself ready for the war to a certain extent. I did not wish to be caught barehanded at the beginning of the war in BiH. We managed to obtain some arms through Split and Zagreb...

You attempted to collect arms?

We tried to form some kind of groups in order to be at least somewhat prepared. When you think today about the quantities of arms we had at our disposal you realise how ridiculously small these were. However, in that period people felt safer – which is normal – regardless of the kind of rifle they had in their possession – they felt that they had some sort of means to defend themselves. People sought different ways to defend themselves. They did not care about the price they had to pay for a piece of weapon because they knew that it would serve for their future defence. You had the following situation. Please remember, I'm stressing it again, there had not existed an authority in charge of organising national defence. People managed to purchase arms on their own. Some people managed to get arms through the Croatian Defence Forces (herewith referred to as HOS) which had already existed in Croatia. These were relatively small quantities of arms but they meant something in that situation. The arms were also obtained from Slovenia. Each municipality formed some kind of unit consisting of a few people. Some units had more and some of less people. Mostly, the municipalities of Neum, Stolac, Livno and Tomislavgrad had a questionable but to some extent organised group of people ready for defence. These groups were armed and in some way prepared for the outbreak of the conflict. Obviously, Serbs on the other hand did not have such problems. It was a public secret, widely written about in the media at the time, that the JNA openly delivered and distributed arms among Serbs in the region.

What happens next?

The war happens, the war spreads through Croatia. It flares up. It is only the question of time when it would strike BiH. It was only the question of day that is for sure. Especially after the incident involving brutal killings and wounding of the Croatian police officers in Borovo

naselje. All the psychosis around the town of Vukovar confirmed our belief that the war in BiH was inevitable. I have roughly mentioned that some contacts were made with people in the HOS in Split and Zagreb, regarding help in clothes, military uniforms or armament. But then, according to the decision of the HOS supreme commander, Dobroslav Paraga at the end of 1991, Blaž Kraljević was sent from Zagreb. Kraljević was appointed the supreme commander of the HOS units for Herzegovina by Dobroslav Paraga. His duty was to unite all those small groups of men who had already contacted HOS. Referring to those people who had anything to do...

Tell me please, and sorry for interrupting, has that event in some way marked a first more systematic endeavour to form a defence or has anything else existed before that moment?

Well it might be said, that in some way it marked the beginning of a more organised miniature military unit. The Croatian Defence Council (herewith referred to as the HVO) did not as yet exist as the armed or military formation at the moment. There only existed various crisis headquarters across Herzegovina operating at local and municipal levels. There were guards... but it was an entirely disorganised situation. Defence was exclusively restricted to protection of one's own yard, village etc... That is how things functioned.

Did Blaž Kraljević attempt to organise and raise defence to a more serious level in 1991?

Well, he was entirely dedicated to promoting HOS as an independent and separate military formation.

Separate from what?

Separate from the Croatian army (HV).

How did he underline that fact?

It was often emphasised in HOS proclamations. They claimed that the HOS units were independent and separate from the HV but also independent from any authority of the then party in power Croatian Democratic Union (herewith referred to as HDZ) in those municipalities. Independent from the authority of the legitimate authorities since the HDZ won the elections there. The elections were over and HDZ formed the local government in all municipalities.

Did HOS have any program of their own? How did its goals differ from HDZ's objectives? What did HOS consider as essentially different in their approach?

They talked a lot about territorial expansion of Croatia all the way to the Drina River. There was a lot of talk of Bosnia being practically an essential part of Croatia, of Croatia and Bosnia becoming one state. There was no talk of BiH as an independent state at the time in any of the HOS programs.

Wasn't that a bit megalomaniac?

That is right. Megalomaniac story. Of Boka Kotorska as...

They only have five rifles at their disposal but...?

That's right. The story was absolutely unreal and unverifiable, and entirely impossible to achieve.

However at the time, nobody thought about it?

That's correct.

Ok. What was your position at the time? At the time when Blaž Kraljević appeared, when everything started functioning in a way? What is your story?

I was in Grude at the time. I had a group of armed young men in uniforms under my command. This is now put in the contexts of the later events. It was ridiculous, but I emphasise again: any organised armed formation consisting of five or ten lads carrying the same amount of rifles was considered a respectable force at the moment. It might seem funny but it was just like I told you. In any case, we had small groups of armed men in Grude, Ljubuški, Čitluk, and Mostar that had already been formed with the help of HOS. Kraljević contacted us, waved a piece of paper from Paraga in front of us, and introduced himself as a supreme commander of all men with the HOS insignias in the territory of Herzegovina and clearly demanded to be accepted as such.

Where was the headquarters of HOS situated?

In Ljubuški. He is originally from a small village of Lisice near Ljubuški, and his HQ was all the time in Ljubuški.

Can we make a small digression? Do you know Kraljević before the war? Who is he?

Where did he come from?

He came from Australia when democratic changes started in Croatia. I think he spent over

20 years in Australia. He was politically active in Australia, Cambera to be more concrete. In any case, he just showed up. After disintegration of Yugoslavia he came back from Australia.

What did he do? What is his history?

It is a questionable affair. I cannot say that I have any concrete knowledge of his former affairs in Australia, however I think that he was not involved in any serious business. He returned from Australia, and joined the Croatian Party of Rights (HSP) (herewith referred to as HSP), and I am not sure under what circumstances. I believe that he brought over some money from Australia which had been donated for the defence of the Republic of Croatia. I am not sure whether he actually donated the money to the government of the Republic of Croatia. I think that the money ended at the HSP, and he in a way bought his position with Paraga. He was for some time the head of the promotion within HSP. He held that post until he came to Herzegovina. He arrived to Herzegovina and tried to unite all armed military formations.

That happened at the end of 91 and the beginning of 92. What happens then? Did he make any progress in that respect?

Well, look here. At the beginning it all goes well. He manages to gather men solidly although I must say it is all done rather amateurishly. The HOS at the time consisted of a rather large number of decent and honest men. Conscious of their ethnic identity. In other words they were ready to fight for it at any moment. That did not mean that they were ready to commit aggression against somebody else's territory but simply they were ready to defend their own people and territory. The outbreak of a major conflict was expected at any moment. The city of Vukovar fell. The first sign of open aggression against BiH was the capture of the village of Ravno by JNA. We know how Ravno, how the army...

Which date was that?

I would have to check the dates exactly. I do not remember dates exactly.

O.K.

It is not a problem to check the dates. Let's say that some ugly things happened. The Croatian village of Ravno was destroyed and people were expelled from their homes. Civilians were killed. After that it was obvious that the Muslim leadership was still blind to

the oncoming events. They still believed that the war would not spread to other regions of BiH. Izetbegović stated that he had received assurances from the high ranking JNA officers that the army would continue to be neutral in the conflict and would not join any of the conflicting parties. He furthermore stated that the Yugoslav army would defend the village of Ravno. At the same time, a JNA's unit, approaches Ravno through the village of Stolac. The most terrifying and ugly thing which happened and that was true- the Muslims greeted Yugoslav soldiers with flowers. Flowers were thrown to the tanks. It was clearly seen that those people were absolutely blind to the real situation in the country at the moment. It was obvious that they were not prepared in the least to defend themselves, and that turned out to be their tragedy. Their failure to organise and prepare for the war brought them in the situation in which they found themselves later.

Yes. What was the relationship between Croats and Muslims like at the moment? Did it function according to the principles of alliance?

That's right. The relationship functioned according to the principle of political alliance. Of course, according to that alliance. If I am correct, you may correct me if I am wrong, the Croatian side was ahead of Muslim side regarding provision of help and armament.

Absolutely.

The Croatian side provided the support, specifically helped the Muslim side.

Not only provided supported, but actively helped them.

Now you tell me about that active help? What do you know about it? Did you take any part in it? How did that function? What did Croatian side give? Were you present when Praljak entered the town of Mostar?

Here is one example. You got ahead of me. Let's say, first provision of arms which came to Mostar was organised by the Croatian state and the Croatian government under HDZ rule. That is definitely a historical fact. The arms were distributed equally among both Croats and Muslims.

Where were the arms distributed? In Mostar?

Correct. In Mostar.

When was that?

First rifles that came in organised manner... When was that? The first large quantity of rifles was delivered long before the conflict on Kupres which took place on April 5-6, 92. That was long before the conflict on Kupres. There was no selective approach in provision of arms either to Croats or Muslims, but the arms were distributed equally among Croats and Muslims.

Were you present in those situations at all? I know for fact that Praljak when he came from Sunja invited a group of fellows from Sunja to join him. He came to Mostar after he had successfully defended Sunja and invited some people to come and help him organise defence and educate people. Were you there at the moment?

I actively conducted fast military training of men-volunteers in two camps which we had. We tried to provide men with the basic military training.

Where were those camps?

In two villages, in the village of Hardomilja in the municipality of Ljubuški.

Hardomilja?

Hardomilja.

That's correct. The village is situated on the road from Ljubuški to Metković. That means on Herzegovinian side. And for a short period of time we had another camp in the village of Gornja Vitina. We had to leave that camp because the Belgrade journalists found out about it...

Belgrade journalists?

Belgrade journalists?

What were they doing there?

I'll tell you all about it. They found out about us. It turned out that the late Kraljević was rather naive. They found out about it, and informed the army about the exact position of the camp. A day later the JNA army air-raided the area. They played the whole thing rather cunningly. One day Kraljević informed me of the arrival of two German journalists, highly recommended by the Croatian Party of Rights, and their intention to make reportage on preparation of the Croatian army for defence. They introduced themselves as German journalists and Kraljević took them to the village of Gornja Vitina. I was suspicious regarding the entire affair because I saw that they recorded in detail everything around them

on their cameras. Kraljević rather naively, without keeping anything to himself, told them and showed them much more than he should have. The following night, JUTEL broadcast a reportage and delivered the following message: „While democratic forces seek to preserve a rather fragile peace, the extremist in west Herzegovina prepare themselves as if the war would last 100 years.“ The then director of JUTEL was Goran Milić and the whole thing was delivered as breaking news on JUTEL the following night. I immediately realised that we had to leave the camp urgently. I alarmed the lads and instructed them to leave immediately and take everything with them. We managed to save all the equipment on time. That same day, two Yugoslav army planes flew over and air-raided the village.

That same day?

That same day.

They watched JUTEL.

Or JUTEL worked for them.

That could be possible.

Anyway, we relocated our camp and moved a few kilometres further to the village of Lipno. Practically, we may say that we had our training camps on three locations: in the villages of Hardomilja, Gornja Vitina and Lipno. Several hundred competent men received military training in those camps.

Who were those men who received the training in those camps?

They were volunteers from all over Herzegovina. They came from the towns of Mostar, Stolac, Čapljina and Posušje.

Were they only Croats?

No. Both Croats and Muslims.

What was their ratio, the Croats versus Muslims in those camps?

You see, we can only speak from group to group. Let's say if the people came from Posušje we could only talk about Croats. If they came from Mostar, seven, eight or 10 out of 30 men in total were Muslims.

Then that means that there were Muslims also?

That's correct.

They also passed the same training?

Absolutely the same training.

I am only interested in one thing. Were they discriminated against in any way during the training?

No, we would not have trained them, if we had discriminated against them. We would not have trained them. Nobody forced us to train them. Simply put, they were not discriminated against during the training. On the contrary, they received the same training, the same treatment and they lived under the same conditions as Croats. Muslims had at their disposal the same things as Croats.

Was there any anticipation of the future conflict between Croats and Muslims?

No, not at all. At that moment there was nothing pointing to the outbreak of the conflict between Croats and Muslims. No.

That was the year of 1992, is that correct?

Yes, the end of 1991 and the beginning of 1992.

Tell me, you were in those camps?

That's correct.

How long did you conduct the trainings?

Actively three and a half months.

Were you then a member of the HOS units?

Yes, I was a HOS member. I did not have any special role. At that moment I did not have any formal rank or specific duty. But I spent a lot of time organising life and training of the people attending our camps. These camps represented in a way some kind of military establishment organised and improvised under conditions possible at that time.

Tell me, when did you meet Praljak?

I think that I first met Praljak in Čapljina. We met there for the first time. Somebody told me that the man was Praljak. I am not even sure that he remembers the occasion.

When was that?

It's hard to remember the exact date but it was after Kupres, but before liberation of the left bank of the Neretva River anyhow. Before that action.

When was that approximately? In what period?

Between April and June.

In 1992?

In 1992, that's correct.

He came to Mostar in that time, is that correct?

Yes. That's correct. Meaning after Kupres and before liberation of the left bank of the river Neretva.

Were you in Mostar when he came there? When did the group from Sunja arrive?

No. I was still in Ljubuški. I told you the HOS HQ was situated in Ljubuški. In the meantime Kraljević appointed me as his deputy. I suppose he had a serious reason for doing that. He brought a decision and nominated me as his deputy. Thus I...

Why did he appoint you?

I believe that the reason for it was that I, in comparison with other men at his disposal, had a larger military knowledge and better organisational skills. Kraljević came from Australia and was mostly involved in politics, but did not have any military knowledge.

That means that he actually needed you?

I cannot say that I also had some special military knowledge however in comparison with the others I stood out.

What were your duties later on when you became his assistant?

Not his assistant, deputy.

Deputy.

Practically nothing much changed regarding my duties. I continued my activities related to organisation of life and training of the army. I continued with daily training routine and preparations for the war. Let me refer to the camp again, to the training of people. People would come from various municipalities in accordance with the available facilities at the camp. Upon termination of training they would return to their appropriate municipalities. We supplied them with as much equipment as we could for their own use. That means that some people would get more and other less equipment. But the principle was the same. Men were asked to attend basic training and return to their municipalities later and wait for the war to begin. There also existed a HOS command for Bosnia under the leadership of Mladen Holman and they had their HQ in Zenica. They had a smaller number of men in Zenica, and a few people in Sarajevo, and practically they had only one significant unit at

the moment stationed in Vitez. That was a unit called Vitezovi (Knights) under command of the late Darko Kraljević. That means that Herzegovinian HOS covered a region from Neum to Livno, including Mostar while the Bosnian HOS covered the area from Bugojno, the entire central Bosnia. That was, as we might call it, some kind of zone division.

Good. You already told me when you saw Praljak for the first time. However, I am interested to find out when did you two start to cooperate, work together, agree, disagree and do whatever you did?

Well look there were hundred different situations. The HVO was formed. Active defence preparations were underway. HVO was under control of the ruling HDZ party. All municipalities worked on establishing active defence. That is first quarter of 1992, meaning, January, February and March of 1992.

1992.?

Yes. That's correct. The major armed conflict involving the HVO units broke out in Kupres. That means in April 1992. Behaviour and actions of the HOS, primarily of the commander Kraljević, evidently showed that the HOS would not accept the HVO chain of command. He refused it. He wrote and published several proclamations concerning the matter in the media, as well as a number of leaflets which were later on distributed among men.

Kraljević refused. What did he refuse?

He refused to accept a unified command structure and joint organisation of defence with the HVO.

Why did he refuse that?

Well that is a rather big issue now. I spent a lot of time talking to him about it. But he was not to be persuaded. His position was that he did not accept the command of the HVO because HVO was under HDZ's command. He refused to recognise the HDZ's authority because the HDZ could not defend the interests of the Croatian people. According to him, the HVO could not be superior to the HOS in any sense. I had difficult time in trying to figure out why was he so stubborn about it. But he did not yield an inch in that respect. He ignored any discussion regarding organisation of any joint military command of these two military formations. He refused to discuss any manner in which the HOS, which was a much smaller army, would be in any way subordinated to a much larger army and that is the

HVO. Nothing could be done to persuade him to enter the negotiations regarding integration of two armies. I talked to him about it on several occasions. He simply refused to discuss the matter. Kraljević, whether or not in agreement with Paraga, claimed that he only recognised the supreme command of Alija Izetbegović and that the HOS was under jurisdiction and command of the Bosnian and Herzegovinian Army (ABiH) which de facto did not exist at the time. He also said that the HOS would never become HVO subordinate.

Just a moment. We shall stop here because this is a very important period. Details are important. Let us put it this way. Firstly, I am interested in numbers and differences in organisational structures of two existing military formations, the HVO and the HOS at that moment, in the territory of Herzegovina, specifically Bosnia?

You see, in Herzegovina, when you count the number of men at the HOS disposal, regardless of the fact whether those people were actually armed, or whether they were placed under category of sympathizers or some unimportant politicians who stuck to the formation like burs, according to the data at my disposal, keeping in mind, I repeat again, the full-time guys plus the hangers-on belonging to the HSP party, or those who simply put the HOS insignias on their uniforms in order to avoid mobilisation, there were no more than 3000 people on the HOS list.

In the entire Herzegovina?

Yes, in the entire Herzegovina. If we had divided those formations according to different municipalities and according to the men who were trained, armed and able to carry a rifle on the front lines or behind the lines, we wouldn't have counted more than 1000 people.

Good, what about the HVO?

Well, the HVO grew larger each day out of necessity. At one moment the HVO had 60.000 armed men.

So that's the proportion?

The HVO started off with only a few thousand armed men until it finally reached a number of 60.000 armed men Here I talk both about men who joined the HVO combat units as well as some other accompanying HVO units.

You told me that you did not know whether Blaž Kraljević acted independently or in agreement with Paraga? Did he act on his own, without Paraga's knowledge?

There was a slight chance that he worked alone. I am convinced that he coordinated almost all his affairs with Paraga. At that time, Paraga sent a letter to Alija Izetbegović in which he informed him that the HOS military formation accepted the authority of the ABiH and Alija Izetbegović's supreme command. I think a proclamation was written in the Official Gazette listing the HOS as one of the military formations of the Armija. I once again emphasise that it was a time when Armija de facto did not exist as yet. It would not be an exaggeration to say that we were six months ahead of Bosniaks regarding military preparations in BiH. At that time Bosniaks also tried to establish some kind of military formations and units such as Patriotske lige (Patriotic League), Zelene beretke (Green Berets) and similar. I know that Paraga sent such a letter to Izetbegović. Kraljević was exceptionally thrilled about it, meaning that there is a very small possibility that Kraljević acted all alone without cooperating with Paraga. He without any dilemma cooperated with Paraga.

We described the situation in BiH. We had all kinds of formations and units: Muslims, who did not know their right hand from their left, meaning that they failed to grasp the seriousness of the situation. We have the HVO on one hand which is getting stronger day by day and has its own visions of the future. We have the HOS on the other hand which strives to become recognised as armed and distinguished army with its own objectives. All these things seem rather chaotic to me? Did they only seem chaotic or were they really chaotic at the time?

Things were very chaotic.

Let's observe the situation from the practical point of view? How did anyone know who to shoot and who to spare? Who would listen to whom?

I spent a lot of energy at the time to calm down the tensions, talking to each side in order to avoid any conflict...

Where were those tensions the highest?

Those tensions were the highest at the Metković border crossing which then existed. Kraljević issued an order forbidding the HOS members to stop at the control point. You had HV units there as well as Croatian police. We received numerous threats at the time. The war was about to begin, it was the time of air-raid sirens, times of misinformation. Special war was on. Can you grasp the danger of simply driving by the control point and refusing to

stop? I spent a lot of time talking to the members of the HV and police forces in order to calm down the tensions. I tried to come up with a solution to avoid any possible conflict between members of the Croatian police, HV and the members of HOS.

I even talked to general Daidā who also put great efforts in trying to reason with Kraljević and get him to join the HVO which Kraljević categorically refused.

Kraljević did not provide any arguments or reasons for his refusal to join the HVO?

No. To me never. I spent hours talking to him. He never explained why to me. Kraljević simply said that the HVO was not led by true Croats and that was why it was impossible for the members of the HOS join. He did not have any explanation regarding the definition of „true Croats“ – he gave me some arguments that simply did not hold water!

Ok. You ran from control point to control point trying to calm down tensions amongst various units and formations?

That's correct. I was calming down the tensions.

Tell me, what did Kraljević think about your peaceful endeavours?

He was a bit upset about it. However I had in the meantime become some kind of authority among the HOS lads and he could not afford losing me. At the time I had more authority among those lads than he did. I talked to Daidā on several occasions. I even organised the meeting between him and Daidā which ended in quarrel. Daidā told me that Kraljević was crazy.

Where was this meeting held? Where did they talk?

In Ljubuški at a restaurant down by the river.

That also happened in 1992?

1992. That's right. That happened at the beginning of 1992. I coordinated various meetings with leading HOS and HDZ men such as Mate Boban where I calmed down tensions. I tried to find a solution to integrate HOS in some way. The HOS consisted of many decent fellows. I wanted the process to take place smoothly and painlessly knowing that the war was inevitable and that we should stop thinking of our petty interests. However my endeavours with Blaž failed. He was exclusive. Often towards Praljak, and towards Daidā many times. We organised meetings with Mate Boban. But it simply was not...

I am especially interested in situations in which Praljak was present as well as in

negotiations in which he took part?

He always held the same position. Always the same position. Daidā and Praljak demanded only one thing from Blažević and that was to have a single army with a unified command structure and clear jurisdiction.

Were you present at such meetings?

I was present then. On one occasion I talked to Praljak. Praljak once had a loud and heated discussion with Kraljević regarding the matter. „There is not time for fooling around.“ I apologise for my language. „There is not time for fucking around.“ We have to organise together, so let us agree on some things and move forward.“

What did Kraljević reply?

He refused to accept the HVO leadership.

What possibilities did Praljak offer? I know Praljak and he is the man who tries to find solutions?

Praljak suggested that the HOS should accept the unified command structure. At the same time he offered them to keep their insignias and that some of their units and companies be integrated into the HVO battalions or brigades. He would allow the HOS members to continue wearing their insignias since they cared so much about their identity but insisted that they come under a unified command structure. These were rather concrete suggestions that should not have bothered anyone.

Praljak then suggested such things?

Yes, Praljak, and the late Daidā, and some rather similar proposals were delivered by Mate Boban. Their stands and positions were absolutely correct, necessary and unavoidable.

And the reply by Kraljević was always the same?

It was always the same....

It sounds unbelievable?

Yes it does. But it's not. It's true.

Do you want to rest for a while?

Yes.

Here it is. Dictaphone is switched on again. Ivica Primorac, continuation of recordings. We depicted the situation of parallel chain of command and related problems which existed. You probably remember some incidents which occurred in such situations and which made those situations even more tense and explosive.

Well there were lot of such incidents, but mostly due to the lack of selective approach related to the recruitment of new HOS members. Some local criminals from different towns stuck the HOS insignias on their uniforms and joined the HOS in order to avoid mobilisation by HVO. It was also a cover up to pursue their criminal activities: kidnapping, looting and similar. There had not been any exceptions in other towns as well. There were numerous cases of stealing vehicles belonging to the Serb families. I was absolutely against that. Those were loyal Serbs who decided to stay and live in the region and there was no reason for stealing their private vehicles. As a rule, I demanded that written certificates be issued to the families whose vehicles had been taken away although there was not a lot of satisfaction in that for the families. They should have at least received a written document confirming that their vehicles had been taken away. Many companies in the area from Posušje to Mostar had their cars taken away from them. When I learnt about it, I looked for a way to return the vehicles. On one occasion some members of the HOS stole equipment and arms from the HV vehicle on the road from Ljubuški and Čapljina. I had to intervene and calm down tensions. I sought different ways to return the property back to the HV. There had been many such cases. All those cases were the result of unselective approach related to the recruitment of new soldiers. I absolutely quarrelled with Kraljević about that issue. It was my opinion that HOS shouldn't be a shelter for all kinds of problematic guys. Various local criminals took advantage of such a situation, boycotting the HVO mobilisation and openly pursuing all kinds of criminal activities.

Was Kraljević aware of the things around him which didn't have anything to do with army discipline?

He only cared to recruit as many people as possible with the HOS insignias on.

Didn't it matter to him that people kill each other, fire shots at each other, and steal?

He claimed that all these events were a result of the war, tension and that such things happened in every army.

I, for instance, know that Praljak, while stationed in Sunja – since September 91 until February 1992 - took all possible measure to establish order and discipline. He forbade consummation of alcohol, introduced the institution of prison which had not existed prior to his arrival to Sunja – and he severely punished all those who attempted to create chaos and steal other people's property etc... So just to compare things: Praljak understood the importance of discipline and order...

That's right, discipline.

That's right. Praljak obviously wanted to establish discipline down there. My question is, could Praljak have had any influence at that time?

That functioned differently from place to place, from unit to unit. There were some units headed by competent commanders who knew what discipline, order and organisation meant. Also there were units led by unqualified and incompetent commanders and there were always some problems.

Since Blaž Kraljević did not know how to stop that, or did not care to, could we conclude that he in some way allowed it?

If things are not explicitly forbidden in the army they are tacitly permitted. These were the times when Muslims joined the HOS units in large numbers and in some cases in Mostar, Čapljina and Stolac they even outnumbered the Croat members of the HOS. They outnumbered Croats. They had a very clear tactic. Their tactic was to take Croatian rifles, outnumber Croatian soldiers and when the time comes serve in the interest of Muslims. No doubt that was their goal.

They actually played it perfectly.

That's right. That was evident in three towns that I already mentioned: towns of Mostar, Čapljina and Stolac.

O.K. Praljak was in Mostar at the time, wasn't that right?

That's right.

What did the situation look like at the time? Praljak, let us say, was trying to establish order in Mostar. And I know, because people who came from Sunja told me that they had trained everybody the same way, Muslims, Croats and all others who needed training at the time. One guy who was there at the time told me: „Praljak did not

defend east or west part of the city. He defended the entire city of Mostar“. Such a division did not exist at the time.

It did not exist. That's right.

He tried to defend the entire city.

Yes, the entire city.

That's correct. But also it was the time of chaos, disorder and looting with HOS in charge?

That's right.

Well how did Praljak deal with it? That is, how tensions reflected on the situation in Mostar?

Well the same thing happened in Mostar, Čapljina and Stolac. The instructions by Kraljević were the following: The HVO is not the partner. The HVO is not your superior. You have your own line of command, your own line of responsibility and do not listen – you must not listen – to the requests or to the instructions issued by the HVO. That resulted in incidents and misunderstandings on a daily basis which we luckily overcome.

Were there any wounded or killed people?

Look, Lađa there were quarrels and incidents but there were never...I can't understand it – I do not know how such extreme cases were avoided? And now when I look at it from a distance, it never came to the mass shooting involving 10 or 20 people on one side and as much on the other. That was a miracle.

It never came to that?

That's right. There were some lower intensity conflicts. But luckily there were no shootings involving more than three, five or fifteen people. I am still puzzled today, when I look at it from a distance, and wonder how we managed to avoid greater incident. Truly I am puzzled.

O.K, what happened next? Tension was on...

Tensions existed. The war started. I was completely disappointed in Kraljević and had my first serious disagreement with him when Kupres fell. Situation in Kupres was awful and we lost our positions there. At the beginning of 1992, Serbs with the help of the JNA units captured Kupres and we lost position and control over Kupres. At the moment when all that was going on, we received a request from the HVO commander, colonel Mikulić, former

JNA officer from Herzegovina, from Grude to send some of our men there because Kupres was about to fall.

Kraljević did not allow it. He did not allow that the HOS members (*from Ljubuški*) join the HVO on Kupres. It was a shock to me. Disbelief. I came to him and asked him: „Are you aware of what is going on there, what’s happening there'. He responded: “That’s not our business. We shall not interfere. The HVO planned it all, let them stew in their own juice“. That night I sent some of the guys there without his knowledge. He was absolutely embittered with me because of that. But that is practically first...

You really express yourself very politely. I appreciate it, but what exactly means when you say „absolutely embittered“?

He was extremely angry.

What did he tell you then?

He was angry because I went behind his back. He was angry with me because I had failed to respect him as a commander. He furthermore added that I should not have done it and that he did not give a damn about the HVO. I tried to explain to him that it was not the matter of the HVO but of the Croatian people on Kupres. I told him that Croat civilians, women and children lived in the villages on Kupres. But he just did not want to listen to me. It was of no interest to him whatsoever.

O.K. what were his objectives? What was in his opinion worth fighting for?

He did not have a vision. He was talking about expansion of the Croatian state all the way to the river of Drina, about Boka Kotorska becoming a Croatian city and about how all that territory would become part of the Republic of Croatia one day. At the same time he lacked a well planned concept and a strategy according to which he would have been able to achieve goals that he was talking about. I was extremely disappointed and could not get over it. His refusal to join the HVO on Kupres disappointed me. I even told one of these lads in command of anti-tank unit not to return to the HOS and that it was a high time to get out of that HOS story. And those guys, who were truly committed and ready to fight, listened to me.

And where was Praljak at that time?

Now you should ask Praljak where he was exactly on the day Kupres fell. He was always on

the front line. He was not the office type. He was always on the field, on the terrain regardless of the fact where the front line was, where the position of the army was. The only question is whether he was in Sunja, or Livno or Čapljina that day. But he was a regular on the front lines. Kupres was a great disappointment to me. I definitely realised that Kraljević and I would have to part very soon and that there was no trust between us any more. I did not trust him any more. We both mistrusted each other. I lost trust in his ideas because he only talked stories about protection of Croatian people. He only debated... Instead of mobilising every single person who could carry a gun and sending him the front line to face a much stronger enemy Kraljević said: „We are not interested. We shall not go“.

What happened following Kupres?

We started preparations for crossing the river Neretva because we wanted to capture southern part of the country. These were the so-called June preparatory actions in directions of Čapljina and Čitluk with an aim to liberate left bank of the river Neretva and create pre-conditions for liberation of Mostar. That region was controlled by Serbs at the time. The operation was conducted successfully in June 1992. In my opinion, it was the first successful operation of larger proportions carried out by the Croatian units in which they managed to liberate and hold a significantly wider area held previously by Serb forces. The area was held by Croats until the end of the war.

Was there any cooperation between the HVO and the HOS in that respect?

There was not any open cooperation at all. The only cooperation was between me and Praljak or between me and little Ante Luburić who was the commander of the HVO in Čapljina at the time. I told them that some of the guys under my influence would participate in the action with them...

That was behind the Kraljević's back?

Yes mostly behind Kraljević's back. The situation was such that he was not able to prevent it. We may say that the liberation of the left bank of the river Neretva was successfully completed through a joint operation with the HVO command. The area surrounding Čapljina in direction of Stolac as well as one part of the territory from Čapljina in direction of Mostar was liberated. That was practically one very good and solidly prepared action. In the end it gave good results.

You managed to establish connections with Praljak until then?

Absolutely.

How was the relationship between you and Praljak? What did Praljak want? What did he ask for?

Praljak only looked for fair relationship, proper organisation and unified command. That was absolutely justified and unavoidable. That is a precondition for all success both in peace and war. It is important to know who is in charge or who has the authority to bring decisions.

O.K. But let's say. You were able to compare between Kraljević and Praljak. Please compare how did Praljak manage to establish order?

Praljak had experience.

Praljak was responsible...

Praljak already gained experience in the Republic of Croatia and had good organisational skills. He had necessary knowledge about the army, military doctrine and so...Kraljević, contrary to Praljak, did not know anything about army. It sounds crude and perhaps disparaging towards a man who was formally a supreme commanding officer of the HOS in Herzegovina and who in the end is dead – but I could swear that he was not able to determine the cardinal directions of the world. Praljak showed inclination toward order and organisation.

Did he manage to establish order?

To a good extent. Although you have to be aware that for all that to happen you need time. The times were chaotic and it was not easy to build and form the army, company or battalion over night. Time is needed. Incidents happened all over Croatia and BiH...sometimes people under influence of alcohol fired shots into the air or did something else. However the fact was that Praljak put lot of efforts to establish order and discipline and form a real army and not a group of wild bandits. He had a lot of energy and authority necessary for the job.

But he was not able to influence the units under the HOS command?

No, not at all. The only thing he could do was to convince and provide arguments. And that was it.

Can we say that Praljak at that moment represented a positive force, that he wished

to establish order but in spite of his wishes was not able to establish order throughout the entire territory?

He was absolutely positive. And he definitely wished to establish order and discipline in the army. All his actions, activities and tasks were dedicated to forming army and establishing discipline.

Was he able to control actions and capriciousness of members of the HOS?

No.

Looting.

No

Killings.

No.

Was he able to control anything related to the HOS at the time?

No.

O.K.

Categorically no.

Until when did division within the army last?

Division lasted practically until the moment when the HOS as a military formation ceased to exist. We slowly integrated the people from the HOS into the HVO. It was a situation that could not have been solved over a day or two. First people had to be informed, talked to and the necessity for such a reorganisation explained.

When did the influence spread? When did the resistance towards integration with the HVO cease?

Well look, as we decreased the number of HOS members...

HVO got stronger.

HVO got stronger.

O.K. that means in 199...

The HOS practically ceased to exist in 1992 except for some individuals who wore the insignias because of various reasons.

The HOS did not have that power any more?

The HOS did not have any power and de facto those individuals and small groups became

integrated into the HVO units.

However let's go back a bit, to the period when the HOS was still strong. Let's talk about the period when the confrontations with Blaž Kraljević still lasted. He did not want to accept the unified command or send his men to join HVO units on the line. There was an incident when he came to threaten Praljak, is that right?

That's right. There was one very serious confrontation with Praljak. On that occasion he practically threatened Praljak aggressively.

Where was that? Let us talk about that in more detail?

I was not present at the moment. Praljak should tell you all the details.

Besides, him and Blaž, was anybody else present during the confrontation?

I was not present Lada. I may only speculate on how the conversation went?

Part of the conversation was revealed to me by Praljak and part by Blaž. But I was not actually present.

Do you know who was present besides those two? Do you know names of some other people who were present during the confrontation?

I am not sure that anybody else from the HOS was present during the confrontation.

Was there anybody else present with Praljak?

This you will have to ask Praljak. I don't want to speculate...

We shall not speculate then. Do you know where was that meeting held? Where did Blaž come?

I cannot remember the location of their meeting. I know that he and Daidā, I again return to Daidā, met in Ljubuški. But now I simply do not know where they met.

O.K. We talked about it when the dictaphone was off. Your position was not at all pleasant at that moment.

No, it was rather unpleasant. Absolutely unpleasant. But I considered it to be my task. Or maybe it would be too much to say my mission. My mission was to calm down tensions which existed between the HOS and the HVO. I believed that it was my task to influence all those decent, honest and fair guys who were members of the HOS to leave the HOS and join the HVO peacefully. My mission was to practically bring Blaž to the point where he wouldn't have his own army.

How come you did not explode and send everybody to hell? How come you didn't tell everybody that you were sick of looking at them?

I would have felt bad. I would have felt responsible for everything bad that might have happened. I believed that as long as I was a part of all that I could have a direct influence on the events. If I had sent them all to hell I would have felt some kind of responsibility for everything bad that might have happened. I would say to myself: "If you had stayed you might have done something to prevent it..." Because, I repeat again, It was a miracle that a major conflict was avoided and mass shooting did not occur between members of the HOS and the HVO or between members of the HOS and the HV at some points where two armies occasionally met.

There was an incident involving some the HOS guys stealing parts of the radio and communications equipment from the Čapljina barracks and refused to return it.

Part of the communications equipment?

Yes, part of the communications equipment.

What was that exactly?

It is impossible for me to remember exactly which part of the equipment was stolen at that time. Mostly those were certain parts of the communication equipment. It often happened... The worst thing in all that was that a large number of the HOS guys were decent and fair. Those incidents occurred due to the unselective recruitment of men into the HOS through which all kinds of criminals managed to join HOS units. I tell you again, many of these guys were honest and fair.

I am quite aware of that. However, we are talking about HOS formation in general at this point. There were two military formations in conflict with each other. There was also an incident involving two HOS guys who came to kill prisoners in Čapljina barracks.

Look...

Do you remember?

It was the time of confusion. Those were times of high emotions and frustrated individuals who often took out their frustrations on prisoners.

I know, but a well organized army does not allow such things to happen, a

commander is there to protect prisoners and control his soldiers.

They came to the zone under the HVO control?

At that time, zones between the HOS and the HVO were not clearly divided. In the municipalities where the HDZ ruled, military zones were mostly controlled by the HVO, but not entirely, because they were some HOS units operating as well in those parts and they absolutely refused to accept the HVO authority.

Do you know of that situation when two HOS members came to kill prisoners in the Čapljina barracks? Were you present at the time?

I was not present. I know of several prisoners and civilians harassment cases. I know of several cases of ungrounded arrests of some people. The arrests were made solely with the intention to break into their flats and to steal their property. These people were not the enemy but members of different ethnic community.

Do you remember who did that? One unit formed a prison camp in Dretelj where Serb prisoners were held? Who did that?

I have to remember name and surname now. The commander was a Muslim from central Bosnia. I quarrelled with Kraljević about him. He allowed the guy to join the HOS unit although he knew that the guy had been on the run for killing somebody in central Bosnia. Not only that he allowed him to join the HOS units but also appointed him commander of the Dretelj prison camp, after a very short time. I will remember his name and surname. I think the guy is currently serving a 40-year prison term in Zenica for committing a quadruple murder. I think he killed his father and...

Wait, this quadruple murder happened before he came to the HOS or..?

He committed a murder before entering the HOS units. He fled central Bosnia and joined the HOS forces in order to avoid any problems. These other murders happened after his military involvement in the HOS. He was a criminal, a villain.

He was nominated a commander of the prison camp regardless of the fact that everybody knew that he had committed the murder in Bosnia. Blaž not only allowed him to join the HOS unit but also appointed him commander of the prison camp.

It did not bother Blaž?

No. Obviously it did not.

And he knew about it?

Without any dilemma he knew about it. I learnt about the murder and I asked Blaž to discharge the guy. He refused to do it and I think he even promoted him to the rank of lieutenant.

Who kept that prison camp in Dretelj?

HOS kept that prison camp at the time.

Who established the camp?

Practically Blaž did. He kept some kind of the HOS military police unit there.

When was that?

He was directly in charge of that police unit. He also formed a secret police department within the HOS which was also under his direct command.

When was that?

April, May, June and July of 1992.

What role did General Obradović play in the events?

General Obradović was at that time colonel Obradović, a commander of the Croatian army brigade in Metković. I think it was 115th or 116th Brigade. However during preparations for liberation of the left bank of Čapljina, the commander in charge was little Aton Luburić. Neđo came later and was appointed commander of Čapljina Knez Domagoj brigade. However, preparation and organization of the Croatian army for the liberation of the left bank of Čapljina was under command of little Anton Luburić. I do not know whether you met Anton? He was there.

What role did Obradović play in solving the problems between HVO and HOS?

What was his opinion regarding the conflict between the HOS and the HVO?

Neđo was not any special authority at the time and he did not play any special role in the conflict. He controlled a part of the line down there. He was the officer of the HV. He held those positions with his brigade and was not happy to have any HOS units nearby because he was afraid that they might cause problems. I do not know if Obradović's had anything else to do with the matter. Maybe there is something which I do not know.

You mentioned some things before regarding a large number of Muslims joining the HOS military units in that period, as well as things related to the provisions of arms

and the attitude of Alija Izetbegović towards the HOS? He awarded ranks to the members of the HOS units? How was that possible? Can you reflect on it a bit?

That coincides with what you already mentioned, the fact that Paraga wrote letters to ...?

Without any dilemma, there was a connection between Paraga and certain Muslim leaders in Sarajevo. Due to his personal frustrations, Paraga did not want any cooperation with the HVO. Without any doubt Paraga planned to build and form joint military units with the Muslims without the consent of the HVO and legally elected authority in Herzegovina. That was Paraga's stand on the relationship with the Muslims and their army which practically did not exist at the moment. It was still in its infancy. No doubt about that. Although there must have existed direct contacts between Paraga and certain Muslim leaders. Without any doubt the letter played an important role

But that also speaks of Alija's attitude towards the HVO.

That's correct.

We can indirectly conclude how he in fact treated HVO.

That's right.

And all that happened when in fact the HVO fought battle for liberation of the mutual lands and mutual...

That's right. For survival. For liberation of mutual lands.

How was that conflict between the HVO and the HOS resolved in the end?

The conflict was solved by exerting great efforts in calming down tensions between men and by actively approaching HOS men and their units to join HVO units. Due to organisational activities, the HVO grew in numbers on the field and became stronger. As the HVO units grew the HOS units became weaker. A lot was done throughout those last few months in order to establish a unified command structure within the army and to rebuild a single army in that region. It was much easier to cooperate and establish relationship with the HOS unit under command of a normal man that with the HOS unit under command of a fool. The fool thought: "It is I. It is my army." To conclude, a complete reintegration of the HOS into the HVO army was a tiresome and difficult process which lasted for a few months.

When was Blaž Kraljević killed?

At the beginning of August, I believe it was August 9...

And that was the end of it all, isn't it?

Well no. And after that... a process of reintegrating of the rest of the worthy HOS guys lasted for some time.

And what actually happened with the Muslims within the HOS units during the reintegration process?

They were absolutely against it. They wanted to remain within the HOS .

They pushed to the other side.

Except a very small number of them. At the same time they wanted to establish stronger connection with ABiH. There were initiatives among them to put the insignias of ABiH on their uniforms alongside HOS insignias.

Later on they joined the ABiH, is that correct?

Yes, some of them. Mostly Muslims.

That's what I thought. I am interested in the following now. The Muslims who left the HOS and joined the ABiH took the arms given to them by the HOS?

Of course they took the arms. Nobody disarmed them. You see him in the evening and in the morning he is gone.

Has any attempt been made to stop them from taking arms, to stop them from leaving?

That was very difficult to achieve in such situations. Those people did not say: "We are leaving and going to join the ABiH". Here one day and gone tomorrow.

Tell me, is there anybody else I could talk to about the events that took place in that period? Who else was present?

Of those who stayed alive? Praljak told me that he would arrange a meeting with Stanko Primorac Čane who was also one of the HOS commanders. He did not take part in forming of the HOS units from the very beginning. He joined HOS actively somewhere at the beginning of February or March 92. He participated in most of the events after March or April 1992. It would be a good idea to talk to him. There are also a few more guys worth talking to. Perhaps it would also be a good idea to talk to Pero, Petar Majić, a guy from the village of Vitina. He was a member of HOS from the beginning. I think he is quite a normal

guy, a decent guy. He was in contact with the HOS command all the time.

What did you say? In Vitina?

In Vitina. Petar Majić.

Is he related to Dario Majić.

No, more with Ante Prkačin. And with Dedaković Jastrebović as well.

He also knows about..?

Well yes, he knows a lot of things. He played a rather positive role in all that. It would not be a bad idea to talk to Đapić as well. Although I am not sure how far would Đapić be willing to disclose the details due to political reasons? Well you should definitely talk to Prkačin, Čano Primorac and Dedaković. It would be worth while to talk to Pero Majić. The guy is decent, honest and serious.

If I try to contact him will you help me?

Yes, I don't see him often but I can reach him without any problems at all. He knows all sorts of details related to confrontations with Kraljević and incidents involving some criminals who hang around there...

Did we forget anything?

I could talk about this matter for days. We can meet again, three times, four times... As much as necessary. It would be a good idea to provide a summary of the interview and talk to Slobodan about it. He would perhaps be able to tell us what he considers to be important and what should be discussed in more detail.

Well that's it then. We have talked about everything. Do you have any written documents that could verify your story?

Unfortunately I do not have any such documents. When I left HOS, I returned the equipment issued to me. That was my principle. I returned everything from car to rifle. I returned everything that belonged to the HOS. Written documents were kept by Blaž and his secretary. She was his intimate friend.

And that's the end of the story regarding documents?

That's certainly the end of the story regarding papers. When I left, I did not take any written documents. He kept them all in his safe box. He and his secretary kept the keys to the safe box and had sole access to that safe. Perhaps Čane Primorac has some papers. He stayed for

a while after I left and joined the command after Blaž died. You could perhaps talk to him about documents. Perhaps we could talk to Goran Milić about the JUTEL reportage. That would be nice. I asked him once about it in 1994 in Zagreb at Intercontinental hotel.

And what did he say?

He was awfully embarrassed.

Is that right?

The part which we shall record...

I believe the armament of Muslims, concretely later on of the ABiH was done mostly through Croatia

Through Croatia?

Through Croatia. Definitely, largest quantities of arms were transported by Senad Šahinpašić Šajo...

Šahinpašić?

Senad Šahinpašić Šajo, was at the time the head of the Bosnian Army logistics.

They cooperated with him?

Yes, he cooperated with Čermak and Zagorec in Zagreb. The HVO received the instructions. He often came to the Grude logistics department regarding equipment supplies and arranging documents for undisturbed passage of arms, and similar activities.

Do you know his whereabouts?

He is in Bosnia.

Where?

Sarajevo, Foča.

Sarajevo, Foča.

Yes.

Do you know of anyone close to him, of any of his friends through whom we could reach him?

You could reach Šajo through some operatives within the HVO army logistics. They have their own black marketeering channels, through which you could reach Šajo.

Not that, do you know of some persons who know him?

Perhaps, but I am not sure, maybe I could.

In other words, can you help me find him?

I might reach him through my own channels. Through Ante Jelavić. Jelavić was at the time the head of the HVO logistics headquarters in Grude. He became deputy to the minister of defence for logistics.

I met him then.

He knew Sajo for sure. He contacted him on several occasion at the time. Perhaps he would know the easiest way to reach him.

Do you think that Jelavić would be able to do something?

Why not?

Zagreb, August 2005