

PARTY PROGRAM

of

THE SERBIAN DEMOCRATIC

PARTY

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I. SERBIAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY – THE PEOPLE'S WILL!

„Political circumstances surrounding Serbian people on the territory creating the Yugoslavian federal unit of Bosnia and Herzegovina following the WW2 (and, to a large degree, on the territory creating Croatia as defined at the Anti-Fascist Council of the People's Liberation of Yugoslavia, known more commonly by its Yugoslav abbreviation AVNOJ) were such that democracy and nationhood issues merged into one – issue of survival. Serbian democracy fighters were at the same time and, above all, national freedom fighters.“

According to the Party Program of the Serbian Democratic Party (of Serbian countries) presented at the second Assembly of the Serbian Democratic Party - SDS¹ held on 28 June 1996, Serbian Democratic Party, as a political expression of national and democratic values, in particular those originating from the people's tradition and Orthodox Christian social setting, has a role to organize sustainable economic development, responsible use of natural resources and environmental protection, to safeguard both individual and collective rights and freedoms, with full respect of identity and interests of other peoples – to strongly and undoubtedly realizes full national emancipation of our nation and the Republic of Srpska.

Creation and international recognition of the Republic of Srpska according to the Dayton Peace Accords was a reward to Serbian Democratic Party for its combat for realization of national goals of the Serbs in Bosnia and Herzegovina acting in difficult and challenging times. In this sense the existence of the Republic of Srpska is a heritage of the political activities of Serbian Democratic Party.

Serbian Democratic Party adheres to the policy of national and statehood continuity confirming that way its standpoints and ideas expressed in its founding documents, in particular the Serbian Democratic Party Program adopted in 1996 and Program Principles of Serbian Democratic Party adopted in 2002.

¹ SDS- abbreviation originating of Serbian name of the Party – Srpska demokratska stranka – translator's note

Above all, Serbian Democratic Party is aware of necessity for our people to be united, in particular as a party that managed by its political actions to make that first historical step including internal reconciliation after the fall of communism that divided Serbian national corpus the most. Therefore we think that every political action taken in the Republic of Srpska should be aiming at national unity and respect for the established democratic system.

1) HISTORY IN NEW TIME

Serbian Democratic Party was established on St.Peter's Day, that is 12.07.1990 as a national party that was formed the latest on the territory of former Yugoslavian federal unit Bosnia and Herzegovina. It was in reply to threatening processes started in the aftermath of the ex-Yugoslavia's dissolution. It emerged from the awareness that Serbian national issue has been a democratic issue as well, and the issue of survival of Serbs in these areas.

Circumstances resulted from a mono-partisan, totalitarian communist regime that lasted for fifty years did not allow for Serbian national issue to be posed and resolved with legitimacy that sacrifice borne by this nation in order to have a joint state so deserved. Solutions offered in the Constitution of 1974 combined with evident crisis in relations between the republics of the former Yugoslavia in addition to a general weakening of communist regime were realities underlying the later undesirable outcome of the mutual relations with regard to Serbian people which formed majority and was a constituent people on the whole territory. Borders created during the era of Titoism were imposed to Serbian people arbitrarily with an aim of their weakening and suppression of real impact of Serbs in the joint state. Destruction of former Yugoslavia did not take place by accident. It was a designed process of „balkanization“ that meant territorial scattering, mutual confrontations and foreign factor's influence and infiltration of foreign interests. Serbian Democratic Party at that times was the only political factor that could give answer to so emerging processes.

Majorization with regard to Serbs and danger of them loosing the nation-building sovereignty and thus their individual and collective rights appeared most apparently during the secession of the federal unit of Croatia, which was most probably the reason why Serbian Democratic Party was first politically organized there, and then in Bosnia and Herzegovina which followed Croatian example. Civil war on the territory of former Yugoslavia came as a result of wishes of foremost Slovenia, then Croatia and later BiH to leave the joint state at any cost. They were generously supported by a foreign factor interested in dissolution of Yugoslavia.

Following the war Serbian Democratic Party was a major political factor in safeguarding the attained level of freedom and statehood of Serbian people in BiH based on the Dayton Peace

Accords. Internal and external powers - with animosity toward the Republic of Srpska understood the post-war period as a continuation of the same struggle only using different, political means. Pressures exerted by the international mediators and political punishment measures were mostly directed against the Serbian Democratic Party officials. Persons lacking national agenda, but often having criminal or war profiteering background or persons whose contribution to creation of the Republic of Srpska was minor were installed to hold power instead of those. All these circumstances created atmosphere of division within the body of the nation in situation involving continuous threats and pressure toward to unitarization of BiH and weakening of the Republic of Srpska's position.

Created under circumstances of a decisive struggle for survival of Serbian people, Serbian Democratic Party keeps acting under threats aimed at diminishing the Republic of Srpska's statehood level and relocating the Serb presence Eastward, across the river of Drina.

These famous Serbian destiny borderlines and circumstances under which we keep up our political fight determined the current Party Program. Backbone of this Program is political struggle for maintaining peace and level of political freedom and statehood achieved military and politically in addition to the struggle for the establishment of a new Serbian society based on freedom and market economy. The aim of Serbian Democratic Party is to contribute on a daily basis to achievement of the highest standards in all the areas of life in the Republic of Srpska. Role models for the improvement of political, economic and social life we find in traditions of Serbian society that was founded on economic and political freedom and independence of an individual and family, traditions of Serbian and Orthodox solidarity, sources of collective security and social justice.

2) NEW TASKS AND STRATEGIC GOALS

Serbian Democratic Party is a popular democratic party. It is democratic since it follows democratic traditions of Serbian people and experience of Western European democracies. In Serbian Democratic Party we believe in freedom and individual initiative in addition to values involving solidarity in social life and Christian sacrifice of the individual for the sake of community. It originates from the tradition of Serbian society where an individual – a householder with their families represented a backbone of the society offering the best

defense of the state and its values. From the other hand, regulated state and traditional network of social relations was a guarantor of the safety of any individual and their families, which means, the whole collectivity. Serbian Democratic Party is a popular party since it gathers people from the different social classes, above all - the widest social class called middle class which is the basis of any society. Serbian Democratic Party is a popular party also for it does not have any ideological obligations save for the natural inclination toward free development of an individual and society in accordance with the inherited potential.

Serbian Democratic Party is a democratic center party since it includes political beliefs of the huge majority of middle-class members put at the heart of its program, that is, all political views save for the extreme right and extreme left ones. With regard to the national program and ownership character, economy organization, role of an individual in determination of the own destiny, Serbian Democratic Party follows orientation of those European and global parties that could be designated as the right center parties as it follows parties that take care of social justice when it comes to the social solidarity and care of the poor and disadvantaged society members. Social component of the Party does not originate from any inclination to the left-wing movement, but from traditions of Orthodox tradition and ideas and ideals of goodness and care for the neighbor.

Out of responsibility toward its own people, Serbian Democratic Party is strongly committed and obligated through the exercise of an honest and quality work and action to demonstrate and prove that it is a leading and the most serious force in the Republic of Srpska. We have to finish a difficult task of building of the Republic of Srpska while correcting all the omissions and faults committed.

Serbian Democratic Party carries out the people's policy. It is turned to the future and preservation of traditional national, spiritual and cultural values. We do not support reforms just to change something, but we support reforms that will bring better life and safer future to our people. We are the party of continuity, and we modify our political methods in accordance to the real political changes in the Republic of Srpska, Bosnia and Herzegovina and the region. We put efforts and lobby for co-operation with all authentic democratic parties in the region and worldwide, in particular in the Republic of Serbia. We are ready to work toward our inclusion into the community of European people's parties.

Serbian Democratic Party thinks that national political project should be a task shared by multiple generations since only one generation could brake out under this burden which would be detrimental for the whole national idea. The Party's platform is based on the policy of the Serbian Democratic Party endorsed by the people and reflected in their majority support during the past period. There was a period when the Party's rating was shaken down as a result of inconsistency in political actions, internal oscillations and indulgency, as well as personal incompetence of some officials. Such developments are halted now. Today Serbian Democratic Party has a new political initiative and policy pursued by qualified representatives as a guaranty of its goals realization. The biggest responsibility we feel toward the people and memories of those who sacrificed their lives for the creation of the Republic of Srpska.

Serbian Democratic Party is a concilliar party always placing the interests of the people above the interests of a party or any individual. We will gather such forces in the Republic of Srpska struggling for preservation of democracy and freedom of thought, against the uniformity of thought which is threatening democracy. We think that formula for a successful and progressive policy lays in a healthy syncretism of democratic standards and multi-partisan parliamentary life, which was enabled and allowed by the political activity of Serbian Democratic Party at the time it was in charge. This is a prerequisite of economic development, realization of social rights and any form of individual and political emancipation and our national tradition, spiritual myths and new political opinions in times to come, with a clear vision of our future and statehoodness that need to be upgraded patiently and steadily.

Our political ethics have roots in Christianity where from stems responsibility towards our people and patriotism, tradition and perspective of living in these areas. We cherish our traditional values founded in St.Sava-ism, which constitute an inalienable part of European civilization and as such have its place in contemporary political, economic and cultural relations. That said, we have the opportunity and an obligation to keep acting creatively to genuinely upgrade ourselves and our environment in order to realize our inherent potential. In times when humanity is seeking new solutions and new values, we are convinced that our people featured with its authentic characteristics can best promote itself and find its position within the international community.

Therefore, we are not only against the rejection of the own value system in order to adopt somebody else's, completely strange system, quite opposite, we are for the full affirmation of

all our genuinely positive characteristics, as this is the only way for us to secure our place in the future. We develop national mentality which will be open for our narrower and wider surroundings, but avoiding assimilation in a way leading to losing of our identity, as it happened in the past.

Serbian Democratic Party is a people's, democratic and conservative political organization. Our conservatism is in fact a feeling for the attained historic values and the natural symbiosis of traditional Serbian political thought and general contemporary civilization achievements. When we say traditional Serbian political thought, we mean policy which roots lay in fundamental principles of Serbian culture, ethics and national identity. There is no way back to communism, while neo-liberalism represents a blind alley.

We are building a basic common ground covenant within the Serbian national entity around a vision. Chances for the Republic of Srpska and our people are to be created. Any missed opportunity is hardly replaceable. We are building a strong the Republic of Srpska which will be able to find solution in turbulent times to come thus embodying its accountability towards people and citizens. We are building the Republic of Srpska economy of which depends on efforts and creativity of local producers. We want the people in the Republic of Srpska to nurture their existing and beyond any doubt valuable national culture, to upgrade it and make it richer.

3) THE PEOPLE'S POLICY PRINCIPLES

Serbian Democratic Party is a national party fighting to achieve interests of our people. For centuries our people was subject to exploitation, stripping of national affiliation, economic, cultural and spiritual pressure and other forms of genocidal plans and enterprises. The Party is not calling for chauvinism or exclusivist nationalism, but for equality of Serbian people with other European peoples.

Serbian national values, national culture and tradition, and civil cultural heritage have primary importance for national survival. In Serbian Democratic Party we do neither believe in mondialism and erasure of national specifics nor honesty of those engaged in it. Big nations' nationalism is comfortable enough to mask its own mondialism and interpret the smaller

nations' striving for preservation of their self-determination and identity as anachronism and retrograde phenomenon.

Our nation had its ideological ups and downs, but also downs for which we hope are forever left behind. It is therefore high time for the establishment of a clear direction and clearly defined goals of the unified national policy as a whole. This will be the best answer to all challenges of the moment we live in, but also the best foundation of the future we are responsible for and that we should build for new generations.

Destiny of the Republic of Srpska depends on our capacity to formulate and realize national policy in all areas of life, having in mind that spiritual and moral regeneration of our society is a prerequisite of economic and political progress.

THE REPUBLIC OF SRPSKA AS A RESULT OF A CONSTITUENT POLICY

The Republic of Srpska was built on the idea of constitutionality stemming from the constitutionality of Serbian people in Bosnia and Herzegovina and former Yugoslavia following huge sacrifice and struggle. Serbian Democratic Party lead Serbian people and was a political founder of the Republic of Srpska.

The Republic of Srpska gained its international recognition in the Dayton Peace Accords. From the moment of its establishment which took place on 9 January 1992, all the bodies and institutions of the Republic of Srpska were enjoying the full internal and international legitimacy, whether it was legitimacy of its representatives as a party in conflict or democratically elected representatives of its citizens.

The Republic of Srpska in democratically established institutions exercises its own legislative, judicial and executive power. For our people and all our friends and allies these are the symbols of our constitutionality and sovereignty. Such Republic of Srpska needs to be preserved and handed over to the next generations which will continue to develop and strengthen these constituent ideas.

Future of the Republic of Srpska is a subject of interest not only in domestic circles, but also the international political actors. Our obligation in such circumstances is to build it and develop to fit the needs of its citizens.

SOVEREIGNTY OF PEOPLE'S WILL

We think that one of the most prominent humanistic and civilization achievements is, with no doubt, the right of citizens and people to decide their fate on their own free will. Freedom is a central place of the Serbian Democratic Party's policy. It means the right of every human to individuality in accordance with their own convictions. It absolutely implies that freedom and sovereignty mean that citizens of the Republic of Srpska have the right to design constitutional and legal set-up of the Republic of Srpska according to their will and legitimate interests in political, economic and legal sense through their democratically elected representatives.

CONSTITUTIONAL SET-UP AND ITS MODIFICATIONS

Dayton constitution of BiH as a state with two entities is a guaranty of survival of the Republic of Srpska and no other territorial organization is acceptable. All negotiations and solutions amending the Constitution of BiH must be verified in the institutions of the Republic of Srpska and endorsed by the citizens according to the RS Law on Referendum. It means that the only acceptable decision-making model is clearly defined to be institutional and confirmed by the people in referendum. Should the conditions be met, Serbian Democratic Party is ready to attain political agreement with political representatives from the Federation of BiH on a peaceful disassembly and independence of both entities. Such rights for the Republic of Srpska are possible also in case that the Republic of Srpska and our people are jeopardized and disempowered.

Serbian Democratic Party is a political organization dedicated to the principle of constitutionality and state organization according to the will of its citizens. This is why these days when Dayton Peace Accords are challenged and re-examined, we think that it should be kept in the highest interest of our people and a safeguard of the Republic of Srpska's preservation.

Negotiations on constitutional amendments in BiH are held in atmosphere of non-democratic relations and aspirations of the parties originating from the Federation of BiH to impose centralized solutions involving the highest possible degree of transfer of responsibilities and mandates from the entities to the unitarian state. From the other hand, current authorities in the Republic of Srpska are ready to accept anything not directly jeopardizing its power holding structure position.

Serbian Democratic Party thinks that all thus far transferred powers should be re-examined and returned to the entity level. This applies to the all powers proven to be non-functional or unjustified and which were transferred in a non-constitutional way, using Bon powers or without the approval of the National Assembly of the Republic of Srpska. We are not instigating an empty political discussion but calling all the political actors in disagreement with us to prepare documents an acts imposing non-founded, non-constitutional and unjustified transfer of powers and offer it to the National Assembly for the adoption.

RULE OF LAW

In a continuous struggle for freedom and elementary human rights our people has adopted openly and sincerely the ideal of a legal state with rule of law. This is why today, when we have the Republic of Srpska, we must strengthen the legal state and the rule of law. Rule of law as opposed to arbitrariness and power monopoly above the law and legal institutions should secure equality before law for all the citizens and sanctions for all the forms of abuse of power and authority.

Criminality and corruption are still jeopardizing the foundations of the Republic of Srpska and political combat against that plague of modern society is a priority of Serbian Democratic Party. It presupposes the existence of political will, comprehensive implementation of anti-corruption laws to all the subjects of corruption starting from the highest authority holders to the lowest ones. It also requires harmonization of preventive, repressive and educational measures, parliamentary oversight over its implementation, freeing of citizens from the pressure exerted by the authorities which prevents them to bring to light cases involving corruption, continuous evaluation of results achieved and improvement of methods and models used in combating corruption. It also means co-operation of public and private sectors, civil society, citizens and media.

We advocate for review of all political processes with political motives since 1941 till the establishment of the legal state, and for removal of all legal and material consequences of court decisions declared null and void within that process.

ECONOMICALLY DEVELOPED AND SOCIALLY JUST REPUBLIC OF SRPSKA

In Serbian Democratic Party we think that without economic liberties and material safety there cannot be political freedom or human rights elements. Real economic policy of the Republic of Srpska should be directed to securing of stability and prosperity, private entrepreneurship development and public-private partnership as prerequisites for the establishment of powerful economy, its continuous competitiveness and harmonic economic relations with western and eastern countries, with special relations with Serbia and Montenegro.

Foundation of the whole economic development in all industrial branches should be the following: energy, forestry and wood processing, in addition to agriculture and services for which the Republic of Srpska has natural predisposition. Infrastructural objects and electric power industry should be kept in majority public ownership. Protection of vital energy-generating products is also among priorities of the Republic of Srpska. Harmonic development of all the parts of the Republic of Srpska should be the basis for economic and investment policy of the Government of the Republic of Srpska.

Economic policy must follow principles of social solidarity and social justice. The Government must guaranty relations and agreements between the employers and their employees with an aim to enable all the citizens to live in dignity, to have employment, social and health care, in particular under the circumstances of a global economic crisis.

NATIONAL UNITY POLICY

Our people's fate is to live in several countries. Although we paid a high price for it, it could never put our identity at risk, so we may say that we got used to it. However, challenges posed by new contemporary integrations processes where economic principles are put in the first plan, give us more than ever before a reason to lobby for preparation of a single national

program. Disintegrated and under the rule of a couple of governments we can easily remain in an economic blind alley, poor and unemployed and with no influence to the future.

For that reason the Republic of Srpska advocates for the preparation of a unified Serbian national program to define basic directions of political, economic, scientific, cultural and spiritual development of our people. Such program should be made by the renowned Serbian scientists, artists, economist and lawyers, Serbian Orthodox Church and all relevant Serbian political parties.

Lack of a unified national program is a permanent obstacle reflected manifestly through the history in form of identity crises, as it still represents one of the reasons of falling behind, economic downgrading and poverty. Our integrations, national wealth and financial stability are a guarantee for our future.

Genuine patriotism and upbringing of youth in spirit of love to the Republic of Srpska is a basis of the national policy of Serbian Democratic Party. National patriotism reminds us that the Republic of Srpska must have future regardless to what happens with other international and constituent subjects it currently correlates with. This patriotism is a legitimate right of Serbian people which will harmonize national interests with global contemporary values and principles of international law.

Countless are examples of collective memory of French, Russian, English, American, even German patriots who had found their role model in our patriots. Distinguished citizens alleys in memorial centers and graveyards of these great nations include names of Karađorđe, Miloš Obrenović, Živojin Mišić, Radomir Putnik, Stepa Stepanović, Jovan Dučić, Nikolaj Velimirović, Nikola Tesla, Milutin Milanković, Mihajlo Pupin, Dragoljub Mihailović, Slobodan Jovanović and many others. Youth of the Republic of Srpska should be given opportunity to develop as people loving, building and defending their country. This is our definition of national patriotism, deeply rooted in our heroic past. There is no true national patriotism without care of all those who perished in any way building and defending of the Republic of Srpska and bearing sacrifice for it.

New times bring new challenges!

CO-OPERATION WITH SERBIAN PARTIES OUTSIDE OF THE REPUBLIC OF SRPSKA

Co-operation with parties with similar national orientation outside of the Republic of Srpska is a priority for Serbian Democratic Party and a basis to build on the whole inter-national relationships. First step in that direction are special and parallel relations, but the establishment of the economic unity between the Republic of Srpska, the Republic of Serbia and Montenegro is of the genuine importance. That would contribute to the building of a healthy and prosperous economic system based on local capital and resources using the joint human and material potential. Other forms of co-operation including security services, cultural, spiritual, information, sports are of equal importance. Under the current conditions, only having already established national identity in all areas, we can be ready for wider integration processes toward both east and west.

At the moment Serbs from Croatia are living under particularly difficult conditions (unresolved status related issues, particularly on territories where the Republic of Srpska Krajina was established in 1991) and in the south of the Republic of Serbia, Kosovo and Metohija, in Montenegro and the Federation of BiH. Serbian Democratic Party thinks that it has a permanent obligation to take care of the rights of these people and co-operate with associations and parties protecting their rights.

NATIONAL IDENTITY PRESERVATION

Serbian issue can be regarded as democratic and cultural issue. National identity issue demands political action in our people based on all applicable international instruments. Borders should not be an obstacle to integration and rapprochement regardless to the state of residence. Serbian people in any state should have the right to autonomously decide on and tackle key identity related issues. International community should recognize Serbian people as a holder of all integration processes in this part of the world. This modernization and civilization related goal is fully compatible with national interests of the whole Serbian nation.

Separate conventions should be made to requiring mutual protection of cultural and historical monuments in countries originated from former Yugoslavia. It would involve Serbian

military graveyards and graves of victims of all wars outside of the borders of Serbia and the Republic of Srpska. We advocate for all cultural goods taken from Serbian cultural institutions to be returned. National features of the Republic of Srpska were subject to a shameful ruling of the Constitutional Court of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Citizens of the Republic of Srpska in an open and democratic action of the Serbian Democratic Party gave their support to the anthem „Bože pravde“ and the coat of arms of the Republic of Srpska - bicephalic/double headed eagle with four firesteels. It is the duty of any citizen of the Republic of Srpska to keep and cherish these values as a part of our heritage demanding the authorities of the Republic of Srpska to define it again as official insignia of the Republic of Srpska. Serbian Democratic Party is lobbying for cultural affirmation of minority peoples living in the Republic of Srpska.

CULTURAL SELF-IDENTITY

Cultural and artistic creative work does not stand limitations. Out of all human activities culture is the most sensitive to the lack of freedom. The right to cultural and artistic creation is inherent equally to everybody and material and cultural heritage should be available to everybody under the same conditions. We call for openness of cultural space, free movement of ideas and opinions, exchange of cultural achievements and comprehensiveness of cultural links with other peoples.

Serbian people's culture and features of cultures of other peoples with which we share living space make the foundation of cultural identity of the Republic of Srpska. Strengthening of national self-awareness and self-esteem can result from the renovation of traditional and permanent moral values which are basis of family, community and state. Renovation and strengthening of national cultural institutions including the elite culture are of the highest importance for cultural self-determination of the Republic of Srpska.

The state designs cultural policy concept, as well as the system and instruments to instigate cultural development, establishment of indications for evaluation of cultural institutions programs and define national priorities in different cultural areas.

Special place belongs to the principle on equality of Cyrillic script as a national alphabet, its application and preservation. National culture with all its features has the most prominent place in the promotion of the Republic of Srpska and is a key integrative factor of all its citizens. Under much harder circumstances and historic periods our compatriots produced works of eternal value. Njegoš, Zmaj, Karadžić, Šantić, Selimović, Andrić, Kočić, Kusturica and others left such cultural and spiritual heritage which proves that we are part of Europe. Appearance of this cultural heritage is a face of the Republic of Srpska.

In modern age information supersedes culture. A person without culture is a person without information. Mass media and information literacy make culture from all the meridians available. The Republic of Srpska is obligated to enable all the citizens access to the sources of information and adequate, primarily material support for general cultural realization of every individual and promotion of our nation.

Censorship is unacceptable and should be disabled. Value of a piece of art should be evaluated by the meritorious critique. State should support artistic work and make it available as wider as possible. Tax cuts or relief should be applied to donations, sponsorship and endowment.

EDUCATIONAL POLICY, EDUCATION, AND SCIENCE AS A FOUNDATION OF DEVELOPMENT

From the aspect of its establishment period and the applicable international law the Republic of Srpska falls within modern constitutional entities. It was built on remains of the failed communist system as its ideas were fading. Only knowledge and commitment to true progress can enable citizens to save the Republic of Srpska from the global crisis. Authorities of the Republic of Srpska whatever they were have an obligation to establish and develop a modern educational system providing education that can meet demands of the most complex jobs in economy sector, science and the whole community in general.

Serbian Democratic Party for the above reasons attaches particular importance to sectors of education, educational policy and science. An educated person is the best keeper of the Republic of Srpska.

Our goal is achievement of contemporary scientific and technical standards and preservation of national character of education and upbringing. Adoption of modern knowledge and scientific research should be supported and put in function of preservation of national goals and upgrading of our value system.

Neglecting the education and leaving its administration to false knowledge mentors and diploma vendors would have immeasurable negative consequences. Therefore such practice should be abandoned at once and expose it the gravest sanctions.

Operation of high education institutions is a separate issue. We think that public education system should be available to all and that it should be free of pressure, particularly in some aspects of higher education reform process which was found inappropriate in education expert circles. Bologna process is unfortunately understood by some as an ad-hoc obligation instead of being a process of continuous realization of Bologna process aims and goals. In addition to that, the Republic of Srpska needs also a good quality elite education for the best students.

Issue of financing education costs should be resolved on market basis. Those whole costs are born by the state, have obligations toward the state, since “brain drain” of those educated on the Government’s account has grave economic and technology related consequences.

Teachers and other experts in the field of education suffered damage for systematic flaws evident in this area in past periods. Low income, lack of respect, low pensions, complex and inappropriate conditions for work, too much working hours and heavy workload, impossibility of additional engagement and finding a second job turned teachers into the system victims.

SERBIAN ORTHODOX CHURCH AS A BASIS FOR SPIRITUAL RENEWAL

If we look back in the past we shall see inseparable historic links of the Orthodox Church and our people. All our states were created with support of the Church, as well as our community and our costumes – simply, all of us together, and our way of life. Therefore the Serbian Orthodox Church has always have a special place for Serbian people, primarily in preservation of its identity and its survival. Structure of the Serbian Orthodox Church enables

spiritual unity of Serbian people in all the territories where they live. Continuous spiritual and moral renewal is one of the milestones of the Christian mission of the Church, but also one of the genuine needs of the people in times of crisis, decadence and social values downfall. Religious education should stem from liturgy education, and a healthy life under the auspices of church should be the aim of every Orthodox Christian, while humans should develop themselves as free spiritual and creative beings, not subjects.

Love, faith and hope adopted by Orthodox Christians from the conciliar heritage of the Church, from St.Sava and St. Vassily of Ostrog to Justin Popović – carry the vision of future where there is place for the Republic of Srpska together with our people and our Church.

CARE OF CITIZENS' HEALTH

Serbian Democratic Party pays particular attention to the citizens' health care and sustainable health care system that will be in function of a healthy nation. The Republic of Srpska needs efficient and as free of charge as possible health care, especially for vulnerable categories, disabled, war veterans, unemployed, children and students, retired and senior citizens above the age of 60. Decent living standard is one of the main preconditions for the population to be healthy.

Natural resources are not primarily source of raw materials, businesses and income, but the source of life and health. Preservation of their balance in nature is one of the most important tasks of mankind.

Serbian Democratic Party wants to organize health care of the population in accordance with the World Health Organization standards and following examples of the most successful systems in other countries.

Sports and recreation are precondition for development of a healthy population, particularly the youth. Healthy life cannot be realized without healthy food, control of genetically modified organisms and produce from non-reliable sources and of questionable quality which could be found in quantities on our market. Also, healthy environment is in function of the general health and in this sense we advocate for observation and implementation of the highest standards related to environmental protection pursuant to European norms regulating

areas of environment and health. We also support inspection service in implementation of measures on legislative and scientific area promoting health and monitoring pollution.

DEMOGRAPHIC REVIVAL OF THE REPUBLIC OF SRPSKA

Pressure of contemporary societies on family life are apparent. Healthy family means healthy society. Demographic revival of the Republic of Srpska is one of the most important goals and a key precondition of any national and state strategy. Increase in number of inhabitants which is a must for the future of the Serbian people, should be encouraged by implementation of the equal regional development policy in the Republic of Srpska, with emphasis on development of economically undeveloped and demographically challenged areas. To this end, Serbian Democratic Party is calling for a supportive economic policy, tax and social measures, and special treatment of families with four or more children.

Intergenerational solidarity as an expression of love and accountability should be the motif and inspiration of all our actions. Care of each other and care of those who cannot return it for being frail and helpless helps also those who provide it as it lies beneath their personal development and upgrading.

Serbian youth can find role models and they must believe that our people in the Serbian Democratic Party, not ex-patriots, will best determine its own future. Young people must be capacitated for life, family building and future parenthood.

Woman has a crucial role in family which is traditionally not appraised appropriately. Employed women are not stimulated to keep their job, to pursue advancement in their profession, science but not stimulated to take care of family as well. Parent not willing to get employed and willing to dedicate themselves to the family full time should be granted tax cuts to family income so that dedication to family be rewarded at least as much as the amount of tax relief. This is very important from the aspect of economic status of the family, raising children and from psychological aspect so that the parent committed to their family obligation does not feel less important in community and family.

The state must assume responsibility for demographic revival. Maternity leave must be twelve months for first two children, and twenty four months for third and next children if the parent

wishes so. Part of unused leave should be additionally rewarded or counted double in pension insurance records. The state should give special incentives to the parents living in rural areas. Such incentives should be granted within the framework of social, development, credit and tax policies in order to provide rural families with more income. The state should provide pension for mothers of four or more children. Children allowance for each child should amount at 10% of the average salary of the budget beneficiaries and be paid until the child has reached legal maturity. Child allowance for third and next children should amount at 20% of the average salary of the budget beneficiaries. The state should also be committed to resolving the housing issues for families with three or more children allocating them construction land, granting them tax relief for the house construction and subsidizing their credit facilities. Pregnant women must not get fired from work during their pregnancy. Students, unemployed and rural women should be granted monetary support during their pregnancy. The state should support adoptions and speed up this process, of course having always in mind the best interest of the child.

REINSTATEMENT OF THE RIGHTS OF REFUGEES AND DISPLACED PERSONS

We advocate for reinstatement of the rights of all the Serbs fled during the war in the last fifteen years to enable them to return to their homes of origin. In places of their origin they must have guaranties of personal safety and all the rights they are entitled to pursuant to the applicable international standards, which primarily means property repossession including the occupancy rights over the former socially owned apartments. In cases of missing or demolished property the state should give adequate monetary compensation. the Republic of Srpska cannot maintain good neighborhood relations with any surrounding country unless they fully reinstate all the rights of Serbs enjoyed prior to the recent wars.

War changed national structure of the population of the Republic of Srpska Federation of BiH and the region. Many Serb families fled their places of origin during their occupation by Muslim or Croatian forces. For that reason demographic picture of the Republic of Srpska has completely changed and territories got new demographic features. Although it came as a result of terror over the Serb people, we invite our compatriots to turn that fact into an advantage giving us nobility, making us closer to each other and unifying us.

II. THE REPUBLIC OF SRPSKA – REALIZATION OF THE PEOPLE’S WILL!

Serbian Democratic Party must be a guarantor, not only of the preservation of the original identity of the Republic of Srpska, but also of defense of its right to development as a free, democratic, legal, social and economically sustainable country with full respect of the Dayton Peace Accords and the rights to further its realization as a subject to the international relations.

1) REPUBLIC OF SRPSKA ARRANGED AS A FREE DEMOCRATIC STATE

Free democratic states take care of, implement and protect will of their citizens.

Citizens of the Republic of Srpska have proven in several occasions so far their opinion that the Republic of Srpska is an independent entity arranged as a free democratic and legal state.

Implementation of the people’s will is not an easy task. Challenges standing ahead of us are difficult and systematic in their nature – stronger international competition, aging of population, changing gender roles in households and at the labor market, new technologies, growing social tensions and increasing inequality.

THE REPUBLIC OF SRPSKA - PARLIAMENTARY DEMOCRACY FROM THE BEGINNING

Serbian Democratic Party as a creator of the first constitution of Republika Srpska expresses again its commitment to a parliamentary democracy model. No one could be above the constitutional and legal norms regardless to their identity, wealth and official position. For that reason work and decisions of all the institutions representing the state power authority should be transparent to allow for democratic scrutiny which is necessary in a democratic society. No one should be prosecuted for directing some criticism toward the authorities, yet

that criticism needs to be substantiated and well substantiated so that all of us promote accountability as a key value and prerequisite of civilian society and the rule of law.

We are devoted to further institutional stabilization of new social order based on parliamentary democracy principles, patriotism, rule of law and market economy. We believe in democratic decision making process, not only in traditional political institutions, but also in traditional social institutions.

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL STABILITY – FOUNDATION OF A DEMOCRATIC LIFE

We express our readiness to build a strong community as a prerequisite for entrepreneurship based economy. We support an active labor market policy, care of children and a fine balance between the labor and life. We affirm the standpoint according to which a prosperous community contribute to the freedom and entrepreneurship and that only individuals who feel safe have the courage to try something new.

We support definition of policy instruments and a coordinated cross-border action by a state or a nation. International integrations are becoming the most important condition for better life and we express our readiness to fight all the challenges that might come across within the process of integrations. There are opinions insisting on protectionism policies fearing from possible impacts of that process to local manufacturers, labor market and employment. Because of that, investment in education and training remains a basic need of the society. We intend to initiate education programs preparing us to face challenges related to the international competition.

All together we must be ready to adjust to economic changes. Our community must be competitive. Our first goals in which one may see how our ideas and our future actions correspond is introduction of standards of education and training under equal conditions for all the citizens, efforts for new jobs creation, protection of the citizens' dignity and restriction of unjustifiable inequalities in income and wealth.

Ethnic diversity in Bosnia and Herzegovina should be a driving power of the community not an impediment as it is now. Conflict of interests, whether collective or individual, has always been a progress drive, but not in BiH. BiH must change its discourse and change the type of

struggle it fights from the resentment to a productive and healthy struggle. Permanent tensions are causing occasional inter-ethnic incidents. Economic progress will bring improvement in this area as well.

Given the above, we are ready to offer to the community a policy of new collectiveness based on the needs of citizens and a maximal use of geographic, natural and cultural advantages. Reviving some traditional values we shall remind ourselves that the world and time of today is more human than the world and time behind us when we got apart from each other.

Corporative management principles are a clear reflection of democratic and interest guided action resulted in best decisions for economic companies that create feeling that the most of specific features is taken in consideration as well as needs of those who participate in decision making. Special types of consultations and briefings must be provided for the employees whether it is in case of decision making by an employer or in relation with the rights and interests of the employees.

CITIZEN AT HEART OF POLITICAL RELATIONS

Our opinion is that nobody should make conflict between „national“ and „civic“ interests, but both should be freed of abuse, ideological approach and political manipulation. Notion of a „citizen“ is a very sensitive term in BiH. It is subject to ideologization in which „civic“ is understood as an opposite of „national“ and then all of it is opposed to a two-entity organization of BiH or national sovereignty. Serbian Democratic Party does not accept any indoctrination. Citizens transfer part of their sovereignty to the authorities established by their agreement, but they remain sovereign when it comes to the citizen rights indisputability. So, citizen is a constituent element of the political authority. In any case it is necessary to reject notion of a citizen as a „subject“ (which is a characteristic of the left parties in the Republic of Srpska), or standpoint that is a „non-national abstract entity“ (which is a characteristic of the ideology of anti-Dayton Muslim parties).

Safeguarding of equal access to governmental services, participation of citizens in all areas of social life, facilitation of political participation and diminishing of skepticism are only some models for the confidence building.

Next step we think would successfully be implemented in process of further democratization of the Republic of Srpska is to modify the understanding of the model of „a state protecting us“ to a model of „a state capacitating us“. This means that so far enshrined rights of the citizens must be enriched by better choice of possibilities along with the property distribution and its management on a wider basis combined with support to social mobility and activation of knowledge and skills.

Executive power became an elitist service and it will take long before it becomes a subject capable of initiating community action to introduce comprehensive and genuine changes. Therefore the executive power should be decentralized, strengthened and put closer to citizens so they can cooperate in problem resolution. The role of local self-government in this process is the most important factor since geographic specifics of the Republic of Srpska require closer linkage of citizens with their local administrations in realization of their primary needs.

Serbian Democratic Party is advocating for balanced development of all the areas of the Republic of Srpska and the balance between the republic and local government. European Charter on Local Self-Government defines stronger role of local communities within the state functioning. This Charter will be the basis for the adoption of new legislative framework in the Republic of Srpska, primarily in the area of fiscal policy and decentralization. European Charter on Local Self-Government holds that local self-government cannot be limited or denied by a central or regional authority. The rights granted to the local authorities are complete and exclusive.

Initiative to start reorganization of administrative units in the Republic of Srpska, that is, to cancel some municipalities and include them into some other municipalities is also in contravention of the Charter. The Charter is clear in its standpoint that modification of municipal borders covered by the local authorities mandate cannot be done without prior consultation of the local communities and a referendum. We welcome the idea that local self-government units dispose with real estate located on their territory, but we also demand for them to participate in concessions award process. Authority in municipalities and towns should be organized in accordance with European standards which means better skills in local authority bodies and a clear distribution of political and administrative positions, employment planning, better transparency in work of local authorities through the use of new models of civil oversight, better evaluation of financial, social and environmental consequences of the

suggested decisions by the local authorities, preparation of local strategies for the protection and promotion of human rights. We support the applicable legislation pursuant to which Meyers are elected in direct elections. Local community should be protected from the wimps of the republic authorities which, according to its current political interests limits its functioning.

CORRUPTION AND BUREAUCRACY – THREATENING DEMOCRATIC SYSTEM

Given the growing criminality and corruption the main policy direction to regain confidence into democratic state should be to strengthen judiciary. Combating corruption and organized crime in addition to combating other forms of threats to the public moral and legal order such as violent crimes, homicides, drug and arms smuggling, trafficking in human beings, prostitution, racketeering and similar offences are imperative for the society. In this combat the highest authorities of the Republic of Srpska need to be purged of key political criminality and state corruption holders experienced in regional smuggling activities and illegal trade. For this combat to be successful it is necessary to employ the widest support of citizens in this area articulated through democratic institutions, legislative, executive and judicial authorities that should act transparently pursuant to the constitution, legislation and applicable by-laws. Continuous and persistent control over the work of these authorities is necessary for the community to be built on healthy foundations.

One of the primary goals of the Serbian Democratic Party is reduction of the administrative apparatus, that is public administration reform, different in quality than the one implemented. In the Republic of Srpska, although it is not so constitutionally and administratively complex as the Federation of BiH, still spends a large part of GDP to the public administration. Serbian Democratic Party, in accordance to its proclaimed policies lobbies for simpler and cheaper administration.

Lessons learnt from our experience from recent past show how negative impact administration can have to economy. In the same way, whenever administration have the possibility to interfere economic life, there is a real danger from stronger occurrence of corruption, which is exactly the case here in our country – administration not only smothers private initiative by its complexity and complicated procedures, but corrupt civil servants immobilize any progress of our economy. Insisting on radical simplification of administrative

procedures related to the economy sector and increased efficiency of civil servants and civic scrutiny over the administration – must become a trademark of Serbian Democratic Party.

2) REPUBLIC OF SRPSKA ARRANGED AS A LEGAL STATE

Rule of law is not only formal implementation of legal instruments, but it also includes protection of community members from excessive supremacy of those holding positions of power. The notion of a legal state in a democratic society means more than a simple obeying the law and implementation of applicable legislation. A democratic legal state, which is a model envisaged by Serbian Democratic Party to be implemented in the Republic of Srpska, presupposes legitimacy of adopted decisions, that is, their being justified from the aspect of accepted social values, legitimacy of interests of decision makers and legality of decision-making process, which is an expression of democratic rules and democratic procedure observance.

Legal state is an ideal on territories where we live as well as the liberty or democracy. To realize a legal state in practice would mean to demur all the consequences and residues of a totalitarian communist regime or still not forgotten slavery or numerous occupations, and fill-in their space with contents guaranteeing to every citizen legal security, enjoyment of collective and individual rights, personal and family safety. It obligates the authorities to bring only such decisions which are not in contravention with democratic values.

LEGAL SECURITY IS A PRIMARY INTEREST OF CITIZENS IN A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

The Republic of Srpska is obligated to enable its citizens to enjoy legal security. It is necessary to put in practice transparency of work, to maintain public court monitoring programs, as well as the monitoring of the operation of other authorities. We welcome the implementation of the principles involving independence of work and independence from any political influence for judicial system.

Parallel realization of democratic decision-making principles and legal security is crucial for the citizens and their protection as well as the protection of the established democratic order.

Serbian Democratic Party as one of the political organizations founded following the fall of the communist regime, is particularly attached to these principles.

In order to provide permanent rule of law we are determined to create conditions for the Constitution and laws to be adopted in a democratic way in the National Assembly of the Republic of Srpska or on a referendum, that their character and legal effects correspond with interests of the majority of citizens, that laws are implemented and observed by the state authorities and all others authority levels and that nobody – regardless to their position or power – stands above the law, that is, that everybody is equal before the law and that legislation can be amended or repelled only in a democratic procedure in the same way as adopted in the interest and according to the will of the majority of citizens.

Attachment with any political party or other organization cannot grant any advantage or hinder carrying out public functions and fulfillment of somebody's obligations.

Any other form of discrimination is absolutely unacceptable.

CONSTITUTIONAL PRINCIPLES OF POWER DISTRIBUTION AND LEGAL SECURITY OF CITIZENS

Serbian Democratic Party is committed to the strict power distribution to legislative, judicial and executive power.

Serbian Democratic Party is and will keep demanding from every function holder to seek and find mechanisms and methods to solve problems facing citizens pursuant to the constitutional distribution of powers, observing and respecting constitutional and legal principles related to the rule of law as a foundation of functioning of the Republic of Srpska, the National Assembly of the Republic of Srpska, courts and the Government of the Republic of Srpska in addition to other subjects of legislative, judicial and executive power that must strictly observe the constitution, laws and other regulations other ways they cannot demand it from the citizens.

No one can be above the constitutional and legal norms irrespective of their name, personal wealth, function carrying out or family or other bonds and relations with any public function

holder. Therefore the work and decisions of these institutions representing the authority of the state power must be transparent to allow for public scrutiny.

THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY – SOURCE OF THE DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY AND LEGAL STATE

The National Assembly as the highest representative body must not be acquiescent to the Government of the Republic of Srpska. Domination of the majority as a major challenge to the parliaments superiority should be balanced by operation of monitoring committees and sub-committees within the parliament comprising guaranteed majority of minority parties' representatives. In this is not the case, then it is not about the democratic system with clearly distributed mandates between the individual system institutions. Then the Government would be the order issuing authority, while elected citizens representatives would not represent interests of those who elected them and that would be in a direct contravention of the Republic of Srpska's Constitution which explicitly provides for the constitutional set-up of the Republic of Srpska based on the parliamentary democracy and distribution of powers. Serbian Democratic Party is strongly opposed to any opposite arrangements. The Government of the Republic of Srpska has no right to amend the merits of the legislation passed by the National Assembly through some by-laws since the National Assembly is an instance with mandate to adopt final decisions, while the Government should be implementing these decisions.

JUDGES – LEGAL STATE GUARDIANS

Character of the court proceedings as well as the work of judges reflect degree of democracy and quality of constitutional and legal human rights and fundamental freedoms' protection. For that reason, the Serbian Democratic Party advocates for freedom of work of the courts, their immunity from pressure and blackmail of other authorities, governmental bodies or any individual, but never independent of fairness and justice, and always within the institutional framework. Independence of courts is not resulting from practicing of judges free will, but their observance of the law.

It is of crucial importance for judges to observe Code of conduct which should be made available to citizens to prevent detrimental and inappropriate behavior of the judges. High Judicial and Prosecutorial Council, although it is an institution not created in accordance with the Constitution, should primarily take care of election of judges based on merits, monitor their work and improve functioning of courts in general. It is necessary for this authority body both on the level of the Republic of Srpska and Bosnia and Herzegovina to comprise more people not discharging judicial functions, that is, it would be necessary to amend the Law on High Judicial and Prosecutorial Council to increase participation of high standing public personalities, which would enable better feedback from the courts to the citizens.

It is necessary to publish property charts of judges and these charts to be regularly checked out. Serbian Democratic Party thinks that regular bringing to justice of judges who violate norms of their professions would return confidence of the public to objectivity, fairness and integrity of courts.

CRIME AND CORRUPTION – STATE ENEMIES NUMBER ONE

Serbian Democratic Party is determined in lobbying for a genuine and real, not only formal combating crime and corruption. The Republic of Srpska does not have any chance to undergo political and economic emancipation if it keeps being entrapped in criminal activities. In order to combat such a serious problem, it is necessary to articulate wide support of citizens to this process through legislative, executive and judicial bodies so they function transparently pursuant to the constitution, law and by-laws. Work of these authorities and bodies should be permanent and vigorous and it is a precondition for community building on healthy foundations. Authorities should be under a constant pressure from the public to efficiently insist that prosecution function efficiently and properly in preventing such cases.

Serbian Democratic Party delegates must initiate amendments to the criminal legislation in the parliament demanding higher sentences and some new incriminations for felonies. It is clear that creation of free market relationships and attraction of foreign investments (especially Greenfield investments) in order to boost economy will not be possible if the Government does not find way to efficiently deal with crime. Therefore this remains one of the fundamental program issue linked to other program issues.

STRATEGY AND MEASURES FOR COMBATING CORRUPTION

Corruption is present in all social segments. It is a dangerous illness that starts from the head and then taken the whole body. Therefore combating corruption must start from the head, that is, the top state officials. For a successful corruption combat the following measures are necessary:

- Adopt strategy for combating corruption including concrete activities (action plans) to suppress these negative social phenomena,
- Improve applicable legislation and adopt systematic anti-corruption laws,
- Create conditions for the efficient implementation of anti-corruption laws and make current institutions free of political influence is a key for combating corruption (police, prosecution, courts) and expel corruption from these institutions so they can successfully combat it in the future with a good quality legislative solutions,
- Develop preventive measures that defer possibilities of corruption and raise awareness of the public in order to get public support for the implementation of anti-corruption strategy.

In order for anti-corruption strategy to give results instead of being just a letter on the paper, it is necessary to fulfill a couple of main pre-requisites.

- existence of political will, which is at the internal consensus level today in the Serbian Democratic Party on necessity of combating corruption, that is, electing a party with leadership truly committed to combating corruption,
- comprehensive implementation of anti-corruption laws to all subjects of corruption starting from the highest authorities,
- harmonization of preventive, repressive and education measures,
- Parliamentary oversight over the implementation of the strategy for combating corruption,

- Periodic evaluation of accomplished results and adjustment to new needs,
- co-operation of public and private sector, civil society and citizens and media.

Anti-corruption combat holders should be the following:

- the National Assembly of the Republic of Srpska (Anti-corruption Board, Privatization review Board, Legislative Board and like.);
- Anti-corruption Agency,
- Agency for forfeiture of illegally gained property,
- courts and police,
- the Government, that is, the ministries,
- media,
- organizations (NGOs).

Authority leading the combat against corruption must be free of any influence of institutions, especially executive power bodies. It must supersede the Government and public institutions that could be subject to its interest or investigation. For that reason it is necessary to pass special law establishing an agency to combat corruption as an independent and separate body monitored directly by the Anti-corruption Board of the National Assembly of the Republic of Srpska, that is, the body closest to the will of citizens and public scrutiny.

Although corruption represents one of the biggest problems in our society, number of disclosed and processed cases is minor, which can be caused by political influence to the police, prosecutorial bodies and courts and can indicate to the presence of corruption in these institutions.

Action plans of prosecutor offices, courts and the police for combat against corruption should include various measures. Every ministry should adopt its own action plan for combating corruption for its area of work with clearly defined deadlines and to report on results of the implementation of this action plan to the Agency for combating corruption on a monthly basis.

CRIMINAL JUSTICE REFORM IN THE AREA OF COMBATING CORRUPTION

For a successful anti-corruption action appropriate legislation is necessary. The Republic of Srpska should improve the applicable legislation, in particular where obvious faults were realized, and to adopt new anti-corruption laws. Adoption of a law on confiscation of illegally gained property is an urgent matter.

Reports of the Chief Auditor of the public sector of the Republic of Srpska reveal that incompleteness and lack of precision of some articles of the Public acquisition law is often used by some public officials to bypass regular acquisition procedures, so this law needs to be upgraded. It is also necessary to modernize the Law on political parties of the Republic of Srpska's funding, as well as the RS Law on prevention of the conflict of interest in the authority bodies of the Republic of Srpska and the Electoral Law of BiH.

It is also necessary to amend Criminal Code of the Republic of Srpska in order to provide for harsher sanctions for corruption related offences. Corruption should be treated as a form of organized crime.

PRIVATIZATION REVIEW – AN EXAM FOR THE LEGAL STATE

Privatization review should be returned under the mandate of the Public sector of the Republic of Srpska's Chief Auditor. Privatization of all subjects needs to be reviewed including those privatized after 2006. Disposal of property of companies where there are indications or evidence of irregular privatization process should be halted, especially in cases involving employees which suffered damage or companies that seized the operation. The applicable Privatization review Act needs to be amended so that part of capital privatized at price lower than the market price be returned to the state.

Transparency and privatization process should be upgraded and privatization contracts published at the web site of the Investment-Development Bank of the Republic of Srpska to allow for successful monitoring of the implementation of privatization agreements.

INFORMATION IN FUNCTION OF COMBATING CORRUPTION

Free media enjoying freedom of any political influence are necessary for combating corruption. Financial power centers in the Republic of Srpska in order to acquire illegal gain have employed part of media outlets keeping them under the influence through marketing and commercial contracts. It is not rare that such media target persons combating corruption. Therefore it is necessary to amend Law on Defamation in order to clarify responsibility for public statements and media outlets with record of proven accusations of having been involved in such activities or funded by the persons convicted of crimes related to corruption should be properly sanctioned or their license for work renounced.

For greater transparency, the Public RTV service of the Republic of Srpska broadcast the National Assembly of the Republic of Srpska's sessions. Regulations related to status, rights and work of media need to be improved in order to enable them to operate independently and provide independence of professional journalism in a strict conformity with Code of Ethics.

Journalists must observe code of ethics in their work. Not less important is transparency as the ownership structure of media in order to prevent monopolization. Legislation governing status issues, rights and work of media must be amended in order to improve conditions of work, and legal protection of journalists in cases involving unjustified information denial and sanctioning trade with media influence.

NON-GOVERNMENTAL SECTOR – CIVIC AWARENESS PROMOTER IN COMBATING CORRUPTION

Efforts of state authorities, international organizations or civil society organizations in corruption suppression cannot yield long-term results unless supported by the citizens. Citizens are the subject, but also the object of anti-corruption strategy. Our goal is to change environment in which corruption is tolerated and concealed.

NGOs must be open and brave since they play an important role in implementation of a continuous awareness raising campaign on corruption and methods to combat it through the following activities:

- informing the citizens on anti-corruption measures taken and their effects;
- introduction of reliable complaint mechanisms for the citizens and setting an obligation of the authorities to reply within a legal time period;
- inclusion of citizens in activities of the state authorities in combating corruption etc.

3) THE REPUBLIC OF SRPSKA ARRANGED AS A SUSTAINABLE ECONOMY STATE

Economic development of the Republic of Srpska is not only an economic, but also a political issue. the Republic of Srpska is being tested in a way and it is expected to prove its economic and financial sustainability.

According to the contemporary theories and practice economic and financial sustainability can be attached by the countries that organize and implement realistic fiscal and tax policy, achieve GDP within the average limits of their respective region, implement investment and new jobs creation policy, have economy which reaches activity level required for the creation of the planned new value, with transparent, open and safe capital market, which meet their international financial obligations and have budget policy enabling realization of state functions and internal obligations, that is, real and transparent in both columns, as it comes to the incomes or expenses.

One should be aware of the opinions of many economic experts according to which financial crisis shaking the whole world would become a deep economic and social crisis demanding changes even in the principles of economic development of the Republic of Srpska. This primarily means the abandonment of neo-liberal concept imposed to the developing countries through the organization such as MMF, the World bank and the World Trade Organization.

This concept of open market and full withdrawal of the state from the economy suits those who are already rich and capable of market competition, but is fatal for less developed ones. Diminishing or absence of local banks, intensive deregulation, keeping of low inflation level and monetary discipline, abolition of custom duties in order to fully open our market for the produce originating from EU – are the way to the full destabilization and higher degree of poverty. All of it is also directly linked to the issue of political dependence of the states since MMF and the World bank interfere with everything, including the non-economic spheres justifying it by claiming that failure in other areas reflects to the economy and induce economic failure as well.

ECONOMIC POLICY GOALS

Serbian Democratic Party as a national party seeks to build regionally influencing and rich the Republic of Srpska, a stable and advanced society and to create conditions for citizens to live on their work and be adequately paid and rewarded, which would make their families safe, happy and contentous. We think that support to investments in addition to support to the competitiveness of domestic economy and natural standard increase are elements of the model to realize this goals.

URGENT MEASURES AS A RESPONSE TO THE LONG LASTING ECONOMIC CRISIS

We need economic program which can be implemented even in conditions of the evident long-lasting crisis upkeeping that way the goals we set up. Implementation of many measures would need a reorganized administration and more efficient functioning of the Government and the state-level institutions. Other measures would require real financial funds as they represent strategic long-term investment which would result in huge benefits. Economic principles guiding us in the implementation of our economic policy in circumstances of the present economic crisis give priority to non-financial measures, not neglecting the financial measures.

Another important pre-requisite of economic prosperity for the economy and every citizen is capacitating of our economy to keep up with European integration process. Taking care of balanced development of all the parts of the territory of the Republic of Srpska is a parallel

activity and an imperative in our policy. To this end it is primarily necessary to do the following:

- to promptly limit public consumption and direct available funds to the creation of new value either if it is about infrastructure building, energetic systems or incentives to economy companies, primarily manufacturers. Policy of budget expenses decrease is the basis for tax and other cuts burdening the economy which directly impacts its competitiveness on domestic and international plan.
- the Republic of Srpska must define framework and objectives of its economic policy in accordance with macroeconomic developments. It is particularly important to plan medium-term macro-economic program that must offer answers related to the real sector, inflation creating policy, monetary and exchange rate policy and external sector.
- Public finances plan must give realistic picture on attainable fiscal policy and its objectives, as well as the current fiscal developments and their projection for the next period. Ministry of finance must make the primary deficit assessment and public debt projection. Finally, we must get answers and parameters related to the result of key structure reforms in fiscal area, especially for WAT introduction and new method of salaries taxation. Reforms in the area of real estate tax have not perceived in the public as positive steps and the Ministry of finance must modify these changes at once. The Republic of Srpska must conduct sensitivity tests to assess fiscal risks and relationship between the deficit and public debt. All the mentioned must result in a firm and quality assessment of public finances, define its long-term sustainability, define its institutional features and which structural reforms are needed in the next period.
- In the area of entrepreneurship it is necessary to continue with privatization, but also to open an real review of the former privatization process. Not to collect cheap points collection, or to make lists of participants in public competitions, but in order to find out and establish which privatization agreements have not been observed and what can the Republic of Srpska do to protect its interest as a party to the agreement in the interest of the employees and the capital at hand. In the process of privatization review it is necessary to take care of the state's and employers' debt to the employees.

- The Republic of Srpska pays close attention to development of small and medium companies and public-private partnership. We spared no time lately promoting and affirming these forms of entrepreneurship. Results are below our expectations for many different reasons. It is high time for the Republic of Srpska to seek and find a couple of economic strategic partners capable of hiring a couple of thousands of employees under the favorable conditions for both sides. Of course, parallel to that process, small and medium enterprises need to be encouraged. We will create conditions for their development since they are accumulative power of economic development, and in our situation such companies are much more flexible. In this sense particular attention will be paid to development of food processing, tourism and trade activities and services.

- Infrastructure building needs to be accelerated and finished. Construction of highways and reconstruction of the existing roads and railways should be done in accordance with the rules governing private-public partnership where sections of infrastructural networks should be planned realistically, and any case of abuse punished severely. In a long-term our goal is the construction of a modern infrastructure making one of the main pre-requisites for the economic development.

- There is almost a consensus about the energy sector making a key for the economic development of the Republic of Srpska. According to that, the Republic of Srpska has an obligation to keep the ownership over that sector and to establish partnership with potential investors where it is not able to provide necessary investment on its own. This is particularly important in the years of crisis since it is a very attractive and highly accumulative industry. We will lobby for building of energy and other infrastructure, above all, gas pipeline, oil pipeline, energy plants and other energy facilities providing economic security and reliable energy-generating products supply.

- We can state with regret that reforms in financial sector created a sad picture that clearly shows that no bank remained in the Republic of Srpska in the ownership of domestic capital. Picture is slightly different in non-banking sector, but also with a negative tendency. Our opinion is not a reflection of our emphasized national feelings, but they originate from concerns we have about the safety of domestic market under the conditions of pre-dominant external intervention and decision-making in banking sector. It is even more dramatic if we see that, for instance, out of the all funds of the Government of the Republic of Srpska used

for incentives, banks are profiting the most. These banks allegedly provide credit repayment guaranties as if the Investment-Development Bank of the Republic of Srpska would not be able to utilize funds used as collateral. Therefore, it is necessary to promptly consider and explore possibilities for the establishment of a bank with the Government majority share. It could be, for instance, a Post Bank for which there is infrastructure in place and partially even human resources. This bank would be competitive and would open healthy competition providing incentives for the economic development under more favorable conditions.

- The Republic of Srpska has a very disadvantageous labor market where number of unemployed reaches 150.000 persons in recent years which is, according to some estimates makes more than 15% of the total population. Method of implementation of employment incentives and organized social security system for unemployed and fired persons reflect not only the social picture of the Republic of Srpska, but also the way of treatment of employees and the whole labor market. Labor market should be modified and improved by re-qualification programs in addition to financial and tax incentives in order to open new jobs.

THE ROLE OF THE STATE INTERVENTION

Serbian Democratic Party seeks and sees economic policy solutions somewhere between the free market and redistributive function of the state. We are aware of the fact that free market rewards those more capable and successful, which is natural and undeniable. However, we are also aware that those most ruthless actors often take profit while the others are left to themselves.

State is an organism funded by both rich and poor, those capable and those less capable. Therefore they all need protection. In this sense, redistributive function of the state we see not in redistribution of goods or money, but redistribution of the protection of interests of all the subjects. The state should protect domestic from the foreign producers and consumers from all sorts of producers. Parliamentary democracy creates quality circumstances for human rights and freedoms, but, social complex remains out of its direct influence. Therefore, the field of social security must be additionally secured by appropriately legislation. A state that only protects interests of the rich cannot in any case be a free country, but only a free labor force country.

Tax policy and active appropriate domestic market protection are the main elements of the economic intervention on the part of the state. In this sense tax on earnings from labor should be lower, investments should be stimulated, while tax rates for extra profit should be higher. Differential WAT rate should be introduced at once so that basic consumer basket goods be tax free, while construction and food processing industry would have lower tax rates. The Republic of Srpska can also apply indirect measures.

It is necessary to carry out the following reforms:

- Public administration reform to make it rational, modern and, above all, efficient since only such administration can serve the citizens and their interests. Abrogation of legislation which impedes establishment of economy companies or some economy enterprise will show that this goal is attainable;
- Judiciary reform should focus to the area of commercial courts and property relations, that is, public land registry. It is beyond comprehension how indifferent we became about these things for these two problems de-stimulate all the industries and delay economic activities in a long run. Reform of these areas is not an easy task, but it must get started and finished;
- Reform of education that must be based on quality control over the education process and capacitating the students for their future profession. It is a general conviction that school gives insufficient knowledge. Results of education process should be evaluated impartially and schools and teachers should be stimulated using some reward scheme to organize efficient teaching process.

Protection of capital interest is also the state intervention field. Combating corruption has an important place even in this area. Protection of domestic producers often creates controversial situations, particularly in light of the accepted international treaties setting an obligation for us to enable free goods and services flow as well as equal treatment of local and foreign economy entities. Irrespective of that, the Republic of Srpska should apply incentives and provide necessary protection to the local economy and equal conditions for their business. The Republic of Srpska pays special attention to quality control measures and validity of their

production and technology processes and legality of doing business in economy and industries.

NATIONAL ECONOMIC STRATEGY PRIORITIES

The Republic of Srpska needs national economic strategy that will not be the issue of one or another ideology group, but which will enable country and citizens to be protected and developed regardless to political turbulences.

Depth and grasp of any economic crisis and projection of its duration were sufficient reason for all the countries to open parliamentary debate on these issues and to make all the public familiar with measures prepared by the Government for its overcoming. It is necessary to establish special bodies within the Government and the National Assembly to deal with issues involving the crisis consequences mitigation.

Now that all the countries and big international companies are preoccupied with their own domestic economic problems, it is necessary to offer a program, a new economic alternative for our economy, but also an environment attracting foreign investments. This crisis cannot be solved only by austerity measures, investments are necessary to boost the economic life. In order for investors to start their business here, the environment must be improved, which is not possible without the implementation of certain measures. In the next two years we can expect the strongest crisis impacts followed by stabilization periods. Two years after that could see the beginning of development stage in all countries. Our program foresees the most significant engagement of the state in the next two years in order to support the economy since the lack of market mechanisms is obvious and only these mechanisms can keep stability of relationships at domestic and international plan.

INVESTMENT STIMULATION

Investments must be in function of domestic economy development and reducing the unemployment rate. Historic experience says that all successful countries used a combination of protectionism, subsidy and legislation in order to help their economies while being in so-called *infant industry* stage. In the same way we must use a series of the governmental

measures and regulations in order to attract foreign investment in desired industries, which are potentially efficient and even currently – relatively developed sectors.

It should be insisted on the improvement of conditions for *green field* investments, which create new jobs and improves economy structure. Investment in manufacture and industrial production based on high technologies has particular importance since it directly contributes to the strengthening of export potentials thus solving the foreign trade deficit. Best practices in such investors attraction could be found in the most of SEE countries, which changed their economies' structure from import to export economies making the exports share in their GDPs as high as 60-70%.

In addition to allocation of significant funds for financial sector re-structuring and stabilization, governments of some countries have allocated respectful funds as incentives to the investments. This was among counter-measures against recession and fall in employment rates. The Government must urgently establish a fund to support strategic companies to create new jobs, as well as the small and medium enterprises sector where actors capable of market competition could also be found. They do not need protection from any competition, they only need protection from unfair and illegitimate competition. The Republic of Srpska does not have so rich public income sources to allow for drastic changes in investment activities. This is why we offer a series of interlinked programs and measures for an increase of the investment intensity, especially the foreign investment with minimal engagement of the budget and minimal borrowing by the state. For an increased scope of investment, it is necessary to increase prospects of their cost-effectiveness.

Probability of investment cost-effectiveness is higher when the own investment is lower and the investment risk is shared. State incentives to the investment activities are an instrument widely used for risk reduction and increased attractiveness of the country for foreign investors. The Republic of Srpska needs to intensify investments in infrastructure, development projects of the companies with export potential and with high number of employees. We should also enable investors from other countries to invest in the Republic of Srpska by creating the business environment guaranteeing legal security, efficient administration, fiscal and other measures. Attraction of investors from developed EU countries and other parts of the world would be particularly boosted by strengthening of our relationships with countries such as Russia, China and India, countries with the fastest

growing market and national wealth. It is necessary to put efforts and engage on strengthening of partnership with the Russian Federation, which will create preconditions for realization of investments in energy infrastructure of the Republic of Srpska.

Significant inflow into the budget, which enabled stronger investment activity through the relevant ministries in the past period, originated from privatization process. Many companies have assets combined with knowledge, skills and experience of their employees. Direct offers of some companies to foreign investors from fast growing economies is a method for finding serious strategic investors. For such an engagement on the part of the state, it is necessary to revitalize economic diplomacy and agencies with professional and motivated staff.

The role of the state is to provide more jobs and to this end it should develop appropriate instruments:

- credit subsidy of the economy based on reimbursement up to 25% of interest rates paid to the banks;
- domestic preference for suppliers and especially for producers by credit policy's and other segments of economic policy's measures;
- controlled reduction of the Central bank's interest rate and its decision on controlled reduction of mandatory bank reserve aimed at strengthening of investment activity of the banks and reduction of interest rates.

Non-financial incentives for purposes of increased investment activities comprise measures contributing to administrative barriers removal such as the following:

- acceleration of WAT return,
- simplification and acceleration of the license and permits issuance process, simplification and acceleration of the export and custom duty collection procedures and additional simplification and acceleration of the procedure for registration of companies and shops;

- decentralization of the ownership to local self-government for the purpose of faster conclusion of agreements on joint investments with private companies and implementation of local infrastructural projects and like.

DOMESTIC ECONOMY COMPETITIVENESS

This economic crisis confirmed a well-known fact that basis of any national wealth and economic security lays in competitiveness of its economy. Therefore priority in investment should be given to the following industries and sectors:

- agriculture and food-processing industry;
- electric and mechanical engineering and metal processing industry;
- chemical industry;
- construction;
- energy production;
- transport and communications;
- forestry and wood processing industry;
- defense industry.

These industries make two thirds of the whole industry income and therefore they should be supported for the sake of their further development so that leaders in these sector keep holding their leading positions, not only on domestic and regional, but also the global market. Efforts and measures of support must be directed also to acceleration of revitalization of our traditional export industries such as construction, mechanical, electric and wood processing industry, which had a leading role once in export and employment. Traditionally, the state's support is directed to small and medium enterprises. From the other hand, through its big companies the state realizes influence to the international economic and political

developments supporting that way realization of its global objectives. Having in mind such a role and contribution of big companies, specially domestic ones, Serbian Democratic Party advocates for development of instruments of support to the big companies that foster competitiveness on domestic and international plan and increase our economic influence and independence in regional and global scale.

Earlier practice of direct support provision to the companies in non-profitable branches and interfering in market mechanisms except for the protection from monopoly turned out to be less effective than the practice of market efficiency upgrade, improvement of business infrastructure used by the companies (energy sector, transportation, telecommunications) and participation in raising the level of general and specialized skills in certain branches and the state mediation in seeking of strategic partners or investors in cases involving privatization of less successful companies.

Importance of industrial production is multiple and multiplying. In addition to direct benefits from the industrial development, supporting services are developed, balanced regional development is provided and level of technological capacity is raised in all other sectors linked to the industry. Therefore Serbian Democratic Party calls for the implementation of instruments of support to big companies in the following forms:

- direct support to the introduction of new technologies through co-financing of investments in introduction of new technologies and equipment provision;
- direct support to the improvement of skills of the employees through the co-finance of their training;
- fiscal incentives to export activities;
- co-financing of re-structure of the large companies in the state ownership to increase their competitiveness and capital value prior to privatization;
- preferential linkage of the companies within the public sector and large systems within the country;

- joint investment of the state and private companies in projects of general interest.

Support instruments will be used in a flexible and targeted way depending on specific needs of reproductive cycle of the industry or sector to which that particular company belongs in order to define problems impeding large companies competitiveness. We advocate for transparent, non-discriminatory, temporary and non-financial instruments of support in order to minimize budget allocations for maintaining the business process or raising the level of competitiveness.

Responsible policy with a view to the economic growth and our companies competitiveness on foreign markets puts before us an obligation to intensify efforts of the high state officials to represent, link and perform as agents of our companies in their official contacts with other countries representatives, to organize international meetings and promote economic potentials of the Republic of Srpska, to publicly represent interests of the country and all its citizens and to lobby for the protection of our economic interests in the international financial and other institutions.

Following the entry into force of the EU Stabilization and Accession Agreement the Republic of Srpska will lose import protection for around 40% agricultural produce. In spite of necessity for greater competitiveness in the Republic of Srpska at the moment the mentioned SAA will put the agricultural production in the Republic of Srpska in unequal position. Such a situation is detrimental for farmers since the subsidy system, legislation and agricultural production in EU on a much higher level than in the Republic of Srpska at the moment. In order to improve competitiveness of our economy it is necessary to various measures, to mention only the most important ones:

- Temporary moratorium to a decision on the implementation of the trade agreement with EU since it will cause the fall of competitiveness of the agricultural production, many small and medium companies and a direct loss of income from custom duties as a direct answer to the crisis,
- establishment of an additional investment fund for subsidized loans and support to the export of the most important industries;

- increase of subsidies to the agriculture for 50% and increase of the budget for agriculture for 30% mostly on the account of the administration rationalization;
- introduction of domestic preference in public acquisitions processes in order to improve market position of domestic companies in times of crisis;
- combating monopolistic position of foreign producers on our market and dependency on import based on intervention imports and subsidies for introduction of new bidders into the monopolized markets;
- protection from leak of subsidy funds to the agricultural produce vendors and processors;
- Introduction of guaranteed prices into the agricultural sector;
- merger and privatization of agricultural farms;
- establishment of the state fund for subsidizing and turning of non-cultivated into the cultivated land.

CITIZENS STANDARD

In the past period, despite a significant increase of GDP, standard of living of citizens has not improved sufficiently so they can be content. One of the reasons for dissatisfaction of citizens is in fact that certain costs of living have risen more quickly than the income.

Only the efficient and competitive economy and success of domestic companies and rural sector can guaranty high standard and social security of our citizens.

Under these complex circumstances economic development program should comprise measures which will ensure diminishing of economic crisis consequences on those directly influenced. From the other hand we must suggest some measures aimed at earnings increase, more fair pension distribution and social benefits from the budget.

Program to improve living standard of citizens has the following objectives:

- Increase of GDP above the average of the region;
- Rise of real level of earnings for at least 3% above the inflation level;
- Decrease of unemployment level for one third up to 2014;
- Regular adjustment of pensions with the increase of cost of living and
- Better social benefits for children, older citizens and pregnant women.

Realization of these objectives will be possible by the implementation of the following measures:

- Strict implementation of collective agreements and protection of the rights of employees, above all the right to work and earn for life;
- Passing the amendments related to the distribution of pensions so that pensioners with the lowest pensions have their coefficients increased on the expense of limitation of the highest pensions rise without changing the total pension budget;
- Policy of public services price and price of energy-generation products based on the adjustment of rise of citizens' income and standard and strict control and regulation of the basic products prices through the import for the intervention fund to allow the state to intervene in domestic market with some overrated products (milk, meat, domestic chemical products and like
- Combating corruption.

ECONOMIC SCIENCE IN FUNCTION OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT PLANNING

Economic development and growth project is based on the assumption that successful economic development is only possible if a new economic structure is created. It is necessary to establish an Institute for a systematic integral economic management of the Republic of

Srpska. This Institute would rely in its professional work on modern skills in the area of integral system management and economic excellence. Under circumstances of a huge uncertainty caused by highly dynamic changes, a scientific approach with a long-term projection cannot yield satisfactory results anymore. Use of traditional approach is so risky that it would for sure result in an unsuccessful development. Based on this scientific fact the only reliable solution is to create a system based on a model supporting the adaptive proactive management.

In this region a total and fully unsuccessful economic structure change took place.

The problem is that such a huge change was not followed by the appropriate change management. It resulted in a new inefficient structure. Emotional attachment to an obsolete economic structure dating twenty years back in past as well as the newly created economic structure and the key element of unsuccessful re-structuring, that is, privatization, must be left out of the new economic structure management.

Legislative and other operative management instruments must be reconstructed to a large degree in order to have much favorable business environment. No doubt that new legislation in some parts is directly in function of certain monopolies protection and even creation of new ones. Institute for systematic integral economic management of the Republic of Srpska should be best placed to deal with this issue from institutional and organizational point of view. It should be analyzed how much the existing fiscal system, first of all taxation system is responsible for the creation of inadequate economic structure. Basis and the key of a successful new economic structure is the appropriate technology development. For this very reason designing of the own technology development program is a matter of high urgency.

Another inevitable issue that must be solved if we wanted to see success in economic development and growth is related to inefficiency of management structures in place (public administration and managers in economy). Public administration must be put in a framework based on competition. Management structure in economy and public administration must adopt modern skills for successful decision-making and governing. This should be obtained by additional training. There is also the issue of business ethics and administrative ethics which are at extremely low level. It should be solved in an integrated effort together with other issues.

Concretization of the program from the aspect of content and above all, scope, should be expressed in a list of strategies and operational tasks needed for the creation of new economic structure, which would result in a successful economic growth and development.

4) THE REPUBLIC OF SRPSKA ARRANGED AS A SOCIAL STATE

Primary function of social policy is to protect those who have found themselves in turmoil without their own guilt, and much more than that since social policy makes part of a general development policy. Justice and fairness have not only a social, but also an economic content. Ancient Greeks thought that only what is just can be good. Only fair and just societies can see economic progress in a long run.

Serbian Democratic Party is determined to build a just and moral society with socially responsible development policy.

We are aware of the upcoming crisis with which the current model cannot cope. This crisis originates from the issues not directly dependent on political decisions, but on the chosen way of life. This is an aging society and family bonds are getting weaker. Malnutrition, bad habits and inadequate housing cause diseases, which leads to decrease in number of active society members. Chronic disease, heart disease, diabetes and cancer make 75% of all ailments. Divorce rate is in a rise. All these reasons call for social support to the most vulnerable society members in the most sensitive periods of their lives. For children it is the period when they form their personalities. Development countries have problem with immigrants. We have similar problem on the internal plan. It is a consequence of war and internal displacement of people. Hundreds of thousands of people fled their homes and changed places of residence. They came to the areas when in many cases they could not find job suitable for their qualifications. Years after the war situation has not improved much. On contrary, in many cases there were attempts to solve this problem by premature sending of people to pension, which created even a bigger problem. Wide-spread neglect of duties and lack of accountability, whether at work, or while holding a public function or a car steering wheel, calls the community to rethink its responsibilities, both internal, expressed to each other and external, expressed as putting all-growing burden of debt to the shoulders of future generations of the Republic of Srpska. Idea of individualism fully collided with the idea of

solidarity. So the slogan „Live and let others to live“ turned into a „Live and do not take care of how others live“.

Social welfare state is a model well-tested and giving answer to the above and other challenges. Social welfare state is understood in two ways. First, as a factor contributing to a peaceful resolution of social conflicts, and second, as an instance to assist those who are not capable to keep up with market competition. Globalization puts social welfare state in question, that is because of the efficiency of the companies and the whole economy. Social welfare state offers guaranties for peaceful conflict resolution and creates awareness among citizens that such solutions are possible. It takes responsibility for basic material security and well-being of all its citizens. Social welfare state protects citizens from the most dangerous risks such as: old age, poverty, disability, accidents at work, unemployment and disease.

Most of developed western European countries are social welfare countries, while USA and Japan fall among the least development social welfare countries.

NOTION AND JUSTIFICATION OF THE SOCIAL WELFARE STATE

For Serbian Democratic Party human is a foundation, society is an expression of human beings' social dimension, while family represents the most important cell in society. We think that every individual has the right to enjoy solidarity and show it toward the others. General welfare and social partnership are at heart of our national policy.

Social welfare state basically rests on social economy which is a set of ideas founded on recognition of joint interests among social partners and mutual recognition of vital needs of social partners.

In a social welfare state social, economic, political and human rights are guaranteed in addition to all the rights enshrined by the United Nations instruments and other international treaties.

One of the key rights enjoyed in social welfare state is social protection, that is social security. Basic principles of such security are humanism, solidarity and mutuality. Social security comprises all the legislation and measures protecting individuals from main challenges

endangering their well-being such as illness or injury and other risks like disability, loss of job and income, natural catastrophes, war, insurgence, or measures mitigating consequences of the mentioned events. Social security in that sense has five components:

- labor market policies and programs aimed at facilitating employment process and promoting functional labor market;
- social security programs earmarked to mitigation of risks related to unemployment, health, disability, accidents at work and old age,
- social assistance and social services programs for the most vulnerable groups without any other sources of adequate support,
- micro and local programs earmarked to the most vulnerable social groups in local communities,
- children protection to provide healthy and productive population and labor force for the future.

So, one of the goals of social welfare state is development of social cohesion where a society is considered to be cohesive if all its members, regardless to the different ethnic, religion or geographic origin share a set of norms and values respecting the identity of others and all manifestations of that identity and where there are not irreconcilable differences in wealth and economic possibilities.

Social welfare state realizes a consistent, long-term social policy comprising all the activities funding, regulating and administering provision of assistance and services to the individuals and families in state of vulnerability and poverty. General objective of social policy is to meet basic needs of the citizens, to support their possibilities to improve their lives and lives of their children and to help those who are incapable of helping themselves. Core of social welfare policy include social insurance, social welfare, health care and social services. In a wider sense, this notion comprises educational and housing policy, employment policy and provision of necessary resources.

It is righteously considered that whether a state can be understood as a social welfare state or not depends on its relationship to social welfare, which is basically compendium of regulations, measures and programs provided by the state, institutions and individuals serving to assist individuals, families and categories of citizens who do not have enough resources or do not have access to the income sources and services needed for a dignified life, which includes participation in social and cultural life of their respective communities.

Social rights are group of rights originating from universal civil and political rights. Social rights should enable individuals to sustain a respectable level their living standard or a dignified lifestyle or, in other words, to provide people with necessary resources for a decent life.

All this leads to the realization of principles of social justice, that is, is related to the method of distribution of resources and possibilities within the individuals and social groups. Main criteria for social justice realization are law, merits and needs. A mature social welfare state realizes social investments. This is a new approach to the role and meaning of social transfers and investment in human capital in the framework of which an active social policy, in particular in educational and employment programs contributing to the economic development. Such social programs contribute to the economic development stimulating small entrepreneurs and the whole economic activities in the country by inclusion of inactive individuals into the production and commercial activities.

Serbian Democratic Party thinks that social welfare state cannot exist without social dialogue that represents a collection of all types of negotiation, consultation and information exchange between the social partners as a party and representatives of the Government as the other party on issues of their common interest in areas of economic and social policy. Inclusion of representatives of civil society in decision-making on economic and social policy leads to better understanding and better public support to the social and economic policy measures.

Serbian Democratic Party pays particular attention to the renovation of social capital that consists of social organization elements, that is, trust, endowments, norms, value and social networks through which the society can realize targeted coordinated activities. Social capital consists of norms and values, social associations and coordinated targeted activities – production, distribution and redistribution of goods, services and resources.

Current social problems are: poverty, crime, drugs, alcohol, abuse and child neglect, domestic violence, unemployment, street violence and lack of economic and social integration of citizens.

Serbian Democratic Party wants to set an active and acceptable for citizens model of social work improving social integration, act to the mutual adaptation of individuals, family, social groups and social environment.

In addition to that, it is important to support social entrepreneurship with activities in the area of social development and social policy, especially at local level and in local communities. The state and local authorities support social entrepreneurship providing favorable conditions and subsidies for various activities. That way it contributes to resolving of social problems and inclusion of individuals in employment programs. This is directly linked to the socially oriented market economy that includes interventions in the labor market and wide redistribution of income. In socially oriented market economy labor market and private entrepreneurship have leading roles.

Socially oriented market economy means social responsibility of the economy and subsidiary role of the state in redress of negative consequences of the social security costs to the competitiveness of the production sector.

GUARANTIED SOCIAL RIGHTS AND NEEDS OF CITIZENS

Serbian Democratic Party realizes that the Republic of Srpska has serious problems in implementation of objectives related to the human needs not only those belonging to so-called higher spheres, but also the basic and elementary needs linked to the vitality of an individual and functioning of the social community.

Social inequality and the current social needs status show that the community failed to find satisfactory answers to the social policy needs and to create awareness of every community member enjoying the favorable status either from the aspect of income or family situation that they contribute to the filling in and stability of social funds used to meeting of social needs of unprivileged society members by their accountable behavior.

Social chart of the Republic of Srpska is totally unclear. We do not have projection as to what we can expect tomorrow, what kind of population we are going to have and what will be the needs of these citizens. Even worse, we as a community do not possess answers to very concrete questions related to the constant changes in inflow into social funds which have very negative trends from the aspect of these funds beneficiaries.

Serbian Democratic Party think that social insecurity can be left behind. That is possible if the institutions of the Republic of Srpska, funds and social welfare services, taking in consideration feasibility of the known social security models and realistic basis of the social rights package, should design a couple of social chart models as well as a couple of foreseeable scenarios in the social policy area so that appropriate steps be taken on time preventing the fall of social welfare system.

We have to get answers to the following questions:

- population composition and demographic movements,
- health situation of the citizens and projection of health situation in the future,
- family relations development trend,
- housing situation of the citizens,
- conditions for work of the citizens,
- unemployment index and reasons of unemployment data,
- specific attainable social packages,
- social packages price,
- data on qualifications and popular education on social welfare, social rights and social policy.

Our current situation puts before us an obligation to find a real balance between the social needs of the citizens and realistically planned funds that could be allocated for these needs fulfillment and then to redefine social rights in accordance with these conclusions. All other solution would lead to further impoverishment of the population and the existence of social rights as a letters on the paper and a general discontent aggravating social dialogue, or making it even impossible in certain periods.

RIGHTS OF THE EMPLOYEES AND TRADE UNION ORGANIZATION

Serbian Democratic Party guaranties that the workers of the Republic of Srpska would not have less rights than enshrined in the Law on Labor and other relevant legislation. We also offer guaranties that we shall be impartial toward either party in the collective bargaining process with regard to the implementation of the rights of the employees.

We are ready to give our support and contribution to the improvement of the rights and situation of the employees whenever it is possible, but only with the aim of giving rewards for work done, not to support lack of work or discipline and accountability.

Serbian Democratic Party is aware of reality and knows that salaries and other types of income based on employment directly depend on economic activity level, which is currently very low in the Republic of Srpska. In this sense we invite employees and employers to invest their potentials to create an impetus for economic and other development.

Serbian Democratic Party appreciates trade unions and invite them to articulate interests of the employees as well as possible in order to realize principle of the legal state and well-being of every individual and the whole community.

Serbian Democratic Party welcomes the implementation of international treaties and other instruments protecting and promoting the rights of the employees, particularly the basic social rights according to the Community Charter of Fundamental Social Rights of Workers – December, 9th 1989 (freedom of movement, free choice of occupation, improvement of living and working conditions, annual paid leave, the rights to have working conditions governed by the law, the right to social protection, the right to association and collective bargaining, the

right to collective action, the right to vocational training, equal treatment of men and women, information, participation and health protection, safety at working place, protection of children and adolescents, limitation of working hours, the right to initial training, care of disabled persons, retired and like.)

SUPPORT TO THE SOCIAL SECURITY SYSTEM

Serbian Democratic Party expresses its full commitment to the realization of the rights of citizens in the field of pension and disability insurance, health insurance, unemployment insurance, programs earmarked to protection of families and children, and social protection to persons who need other person's support and care.

PENSION AND DISABILITY INSURANCE

Serbian Democratic Party supports system of pension and disability insurance based on mandatory public insurance and allows for the additional voluntary insurance of the contingent pension fund.

We think that beneficiaries should have granted the right to the age pension, disability pension, the rights to re-qualification training and additional qualification training, the right to change the working post and allocation to similar appropriate full-time position, the right to reimbursement related to the right to the re-qualification, additional qualification and allocation to another position, family pension, the right to disability compensation, the right for other person's care and the right to provision of special assistive technology devices.

We do not supports amendments aimed at equalizing men and women in required years of work experience since we thing that age pension and requirements for it should recognize specific gender differences and burden of living which is from the aspect of working capabilities harder for women having in mind their maternity related circumstances.

Social policy with regard to the highest and lowest pension ration was so far recognized as creating social injustice. The fact that the level of pension is regarded in its relation to the consumer basket rises concerns for such conclusions. However, this discrepancy does not originate from social injustice, but from contributions paid for pension insurance during the

working life, which depends on working position, qualification, type of work and industry and like. So the answer to this disparity is not related to social justice, but the level of economic activity in the country since it determines the level of filling-in the funds.

As to the organization and funding of pension and disability insurance, we think that category of so-called “other employees”, which comprises those self-employed and those engaged in agricultural sector should be separated from the rest of employees. This principle should apply not only to mandatory, public insurance, but also to the additional, voluntary insurance. employed in the public sector. Gradual withdrawal of the state requires this future project to offer solutions to make these sectors simpler, more attractive and adjusted to the real situation and private investors. Participation of representatives of these sectors in management of the funds should therefore be ensured. We think that the state should impose a minimal burden on wages by these contributions and let the employees and employers to agree on a case-by-case basis on possible higher rates than the guaranteed.

Problems in functioning of pension and disability insurance we see in low pensions (despite relatively favorable relation between the pension basis and the pension), low disability compensation, unfavorable ratio of employees and pensioners, too early sending to pension and high percentage of disability pensions in addition to the evasion of contribution payment. Serbian Democratic Party thinks that the most of these problems can be resolved by systematic implementation of control measures and prevention that could enable finding of false pensioners, initiation of criminal charges for medical committees sending to pension persons who are in fact not disabled and sanctioning of contribution payment evasion.

There are all conditions for active policy in the field of re-qualification of disabled persons and their capacitating and empowering to work according to their capabilities. The Republic of Srpska should support this type of employment and such programs through tax relief.

Any possible direction of pension and disability insurance cannot interfere with the principle of inter-generational solidarity and that no generation or category of insureds should pay the price of reform or be denied of their legally acquired rights.

HEALTH INSURANCE

Health care and health insurance system in the Republic of Srpska has developed in accordance with changes that took place in the area of social insurance which had a direct impact on health care situation of the citizens. Serbian Democratic Party guarantees protection of the rights of insured persons at least in the current scope and type of rights within the health care system (insured persons, children, pregnant women, citizens above 65 years of age, handicapped and disabled, unemployed, materially unsecured persons, beneficiaries of permanent financial assistance, persons suffering from contagious, malignant, progressive neuro-muscular diseases, and other similar conditions comprised by the applicable legislation). Reasons for the crisis of the health care system we find in sudden rise of costs of the health care, non-rational use of funds in health care system, the fact that the system introduced during the war has not stabilized yet, low level of economic activity in the country, corruption within the health care system, primarily in sector of acquisition of medical supplies, medicines and equipment, and maladministration of health institutions. Serbian Democratic Party seeks to create health insurance system that would be supportive to private sector, not only the public one, either in health services or additional insurance. That would necessarily lead to rationalization, thus the creation of additional funds for the health care improvement. In this sense it is important to underline principle that beneficiaries the the health insurance rights and entitlements must get the best possible care for the funds allocated for health insurance purposes.

Any reform in this area should be aimed the following objectives: equal access to the health care, appropriate funding, free choice for the beneficiaries and their right to decide on issues concerning them. Here we must clearly distinguish between what is considered to be general interest as opposed to the interest of an individual, what aspects should be administered by the state, and what aspect left to the individual to decide and also what measures should be implemented by the public sector and what by the private sector.

The final goal of the reform is the improvement of the health care quality which includes financial considerations based on secure and continuous sources.

UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE

Unemployment is a huge problem of the Republic of Srpska. Even bigger is the problem of funds provision for unemployed and their entitlements according to the applicable legislation. Unemployed person in any case must have access to information on employment possibilities, employment agency, professional orientation, preparation for the employment, monetary compensation for periods of temporary unemployment or professional training and like.

Persons whose work is not needed anymore and whose age is not sufficient for pension are in particularly vulnerable position. Number of such cases is rising concerns and is mostly linked to unsuccessful privatization of a large number of companies. Solution of this problem is not in sending to pension, because such approach so burdened pension and disability funds that it jeopardized sustainability of the whole system. The Republic of Srpska must primarily review conditions of collective bargaining and observation of the commitments of new companies owners taken during the privatization in order to find out if those people were fired out of the framework of the social program making part of such privatization agreements. In case they did, the Republic of Srpska must promptly terminate such privatization agreements and seek compensation for itself and those workers.

SOCIAL CARE OF CHILDREN

Care of children and family is at heart of political philosophy of the Serbian Democratic Party and its national policy. System of social care of children was established in the region in past. In this sense we do not have much to do. It is only necessary to strengthen control in this field and pay more attention to novelties in this sphere and new social tendencies.

Namely, many gravest consequences of social and economic crisis reflected on family life. Negative effects of crisis made its material position weaker, which then caused absence of adequate relations within the family and adequate system of social treatment of the family. Family is exposed to different social values systems linked whether to religious, ideological, moral, economic or other values. Children are the biggest victims in this process since family sustainability affects them the most. the Republic of Srpska or some authority body on its behalf cannot take the parents' role. However, it is obligated to provide social protection, which primarily means provision of material basis to assist children in need.

Families must have guaranties of compensation during the maternity leave, maternity allowance, children allowance, pre-school institution allowance, allowance during the education process, health care, subsidies for sending children for summer holiday or recreation facilities and like. These entitlements are in the general interest.

ENDING TRANSITION AND CHALLENGES OF NEW INTERNATIONAL INTEGRATIONS

We are in the process of social system transition. The main characteristic of this process is unemployment, poverty, a lot of people in social need status, negative demographic trends, bad general picture of family and bad conditions for raising children and their development, need for social insurance provision for demobilized soldiers, disabled by war, families of killed and missing soldiers. We should establish what are relations and where is the balance between the idea of social state, ethnic affiliation and diversity. This is very risky ground. Prohibition of discrimination and exploitation on that basis is the obligation of all social subjects and political processes.

In this areas the Republic of Srpska could use the experience of Yugoslavia as a state that sought and provided a high level of social rights – much higher than it is now in many European Union's member-states. However, wars, economic crisis and negative consequences of transition process emptied the funds and stained awareness of social rights and social justice.

Social order of European Union and social dimension of European integrations lobby for ideas articulated in the Single European Act (SEA) since its entry into force in 1987 and creation of European social space. Social activities in European Union will yield some result in the Republic of Srpska as well. Citizens expect the authorities to establish a social security system that fit in a sustainable funding and is acceptable by its nature and objectives that seeks to comprise all the areas which are traditionally form previous experience comprised by social security system.

From the other side, European Union expects for so-called European social dialogue to be opened with respect for all the bodies subject to this social dialogue and the role of trade

union, including the introduction of new forms and contents of this social dialogue, which are not unknown to us given the mentioned pre-war experience in that field and which are related to the information and participation of the employees in decision-making and consultation process.

Serbian Democratic Party thinks that these are justified and attainable goals and tasks and that the Republic of Srpska has potential for it in legislation, relations between the employers and employees, as well as the real needs of the beneficiaries of the current or some future form of this insurance.

5) REPUBLIC OF SRPSKA ARRANGED AS A RESPONSIBLE ENVIRONMENT PRESERVING STATE

Serbian Democratic Party knows that economic growth cannot be regarded separately from the quality of living of citizens. We are led by idea that all the efforts employed in economic growth are worth if they result in improvement of living standard of the majority of citizens. Serbian Democratic Party emphasizes also maintaining and preservation of a healthy and clean environment as an important element of its political program. To this end it supports legislative efforts, policies and programs of executive powers and monitoring and control of the situation on the ground.

THE RIGHTS TO LIFE EQUALS THE RIGHTS TO A HEALTHY LIFE

Natural resources are not primarily a source of raw material, business and earnings, but the source of life and health. Preservation of a fine balance between the mentioned elements is one of the most important task and duty of the mankind.

We advocate and call for observation and implementation of the highest standards related to the environmental protection in accordance with the European treaties related to environment and health. We call for comprehensive and efficient protection of the right to healthy environment pursuant to the international law sources, constitutions and laws.

PROTECTION OF NATURAL WEALTH AND BUILDING OF AWARENESS OF NECESSITY OF ENVIRONMENT PRESERVATION AMONG CITIZENS

We welcome introduction of new programs and new technologies used for environmental protection to be taught at domestic universities, institutes and other scientific institutions and ecologic awareness-raising programs earmarked to the widest population. We also support work of inspections and implementation of measures on regulatory, scientific and research plan related to the monitoring and control of pollution level. Information which are in possession of institutions responsible to control pollution levels must be made available to the public. Serbian Democratic Party also call for implementation of sanction to the current polluters and discouragement of any action jeopardizing the environment.

We advocate for the right of citizens to express their opinion including in referendum, particularly at local level, on issues involving protection of the environment in their local communities. Public media service and private media should raise awareness of importance of environmental issues among citizens. We express our readiness to co-operate with all environment oriented movements or NGOs. We call upon other political subjects to co-operation in all activities involving environment, food and water quality. We seek more significant participation of our representatives in international organizations dealing with environmental issues.

We call upon all institutions and authorities to stop pollution and reduce it to the lowest possible degree, to stop importing low quality foodstuffs, primarily to prohibit import of genetically modified organisms and products where the opinion of experts should be considered and followed. We are aware that healthy and clean environment bring health and reduce disease and costs of medical treatment.

PRINCIPLE OF ECOLOGICALLY SUSTAINABLE ECONOMY

Serbian Democratic Party advocates for ecological sustainability of the economy, which means rational use of natural resources and observation of general interest based on the right of citizens to live in a healthy environment.

We confirm our dedication to a principle of higher social benefit taking in consideration need for development and new jobs, but not accepting that benefits of the factory owners be placed above the necessity of preservation of healthy environment.

No investment that requires interventions in eco-system can be realized before previously prepared feasibility study and study of risks and justification of such action.

National parks are our national wealth and we call all the relevant authorities to put it in function for the promotion of healthy life-styles and for a rational tourism purposes.

We condemn irrational exploitation and pollution of domestic water resources.

6) THE REPUBLIC OF SRPSKA AS A SUBJECT OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS, INTERNATIONAL LAW AND SYSTEM OF PRESERVATION OF PEACE AND SAFETY

Serbian Democratic Party expresses its deepest commitment to peace and peaceful co-operation of peoples and countries based on the United Nation's instruments, and European and regional integrations.

RESPECT FOR PRINCIPLE OF EQUALITY OF PEOPLES AND INTERNATIONAL LAW

Serbian Democratic Party wants to co-operate with all the subjects lobbying for equality in international relations. As citizens of a country which is the United Nation's member we call for absolute respect of the UN Charter and peaceful dispute resolution.

Co-operation with the organization of the United Nations, Council of Europe and OSCE has already been running on a daily basis.

We intend to improve it and introduce a higher level of international co-operation owing to that.

We emphasize that we intend to maintain and improve friendly relations with other countries, particularly Russia and great European powers, Arabic countries and China, India, USA and others. We underline our readiness, as representatives of the Republic of Srpska and BiH to have an equal dialogue with all neighboring countries.

PARLIAMENTARY CONTROL OF FOREIGN POLICY

We advocate for strict and transparent parliamentary control of the foreign policy. Our standpoint is that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs should be put in function of the affirmation of all the citizens and serve their interests regardless to their national, ethnic, political, religious, cultural, entity or other affiliation. Parliamentary control conducted through the monitoring of definition of goals and implementation of foreign policy as agreed in all its segments. Parliamentary oversight must comprise lobbying and, in particular, spending the allocated budget for foreign policy implementation purposes.

We welcome active role of our representatives in the international bodies and their contribution to the international co-operation and global peace. It is necessary to stop practice and prevent implementation of foreign policy detrimental and harmful to the Republic of Srpska and our citizens' interests.

AUTONOMY OF THE REPUBLIC OF SRPSKA IN FOREIGN POLICY

We advocate for the Republic of Srpska to enjoy its right to autonomous foreign policy and international co-operation and to provide observation of the independent foreign policy of BiH, harmonized with the real interests of the state and its citizens.

We pay particular attention to the co-operation with the Republic of Serbia and implementation of the Agreement on special and parallel relations with it.

We welcome the role of Serbia in the peace process after ex-Yugoslavian wars and remain permanently grateful for understanding it had shown during the Serbian people's straggle and protection of its national interests, prevention of its persecution and support in building of the Republic of Srpska.

The right to dual citizenship established with the Republic of Serbia is a standing priority and obligation of the Serbian Democratic Party's policy.

We initiate negotiations of the Republic of Srpska with the Republic of Montenegro for the conclusion of an agreement on special and parallel relations.

We support dialogue of Serbian people's representatives with majority nation in the Republic of Croatia and advocate for full respect of all human and civic rights, especially the right to property. We welcome political organizing of Serbs fled the Republic of Croatia and the Republic of Srpska Krajina on territories they fled, in the Republic of Srpska, in the Republic of Serbia and diasporas.

ACTIVE FOREIGN POLICY IN REGION

We think that stability in the region and in Europe is possible only in synergy of efforts. Regional peace for us means more than regular safety. Peace, as we understand it, is the international legal and political protection of human, civic and national/ethnic rights, conciliation of religious and ethnic conflicts and prevention of ecologic destruction, combating terrorism and all forms of organized crime.

We advocate for observation of the principle of sovereignty and territorial integrity of internationally recognized states. Particular interest in regional plan we have for the issue of territorial integrity of the Republic of Serbia and peaceful resolution of conflicts and reintegration of its province Kosovo and Metohija. Dayton Peace Accords, Resolution 1244 of the Security Council of the Organization of the United Nations and Ohrid Agreement are foundations of regional stability in our opinion.

From the moment when we start deciding our future by ourselves, we shall face new challenges. These challenges are primarily related to the co-operation with Serbia and Croatia and efforts to reach consensus in all issues while keeping the good relations. We express our readiness to implementation policy of mutual respect and co-operation.

FREE CHOICE OF EUROPEAN PATH

Europe is in our opinion a continent whose peoples despite all differences are connected by mutual cultural, traditional and economic space and heritage clearly showing its dedication to co-operation as the only productive political principle. The fact that we live in Europe pushes us to co-operation with European countries, participation in work of European organizations and inclusion into European integration processes with possible aim of becoming an European Union member-state under the equal conditions. We are against suppression of any identity feature of any nation which decided to transfer a part of its sovereignty to the European Union.

European Union is an association of differences. We promote the principle of subsidiarity while transferring national authorities competences to the European Union's bodies for prevention of unnecessary internationalization of public duties and functions.

Serbian Democratic Party promotes organizing a referendum for citizens of the Republic of Srpska to have their say of whether or not they want to be a part of European Union. We think that this issue was subject to many speculations for too long, especially by the western countries representatives claiming that citizens of the Republic of Srpska are committed to it. This was very often used as a proven method of putting stipulations before the Republic of Srpska in process of its further stripping of powers justifying it as a necessity to strengthen the state so it could become a member of the European Union. Serbian Democratic Party thinks that it is necessary to hear the people about it to prevent possible manipulations. This, of course, must come after the detailed public debate allowing for confronted opinions to be heard and conflicting arguments to be expressed. Such a debate has never taken place since opponents of European Union are qualified as retrogrades with dark intentions. Serbian Democratic Party thinks that it cannot be a positive democratic practice. Our opinion is that the Republic of Srpska has already lost a lot in the process of accession to the EU, in fact, that it bore all the burden of these integrations only to get some dim and uncertain promises.

DIASPORA IN FUNCTION OF POLITICAL REPRESENTATION ABROAD AND INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATION

We are aware of the fact that our people lives in several countries and we intend to use that fact and put it in function of a general progress implementing a cooperative and highly professional foreign policy. The Republic of Srpska should be responsible toward its citizens living abroad, especially emigrants and their heirs. Serbian Democratic Party invites national institutions to direct their activities to diasporas either in form of opening of schools in Serbian language, economic co-operation or something else.

We also advocate for reciprocity with regard to active and passive suffrage related to dual citizenship.

ECONOMIC DIPLOMACY AND INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATION

International relations must be in function of economic development much more than it was so far. Promotion of possibilities and advantages of our community and attracting foreign initiatives, investments and interests – is an important obligation of the diplomatic service.

Serbian Democratic Party urges building of economic and security integrations, which give weight to our interests and specifics, and specially our national interests protection. Although we are not satisfied with globalization effects, we are aware of necessity of that process and we are ready to answer to these challenges using a consistent and principal approach and promoting and protecting our values. Power of information, capital, goods, services and people's mobility cannot be ignored. Power of multinational companies cannot be minimized and neglected.

Yet, national interests cannot be merchandize in globalization process.

FUNCTION OF INTERNATIONAL REPRESENTATIVES IN BiH

Internationals present in BiH are for us representatives of international organizations in function of building peace, democratic standards and a bridge for future co-operation. We also think that peace strengthening process in BiH should go along with tendency of

international presence reduction in social processes aimed at strengthening of domestic institutions. So, for us, international community representatives are partners and relevant collocutors, but not sponsors of political processes in BiH.

We expect that social development progress in context of wider integrations reduce the need for the international presence in BiH to a level appropriate to the other independent and internationally recognized countries. We oppose to further participation of surrounding countries and international representatives in discussions and processes related to the internal set up of BiH and possible amendments of the Dayton Peace Accords, while accepting the protection of it by the countries guarantors and signatories of this Agreement.

OBLIGATION OF KEEPING PEACE AND SECURITY

Serbian Democratic Party expresses its support to the national security system as a system of protection of fundamental values so determined by the Constitution: freedom, sovereignty, territorial integrity, rights and freedoms of citizens, democracy and pluralistic society, personal safety and special interest of the Republic of Srpska to endure and answer to the challenges of modern days under complex circumstances, with no its own armed forces and with very modest funds to be allocated for financing the national security system.

Peace is a core value and fundamental general interest for all the citizens regardless to their specific national or other affiliations. Any domestic and international officer or elected representative in function of peace preservation. Responsible political subjects have the obligation to keep the efficient peace protection system and to get prepared for transition period during which the international forces will leave these territories.

The Republic of Srpska has an obligation to put its security system in service of peace preservation. Political, economic and social stability are a *condition sine qua non* in order to preserve national security.

PARLIAMENTARY CONTROL OVER THE SECURITY POLICY

We advocate for full civilian, that is, parliamentary oversight of the all national security segments. National security comprises all the areas of life and is closely linked to the vitality our community. National security is interest of all the citizens.

Rule of law and efficient judiciary is a key for building the confidence into the national security system. Permanent and persistent combating corruption and other forms of crime is a method how to genuinely preserve and protect the national security system.

A professional approach to the national security issues is an imperative realized through the educational and professional organizations and information system providing parliamentary oversight over the security services and agencies.

Parliamentary control should be particularly concerned by issues related to combating Islamic terrorism and preventing internal conflicts in BiH.

COMBATING TERRORISM AND BORDER SAFETY

Any form of terrorism is a danger for all the people and anyone can become target of an act of terrorism. We welcome all the efforts to combating terrorism.

Border security is an issue of special importance as it come the security in BiH and the Republic of Srpska. We advocate for harsh sanctioning of smugglers, those involved in trafficking in human beings or drugs.

MILITARY NEUTRALISM ADN DEMILITARIZATION

Serbian Democratic Party sees military neutrality and demilitarization of the Republic of Srpska and BiH as the only realistic policy in this region. It is a genuine interest of the Republic of Srpska to have identical status as that of the Republic of Serbia in order to prevent some situations that had occurred in a relatively recent past period that Serbs from two sides of Drina river find themselves on two opposed military sides against each other.

Military neutrality and demilitarization reduce possibility of wars and conflicts and save Serbs from situations involving waging wars and getting killed on battlefields worldwide for somebody else's military and geo-strategic interests. It means demilitarization of the whole territory of BiH, while huge military budgets can be allocated to the social policy sphere.

At the same time we express our full support to civilian participation in peace missions of the United Nations and international co-operation in piece-building operations worldwide. Military neutrality is also the only rational and logical solution for the Republic of Srpska and BiH under circumstances of the harsh confrontation of NATO and its opponents.

Partnership for Peace, Euro-Atlantic Council and NATO are organizations of special importance for safety and peace in BiH. However, it is uncertain how good it would be for BiH to become a full member, especially having in mind its fragility in many aspects related to religious, national and cultural characteristics of the community. Serbian Democratic Party fully opposes the idea of the Republic of Srpska being a part of NATO. We advocate for pacification of relations in these territories and the whole region and Europe and the world alike. Accession to any militant organization has absolutely not been in line with such a standpoint.

In any case, Serbian Democratic Party, as a truly democratic and people's political organization accepts the option of referendum organized so that people have their say in such an important issue. This referendum would be mandatory for all the political institutions in the Republic of Srpska and its representatives in joint institutions of BiH.

INALIENABILITY OF THE SECURITY SYSTEM OF THE REPUBLIC OF SRPSKA

Ministry of Interior of the Republic of Srpska and the Police of the Republic of Srpska are the axis of the national security system in the Republic of Srpska. Security matters should be out of any political and ideology influence. The only area of jurisdiction of the national security system is external and internal security.

Serbian Democratic Party strongly supports and maintains values of the homeland war. War commanders, officers and non-commissioned officers are a backbone of an organized and disciplined society.

Starting from a long and honorable history of the Serbian army, its immeasurable significance in keeping, strengthening and promoting national and European values, we confirm our dedications to traditions preserved by the Regiment of the Republic of Srpska's Army. It is our people's tradition to love the army and to do the service gladly. The Army of the Republic of Srpska is one of the most glorious examples of ours history. It is an original form of military order organized as a result of defense from persecution and destruction of the people. It reflects determination of our people to use armed forces only for defense purposes, never to threaten anybody's territory of freedom.

SECURITY AND DEFENSE SYSTEM OF BiH IN FUNCTION OF THE REPUBLIC OF SRPSKA

As long as they exist the Armed forces of BiH should be cheap, rational and modern to a degree allowing it to be ready for peace-time activities.

Armed forces should not be a source of intolerance and political confrontations, they must see equal participation of the all constituent peoples' members. Also, funds and material means should be distributed evenly, as well as arms and units at the territory of both entities.

Security agencies at the level of joint authority bodies of BiH must establish all forms of co-operation with entity structures.

We oppose any negative, non-merit based staff selection within the national security system of the Republic of Srpska and in agencies of BiH.

All the members of services and agencies making the national security system must enjoy in what the general social progress brings and have a decent life.

BiH should instantly join the program aimed at conclusion of co-operation with the Republic of Serbia for building of defense system, staff education, joint presentations at military equipment market and other important issues.

PROFESSIONALISM OF CIVIL PROTECTION AND OTHER SIMILAR SERVICES

Having in mind some past events and some forecasts of possible climate changes in light of the fact that citizens of the Republic of Srpska cannot count of any organized service that could be rendered by the Army of the Republic of Srpska in the past, Civilian Protection Service must be much better organized and equipped in technical means and staff members. Shortly it should be given more attention and its role within the national security system emphasized.

De-mining is a continuous obligation of the relevant institutions.

Professional fire fighters should have the same treatment. It should be modernized and made more professional at the same time keeping voluntary fire distinguishing associations as we are ready to.

RESPONSIBILITY OF CITIZENS IN THE NATIONAL SECURITY SYSTEM

Every citizen is responsible for security and preservation of peace in the country. Under circumstances of the specific political, social, inter-religious and inter-ethnic relations as it is, everybody who commits any action whether personally or collectively must keep in mind that such an action can give rise to aggravation of peace and safety and strive to prevent that from happening.

Every citizen is responsible before law for their actions or failure to act, in particular those who carry out public functions and official powers. It is the duty of any citizen to resist any occurrence jeopardizing peace and safety and to make efforts to inform the relevant authorities and institutions of any case involving violent actions against the constitutional order or endangering peace and security.

7) RESPONSIBILITY TO KEEP VALUES HOMELAND WAR WAS FOUGHT FOR

Serbian Democratic Party is devoted to the objectives of a just struggle of our people for freedom and fatherland and nobody has the rights under any circumstances to renounce the right to self-determination and self-definition.

Serbian Democratic Party is a political force which is responsible and takes credit for the organization and leading defense of our people in the past Homeland war.

CAUSES AND ACTS JUSTIFYING CIVIL WAR / "CASUS BELLI"

Along with communist dictatorship diminishing national forces of Croats, Muslims and others in AVNOY Yugoslavia, threw over their quasi-communist masks and started openly to finish their national programs with initial and final objective – creation of their own national countries. The aim of Serbs living Western of the river of Drina was survival of Yugoslavia as a state in which all the Serbs had lived. Serbian struggle for defense of the country had less chances since the international community actors supported the secessionists' side.

In combating secession of BiH, the Republic of Srpska organized its democratic plebiscite where all the people expressed their will to remain in Yugoslavia.

Reacting to a brutal denial of their constitutional rights within the Assembly of BiH, delegates of the Serbian Democratic Party and other Serbian origin delegates decided to establish Serbian People in BiH's Assembly, which then declared the Serbian Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Political answer of Serbian Democratic Party was to offer various possible solutions in order to avoid war, e.g. acceptance of Lisbon Agreement, which was first accepted and then rejected by the Muslim representatives so "sacrificing peace to war" as they the then leader said. And when, under such circumstances, war could not be avoided, Serbian Democratic Party proclaimed principle of internal national reconciliation and political unity of our people in a struggle for the implementation of its state-constitutional right and constituency.

Murder of Serbian wedding guest in Sarajevo, aggression of Croatian army to BiH and organizing of Muslim and Croat paramilitary and para-police formations which had started taking over the police stations and military barracks lead by their national parties SDA i HDZ, these were the direct acts justifying the civil war in BiH. This is how the civil war had begun in BiH where it was spelt over from the ex-Yugoslavian territories where it had already raged at that time fueled by the wish of Slovenian and Croatian secessionists

ROLE OF THE BIG POWERS AND DAYTON PEACE ACCORDS

Under very unfavorable conditions for Serbian people, when interests of big powers and change in balance of powers took place, internal secessionist forces of the then republics saw their chance to form their own national states, the only possible answer of our people was - struggle for the bare survival on territories western of the river of Drina. Continuous pressure was exerted to our mother country – Serbia at the same time.

A part of the international community was actively involved in that war starting from sanctions till the brutal bombardments and the direct military interventions and logistic support to the Muslim forces.

The Dayton Peace Accords came after the military intervention confirming, just like the previous Lisbon Agreement, the rights of Serbian People to have its state unit in BiH. Dayton Peace Agreement has brought many injustices, but it was accepted in order to establish and preserve peace, which was more important for Serbian Democratic Party and for Serbian people in general than any other political or military goal.

War in BiH was finished by signing the Dayton Peace Accords, far-reaching concessions of Serbian side, and these Accords were accepted by Serbian Democratic Party as a document bringing peace and establishing state set-up of BiH as a complex country with three constituent peoples and two entities: the Republic of Srpska and the Federation of BiH.

WAR ROLE OF SERBIAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY

Serbian Democratic Party as an organizer and leader of our people's defense, was created by the people who elected individuals recognized by the widest masses as ready and capable to take responsibility for the people's destiny. Finding itself in critical situation the people was seeking new leaders among professors, workers, doctors, lawyers, writers, entrepreneurs, farmers ... the people dedicated to the idea. No party in the history of the Serbian people or even other peoples had such a mission. No party achieved so much good for its people in such a short time period.

We gave our best for the people's defense and creation of the Republic of Srpska . We stick to the golden rule to seek allies among relatives and others, but never to let anyone to make decisions related to the destiny of our people. We owe eternal gratefulness to Serbia and Montenegro for support given during the war. We shall never forget friendship of Greece, Russia and other countries to which the Republic of Srpska and the Serbian Orthodox Church managed to find the right way to present the real truth on war events in BiH.

Our people's strength, in the eve and during the war was in its unity. Serbian Democratic Party managed to open co-operation with all the institutions of our society. The Serbian Orthodox Church, professional and reserve army officers, police and other officials, people of all professions and all the generations, rich and poor – all of them lined up under one flag. This picture we carry in our visions and ideas for future and this the greatest achievement a party can have.

SERBIAN SOLDIER – OUR PEOPLE'S KEEPER AND PRIDE

Serbian soldier served the duty with pride and honor during the Homeland war. Stretched to a thousand kilometer long frontline, confrontation to the so-called Army of BiH, Croatian Defense Council, Croatian Army and Muslim paramilitary and para-police forces (usually filled in with recruited criminals), foreign mercenaries and Islamic terrorists, especially exposed to a special media war and foreign forces pressure, Serbian soldier managed to defend newly established state entity – the Republic of Srpska.

Neither during the war nor later the Republic of Srpska has ever repaid enough to its defenders. First of all because of the difficult economic situation, but not only that.

Serbian soldier expects the truth on their combat to be presented properly, in the real light, they expect those who were smuggling and making profit while they were fighting, as they expect those injured and families of the fallen soldiers to receive necessary care and respect of the community and the state and finally under no circumstances they expect anybody to betray them. This generation of Serbian Democratic Party whose ranks are filled with war veterans is aware of the expectations of the Serbian soldier and wants to realize it.

CONVICTION OF ALL CRIMES AND CRIMINAL POLICIES

Serbian Democratic Party is aware that all the peoples living on the territory of ex-Yugoslavia have genuine need and right to seek that all political subjects go public with their opinions on war crimes that have happened during the XX century and earlier. We express our readiness to express our views on the events that took place during the civil war on the territory of ex-Bosnia and Herzegovina and Yugoslavia. Serbian Democratic Party takes an obligation, continuously affirming supremacy of good over evil, to condemn all the crimes committed on behalf of any political option, ideology or national interest and to prevent such possible future crimes from happening.

No crime has statute of limitation nor it should be forgotten. Unpunished crimes encourage, so it is an obligation of any reasonable person to fight to prevent crime, and should it happen anyway - it is obligated to prosecute criminals. It is of the crucial importance for us while condemning crimes not to be prejudicial and fall into ideological or national trap, that is, to treat all the crimes equally irrespective of the location of the crime, victim identity or perpetrator's identity. We despise all those who claim that a crime could be justified by being committed in the name of people.

We totally reject claims of some political parties from the Federation of BiH, and even from the Republic of Srpska aimed at compromising anybody from the Republic of Srpska or making them responsible on such a complex issue like war crimes. These are very ill-intended and dangerous political games that might harm the Republic of Srpska and position of Serbian people in BiH. Because, no crime was committed on behalf of the Serbian Democratic Party, the Republic of Srpska and Serbian people.

Every crime must be established and individualized in all important characteristics. Any advocating for collective responsibility is unacceptable. We condemn politicization of the crime in function of the extension of struggle of realization of somebody's goals. We expect criminal and sanction policy implemented by the ICTY to be re-examined, in particular policy of its Prosecution.

We condemn oblivion as a mother of all crimes as we regret that in any given moment we were not ready to pay our respects to the victims of all forms of crimes committed against our people.

We are ready, in the framework of law, to give all kinds of support to those who have urge to prove their innocence before any tribunal dealing with war crimes. At the same time we express our readiness to give contribution for bringing before justice all those who committed crimes in order to punish it.

Truth is an indispensable condition without which we cannot move on!

III. BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA – A PRODUCT OF THE DAYTON PEACE ACCORDS

Serbian Democratic Party is a political organization that first challenged and then prevented majorization toward Serbian people in Bosnia and Herzegovina protecting that way the rights of other peoples to equality as well. Then it prevented crimes to be committed against the Serbian people, established the Republic of Srpska and fortified its existence and international recognition by conclusion of the General Framework Agreement for Peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina (Dayton Peace Accords).

Cancellation of the Dayton Peace Accords would mean cancellation of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Republic of Srpska in that case would not be put in question and would continue its existence as an independent country.

DAYTON PEACE AGREEMENT – A WARRANTY OF EQUALITY OF PEOPLES AND ENTITIES

Co-operation on equal grounds in Bosnia and Herzegovina is possible and necessary.

Dayton Peace Accords enabled all three peoples to feel equal. After so many years of the Dayton solutions being in force and the equal number of years of it being challenged by intolerant and extremist political subjects, in particular the Federation of BiH, we have never heard any suggestion of how to amend the Constitution of BiH or why would it be better than the applicable solutions being at the same time acceptable for all the three peoples.

Serbian Democratic Party will resist continuous pressures to give further concessions of the Republic of Srpska on the account of the Dayton conception, which are aimed at unitarization of BiH. Response of Serbian Democratic Party to such pressures toward centralization of the institutions of BiH will be in strengthening of the position of the Republic of Srpska established by the Dayton Peace Accords within the current borders of BiH with two entity units: the Republic of Srpska and the Federation of BiH.

All the key institutions of BiH – Presidency, Parliamentary Assembly, Council of Ministers and the Constitutional court must be established on Constitutional basis in order to provide crucial conditions for peace and development.

Equal national and entity participation in joint institutions of BiH, in particular defense system, security agencies and the public RTV service – are the best model to build co-operation and trust.

Joint institutions of BiH must be joint by the form, contents and results of work. Well-being created in the entities and put in function of the joint institutions must be returned to the entities and all the citizens equally and through the actions agreed upon by consent of representatives of both entities and all three peoples.

PROTECTION OF DAYTON PEACE ACCORDS

Any initiative for constitutional amendments in BiH without previously reached consensus in the entities we see as a superficial and dangerous experiment with possible undesired

consequences. Negotiations on constitutional amendments must have legitimacy granted by the entity institutions and BiH.

Political actions and debates promoting the ideas of re-structuring of BiH contrary to the Dayton Peace Accords are unacceptable and it only contribute to the waste of time which could be used more conveniently for social and economic development.

Serbian Democratic Party is fully against the constant irrational and obsessive efforts to transfer constitutional jurisdictions of the Republic of Srpska to the joint authority bodies. Since transfer of responsibilities mostly came as a consequence of acts of direct or indirect imposition by the High Representative comprising a discrete or an open threat of use of against the institutions or function holders of the Republic of Srpska, Serbian Democratic Party thus demands the National Assembly of the Republic of Srpska to cancel all illegally and non-democratically delegated powers of the Republic of Srpska to the joint institutions and bodies of the state community.

Since the position of the Serbian Democratic Party in case of any further transfer of jurisdictions to the level of BiH is absolutely clear, any attempt of further erosion of the Republic of Srpska, we shall demand citizens to express their opinion in a referendum.

The Republic of Srpska does not have any particular interest or opinion to express about the possible re-arrangement of the Federation of BiH.

***THE REPUBLIC OF SRPSKA - PERMANENT CATEGORY, JOINT INSTITUTIONS
AS A SERVICE OF PEOPLES AND ENTITIES***

The Republic of Srpska is an undisputed and permanent category. Only the citizens of the Republic of Srpska can decide on higher or lower degree of independence of the Republic of Srpska. Nobody has the mandate to deny citizens of the Republic of Srpska their rights to have referendum and express their opinion on rearrangement and future of Bosnia and Herzegovina. We think that the BiH as arranged as it is can have the accelerated economic and social development if only political subjects would cease being subjected to dispute by political subjects unsatisfied with its current internal arrangement. We confirm our readiness to work in the interest of the all citizens' future, all three peoples and both entities. The

Republic of Srpska has its interest to have Bosnia and Herzegovina and joint authorities in function of economic development of the Republic. It is the obligation of the representatives of the Republic of Srpska and our people to realize that interest to the highest degree possible taking care to preserve the Republic from any unacceptable political and economic obligations. The District of Brčko is crucially important for the continuity of the Republic of Srpska enabled following the decision of condominium and for the citizens of RS which are citizens of the District of Brčko. Therefore the RS citizens in the District must have the support of the republic institutions and have the equal rights in social, development and other programs as in other areas of the Republic of Srpska.

Issue involving the inter-entity border line is resolved. The issue of external borders of BiH and Republic of Croatia remains open and we demand the joint authorities to take active role in its resolution.

TERMINATION OF THE MANDATE OF THE HIGH REPRESENTATIVE FOR BiH

The role of international representatives in BiH must be redefined. Existence of the Office of the High Representative for BiH (OHR) seized to be necessary. We invite representatives of all three peoples and both entities to finally proclaim any further operation of OHR unacceptable.

We invite all the institutions of executive, legislative and judicial power to make further effects of the OHR decisions' null and void since it is in contravention of human and civil rights and fundamental freedoms enshrined in international treaties, in particular standards set out in the European Convention on Human Rights and fundamental freedoms.

In this sense we oppose policy of imposition and sanctioning used by the Office of the High Representative for BiH (OHR), which, in our opinion, should be closed. We demand review of all restrictive measures and sanctions delivered by the OHR and taking the appropriate the measures of court protection for Serbian Democratic Party and its representatives. We shall insist on legal processing and sanctioning of all abuses of jurisdiction committed by the representatives of the international organizations.

CONCLUSION

Program of the Serbian Democratic Party is a key document that should define general directions of its political action and is binding for all its members. It should offer a realistic answer to the difficult economic and political situation of RS and Serbian people after the devastation made once again in all the areas of life by the current establishment remembered by catastrophic consequences from their previous period on power when they appeared as “Sloga/Unity” Coalition. Each Program part requires separate expert analysis, and that is the obligation of the relevant Party boards and other qualified bodies within the Party. More popular form of it is prepared as a brochure for the wide public under the title “For the future of the Republic of Srpska” comprising and explaining political principles of the Serbian Democratic Party. As a summary of its main parts we shall present its fundamental opinions and strategic goals arising from the integral text and its main topics concerned as follows:

- National emancipation and emancipation of the Republic of Srpska,
- Preservation of peace, security of citizens and general political stability,
- Protection of Serbian national interests and interests of all the citizens,
- Termination of international rule and autonomous internal and external politics,
- Autonomy in fiscal and economic policy,
- Reconstruction and building based on the protection of domestic production and economic policy focused on job creation and increase of income and standard of citizens,
- Eradication of corruption and fierce fighting against crime,
- Maintaining and development of the Republic of Srpska as an entity built upon a democratic, legal and social state model,
- Decentralization and modernization of the public administration,

- Democratic relations development and protection of opinion expression in public,
- Listening to the people's will through their right to have their say on a referendum on the most important state decisions as the most democratic decision-making institute,
- Improvement of education and science fields and its financial stability,
- Protection and promotion of Serbian cultural heritage,
- Care of family and combating low birth rate, so-called "white plague",
- Establishment of a sustainable and efficient health and social care system,
- Organized care of soldiers, disabled war veterans and families and descendents of the killed soldiers of the Army of the Republic of Srpska,
- Realization of the social solidarity principles – in particular with regard to the elderly and vulnerable categories of the population,
- Improved status of the youth in the community,
- environmental protection.

It should be kept in mind that these strategic objectives are interlinked. Therefore the Serbian Democratic Party to energetically promote these goals, which are shared by the majority of the citizens of the Republic of Srpska. It should be strongly promoted and lobbied for in every given opportunity, irrespective of the Party's situation, position or opposition, since it carries out a responsible peoples and constituent politics based on the people's will, democratic order, dedication to the prosperity in the future, observation of the Constitution and the law. From the first day on – we are guided by the PEOPLE'S WILL!

March 2010

President of SDS

M l a d e n B o s i ć