

Inhabiting the Theater of War: The Discourse Models of the NATO bombing of Yugoslavia in Milošević's address to the nation and Đukanović's address to the citizens of Montenegro

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Abstract

This article suggests that illuminating Discourse Models in key discourses, like addresses to the nation, can help us make sense of the actions and relations between political actors, in this case Serbia and Montenegro. The material analyzed in this article is the address to the nation given by Slobodan Milošević, president of Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, published in the pro-government Serbian newspaper Politika, and the address to the citizens by Milo Đukanović, president of Montenegro, published in the pro-Montenegrin newspaper Pobjeda. Đukanović and Milošević were political enemies at the time. Serbia and Montenegro led different politics even though they were part of the same country and as such they were both bombed.

In their addresses, Đukanović and Milošević used different Discourse Models (Defence War Discourse Model vs. Neutral Mediator Discourse Model) and by doing so they set limitations to readings, not only to these initial texts, but to all the subsequent texts, and anticipated different representations of the outcome of the war.¹

Keywords: Discourse models, NATO-bombing of Yugoslavia, Milošević, Đukanović, socio-cognitive Critical Discourse Analysis

1. Introduction

The NATO-bombing of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia² (FRY) made a lasting impact both on Serbia and Montenegro. In addition to the loss of lives and considerable material destruction, there was an emergence/continuation of contesting discourses that clearly differentiated the politics of Montenegro from that of Serbia. These contesting discourses were built according to different *Discourse Models* (DM) used in initial addresses³ given by Yugoslavia's president Slobodan Milošević and published in the pro-government newspaper *Politika* and Montenegro's president Milo Đukanović published in the pro-Montenegrin government newspaper, *Pobjeda*.

This analysis is a part of a larger research project analyzing the relationship between Montenegro and Serbia represented in these pro-government newspapers during the whole period of NATO-bombing. For the purpose of this paper I am focusing on one discourse event, the initial representation of the war.

In the first part of this article, I will cast a glance at the socio-cultural context of the NATO-bombing that includes some notes on the political system and the circumstances under which the media functioned.

Then I will concentrate on the two addresses given by the Yugoslav president Milošević and the Montenegrin president Đukanović that were published the morning after the bombing started; more precisely I will isolate two different DMs that I

believe set limitations to readings, not only to these initial texts, but to all the subsequent texts. I will also point out some connections between the identified DMs and political actions before, during and after the NATO bombing.

1.1 A note on theory and methodology

Theoretically this analysis is situated within the broad field of socio-cognitive discourse analysis. Discourse is understood both as ‘a cognitive process involving interaction, adaptation and negotiation between interlocutors’ (Virtanen 2004: 3), and at the same time as a social phenomenon in a very wide sense of the term. Social identities and social relations are understood as enacted through discourse and vice versa. The main interest in this analysis is to illustrate how language and multi-modal elements are used to construct those identities and relations.

As a main tool of inquiry I have adopted Gee’s (2005) concept of Discourse Models which he defines as:

...everyday ‘theories’ (i.e., storylines, images, schemas, metaphors, and models) about the world that tell people what is ‘typical’ or ‘normal’, not universally, but from the perspective of a particular Discourse. (Gee 2005: 95)

DMs are subconscious simplifications that help people make sense of their surroundings. If, for example, a DM of a wedding is evoked, the majority of people in Serbia and Montenegro would have a theory about what a wedding is supposed to be like. That theory would have many common elements like: a bride, a groom, a best man, possibly a priest etc. The DM of a wedding would be somewhat different in different cultures. Speakers can use several, sometimes contradictory models: DMs can also be partial. Usually there is one model which is the main model, onto which other models can connect.

In this article I will identify two main DMs through the analysis of identities and relations by looking at the lexicogrammatical and metaphor choices of two speakers. I have chosen to analyze some lexicogrammatical and metaphor choices which point at specific DMs and help us illuminate their situated meanings.

Following the cognitive linguistics view, metaphor is defined as a cognitive operation ‘understanding one conceptual domain (target) in terms of another conceptual domain (source)’ (Kövecses 2002: 4). It has been shown that metaphors can influence our thought, our actions and our relations with others (Lakoff and Johnson 1980; Lakoff 1991), and that they are widely used in political discourse (Chilton 2004; Musolf 2004). Both Đukanović and Milošević use metaphors as powerful tools in building DMs and explaining actions and relations with each other and with NATO.

In addition, as this analysis concerns media texts, the multi-modal nature of the analyzed addresses is acknowledged. Specific choices of photographs, placement on the page, font size, color, etc. all realize or express different meanings (Kress and van Leeuwen 1996: 288; van Leeuwen 2005: 301; Baldry and Thibault 2006).

2. Situating the addresses

2.1 Political difficulties

The wars of the 1990’s led to the disintegration of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. Bosnia & Herzegovina, Croatia, Macedonia and Slovenia became independent. Serbia and Montenegro formed a union in 1992 under the name Federal

Republic of Yugoslavia (FRY). The leadership of FRY and the leadership of the local government of Montenegro were close partners until the end of 1997. After a political quarrel about the results of the local elections in Montenegro, the newly elected Montenegrin leadership led by president Milo Đukanović started the process of distancing itself from Serbia's leadership in 1998. The political rift between Serbia and Montenegro that started to appear during that period of time became a large gap during the NATO bombing.

2.2 Media difficulties

Prior to the wars in the former Yugoslavia both *Politika* and *Pobjeda* were considered serious broadsheet newspapers. During Milošević's rule, both newspapers experienced longer periods of professional crisis. They became one sided followers of government instructions (Nenadović 2002; Matović 2004). At the time of the NATO-bombing, *Politika* was Milošević's mouthpiece, while *Pobjeda* was Đukanović's mouthpiece.

The working conditions for all media were very hard during the whole period of the 1990's. In preparation for NATO bombing two documents were issued by the FRY's government which further influenced the working conditions of the media:

1. The Government of Serbia's Decree on Special Measures in the Circumstances of NATO's Threats of Military Attacks Against our Country and
2. The Law on Public Information (from October 1998).

Examples of the obligations imposed on the media include:

[Media will] act in keeping with the rights and obligations of the citizens to protect the territorial integrity, modernity and independence of the Republic of Serbia and FRY

or

[A ban on] talking over and carrying sections of programs, i.e. programs and texts by foreign mass media which were against the interests of our country, fomented fear, panic and defeatism or negatively affected the readiness of the citizens to protect the integrity of the Republic of Serbia and FRY. (ANEM: 37)

Newspapers which did not follow the obligations prescribed by these laws were immediately closed down or fined. The situation in Montenegro was slightly better as the aforementioned documents were not obeyed (Goff 1999).

After the bombing started, the Ministry of Information of FRY also issued a set of semi-official instructions. Out of the 15 points presented in the instructions, six concerned the language to be used during the bombing. NATO was supposed to be referred to as 'aggressors'; Yugoslav army as 'freedom fighters'; so-called Kosovo Liberation Army (original wording from the instructions) as a 'gang, terrorists or criminals'; enemy losses were to be referred to as 'neutralized, incapacitated, paralyzed' etc. Once again *Politika* followed these instructions while *Pobjeda* did not.

3. Multi-modal framing of the addresses

Politika and *Pobjeda* follow slightly different layout traditions (see Figure 1).

Figure 1. The first pages of *Politika* (left) and *Pobjeda* (right), the first day after the bombing started – 25 March 1999.



Politika relies on a prevalence of verbal text, with few black/white photos, no screamer headlines, and almost no framing of articles, whereas *Pobjeda* uses more photos, red color in its name, stronger framing around the articles and screamer headlines. *Politika* has mainly vertical page division, while *Pobjeda* prefers a horizontal divide. The positions of the addresses on the first pages also differ. Milošević's address is printed on the left side of the front page; it is foregrounded by occupying half of the page and by being presented in its entirety on the first page. The close-up photo of Milošević which accompanies the address both identifies the speaker and characterizes him. Identification is assured by the caption under the photo with Milošević's name and his title. That Milošević is characterized as serious and as being on official duty is signaled by his attire: suit and tie. Flags behind him symbolize him as a representative of the nation and they underline the official nature of the occasion.

Đukanović is assigned a less salient position on the right side⁴ of the first page of *Pobjeda*, both by less space given to it and by his address being split in two. The readers have to turn to page three to read the whole address, which requires more effort from them than from *Politika*'s readers. The photo that accompanies Đukanović's speech also identifies him as the speaker, but he is presented in a different position. He is sitting and talking in front of microphones. His body position constructs visual agency and assigns him a more active role in comparison to Milošević who is just posing. The coat-of-arms of Montenegro that hangs on the wall behind Đukanović signals the connection between the leader and his country/people. *Politika* tends to frame Milošević as a static leader and *Pobjeda* tends to frame Đukanović as a dynamic leader throughout the whole period of NATO-bombing.

Both politicians are psychologically very salient, and their mere presence signals the importance of the activity portrayed. By *psychological salience* it is meant that they were well known to the public through their constant presence in the news over a long period of time (since the end of the 1980's). This salience is automatically transferred onto their addresses. The multi-modal elements, i.e. the choice of placement of the addresses on the page, photographs, font types and sizes and verbal texts, all together participate in meaning making; signaling the importance of the speakers and what they are going to say.

4. About the addresses

4.1 Timing is everything

Milošević's address to the nation was written before the bombing started and did not address the actual bombing, while Đukanović's address to the citizens of Montenegro was written after the bombing had started. Thus, the time of production, the coding times of the addresses, differ. Both addresses were published on the 25 March, so that the receiving time (by the readers) for both was the same. By being published the day after the bombing started, next to the article with the title 'NATO's evil aggression', and as the only article on the first page connected to Milošević, this address to the nation could be understood as serving the purpose of Milošević's reaction to the bombing. The question about Milošević's reason for not giving another speech will not be addressed here.

4.2 The importance of the addresses

The newspapers published the addresses in their entirety, with minor journalistic framing through reporter voice, and the choice of titles and lead. This minor intervention by the journalists underlines the importance of the speakers and the seriousness of the situation as seen from the newspapers' point of view. By taking politicians seriously through their news, newspapers 'confer their [politicians'] legitimacy and impart significance' (Gitlin 1980/2003: 37).

These two addresses are important for several reasons:

- a. They provide the space for building two different constructions of the initial representation of the NATO bombing.
- b. Both politicians are diagnosing the situation and giving prognosis for the future.
- c. They mark the beginning of an important period for the two politicians in which they are maintaining/building their identities as leaders in charge. The job is much harder for Đukanović as he is building his own identity in opposition to Milošević's who already held power at the time.

As the coding times of the addresses differ, the aims of the speakers are somewhat different. Milošević's address attempts to fulfill several functions: prepare the people for the possible bombing, instruct them what to do (i.e. resist), justify his own decisions and put the blame outside. Đukanović is also trying to instruct the people of Montenegro what to do while being bombed (i.e. stay calm). He is also trying to justify his own decisions but he is putting the blame for the conflict on both Milošević and the international community.

5. Discourse models

The most prominent DM in Milošević’s address is what I refer to as a Defence War DM and in Đukanović’s address a Neutral Mediator DM.

5.1 Defence War DM

The model Milošević is using can be summarized as:

Yugoslavia (we) is fighting a just war against the aggressor (*‘foreign troops on our territory’*). The aggressor wants to enslave us (*‘step by step, but very quickly; our country would loose its freedom’*). The aggressor is much stronger militarily than us (evokes wars with Turkish Empire and Germany by analogy). We are much stronger than our enemy in our resolve not to lose our freedom and not to be enslaved (*‘our unity’, ‘fight for independence and freedom’ ‘truth and justice are on our side’*). There are some internal enemies who cooperate with aggressors (*‘Albanian separatist movement’*). The defence war we fight is just and we must win.

Narod ‘people’⁵ as victims is a very important element of this DM though it was not explicitly activated in the first address. The reason for this could be the fact that the address was given before the NATO bombing started. The victim discourse comes fully into the foreground over the following days.

5.2 Neutral Mediator DM

On the other hand, Đukanović’s DM could be summarized as:

Montenegro has the right (evoking the discourse of Montenegro being an independent state and thus having the right to decide) to choose a neutral position in the conflict between NATO and Yugoslavia (Serbia). Montenegro is trying to help both NATO and the Federal government to resolve the conflict (*‘I appeal once again to the most responsible in the country and to the international community’*). It is the relation between the east and the west that is evoked here (old divisions: Soviet Union vs. USA) and there is an echo of the former Yugoslav position as a member and founder of the non-aligned movement.

By being in a neutral, but active political position, Montenegro does not inhabit a victim role. This is one of the most important differences between Serbia and Montenegro.

Figure 2. Defence War and Neutral Mediator DMs

<i>POLITIKA (YUGOSLAVIA/SERBIA)</i> DEFENCE WAR DISCOURSE MODEL	<i>POBJEDA (MONTENEGRO)</i> NEUTRAL MEDIATOR DISCOURSE MODEL
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Modeled after World War II model and Kosovo battle ● Participants: aggressor, victims, traitors, hero ● Inference (expected action) - defence 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Modeled after the non-alignment model ● Participants: two sets of bad guys, mediator ● Inference (expected action) – negotiation

Already in the headlines and lead paragraphs of the addresses we can find elements of the different DMs these two speakers are using (in italics):

Pobjeda 25.03.99

The address by president of the Republic Milo Đukanović to the citizens of Montenegro

I AM CALLING UPON PRESENCE OF MIND, RESTRAINT, PEACE AND UNITY

I am asking the president of FRY to stop with the politics that leads to collective suffering of innocent people and which threatens the country's existence. At the same time we ask from the international community to restrain itself from new strikes on targets in Montenegro and Yugoslavia.

Politika – 25.3.99

The address to the nation by the President of the Republic

WE ARE DEVOTED TO TWO MAIN THINGS: TO CONTINUE THE POLITICAL PROCESS WITH FULL PERSISTENCE, BECAUSE I BELIEVE THAT THE *TRUTH AND JUSTICE ARE ON OUR SIDE*, BUT ALSO TO DEFEND OUR COUNTRY WITH THE NECESSARY MEANS.

Slobodan Milošević in his statement says that the only correct decision which could have been made was to reject *foreign troops on our territory*, but, nevertheless, we want to continue persistent work for peaceful solution to the problem in Kosovo and Metohija. - All citizens will contribute to defending the country if they successfully do their usual working tasks: in that way they will help in the best way to the *forces of state defense, the Yugoslav Army and the forces of the internal affairs* to do their tasks of *protections of sovereignty and territorial integrity of the country*.

6. DMs and connections with possible political actions

Each of the DMs infers one or more possible actions. If the Defence War DM is activated, one possible expected action is to defend one's country. Another possible, but very unlikely action, is to surrender to the enemy. Further, if the country is leading a just defence war, it is very difficult to admit defeat.

On the other hand, if the Neutral Mediator DM is activated, the possible expected action is to negotiate with quarreling sides and keep outside the conflict.

Before we start analyzing the participants of the DMs and the relations between them, we should situate the DMs from a historical perspective: before, under and after the NATO bombing. The following account is only a sketch, and represents an invitation to further research.

6.1 Before the NATO-bombing

Some elements of the Defence War DM were to be found in the Federal Assembly declaration in Belgrade on 5 October 1998. That was the period of preparation for possible NATO bombing. The Federal Assembly concluded that 'FRY will never give up any part of its territory, never betray its people, nor give up its vital state- and national interests.' (Bulatović 2005: 288) Most elements of the model were present: a threat from outside and government as a protector of its people.

Parts of the Neutral Mediator DM were evoked in media in Montenegro prior to NATO bombing as well, but there was no official statement at that time.

6.2 During the NATO- bombing

The two DMs identified were explicitly and implicitly present in the above analyzed addresses. After these addresses were delivered, the Yugoslav parliament proclaimed a state of war, while the Montenegrin parliament proclaimed neutrality.

These DMs were used during the whole period of NATO-bombing (Felberg forthcoming)

After the bombing stopped Milošević addressed the people once again in the address with the title *Narod je heroj* ‘The people are the hero’. In that address he de facto proclaimed Yugoslavia as the winner of the war.

Montenegro’s president never proclaimed either victory or defeat. Instead, he called for the redefinition of the relations between Serbia and Montenegro.

6.3 After the NATO-bombing

The remnants of these different closures of the war are still noticeable both in Serbia and Montenegro. The Serbian society has problems accepting that Serbia lost the war with NATO and thus, in practical terms, lost a part of its territory – Kosovo. Statements such as ‘People of Serbia have to understand and accept that we lost the war with the NATO.’ are often heard on talk shows on TV.⁶

As for Montenegro, it neither won nor lost the war because it was proclaimed neutral. The Montenegrin government continued to distance themselves from Serbian politics and in May 2006 Montenegro regained its independence.

7.0 Participants in the addresses

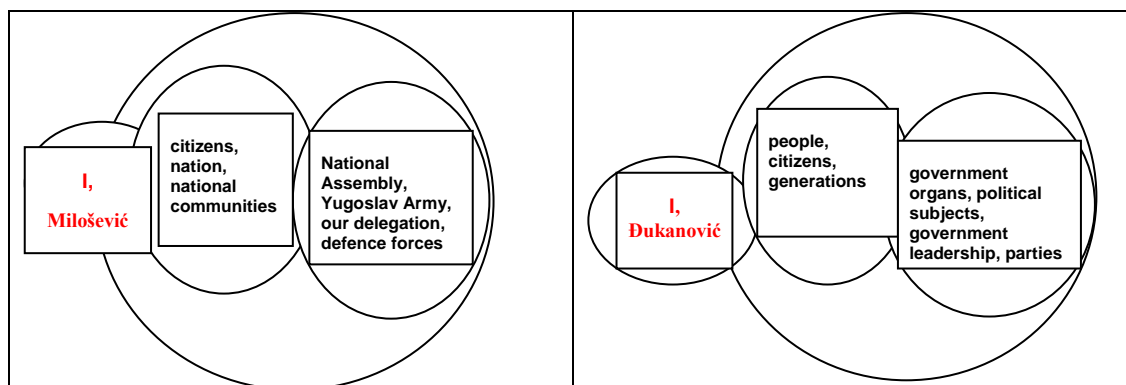
The participants in both addresses can be divided into two categories: the us-category and the them-category, as seen from two different deictic centers. By deictic centers I mean the central position the ‘speaker’ has in the text. That position is the position of ‘self’ – and is conceptualized by ‘here’, ‘now’ and ‘right’ (Chilton 2004).

At deictic center Đukanović and Milošević try to place other participants in relation to themselves, thus constructing their own identities and the identities of the others. The other identities and actions are described and evaluated from different perspectives of two speakers. Participants are not only individuals, but also groups and organizations. The individuals are in minority though, making the collective (groups and organizations) prominent.

7.1 Us - category

The main members of the us-category are: people, government and the leader himself. The denotations used for these sub-categories differ (see Figure 3).

Figure 3: Us-category as seen from Milošević (left) and Đukanović (right)



Milošević uses words like ‘*nation, Army and defence forces*’ that evoke the Defence-War DM, while Đukanović, uses denotations like ‘*citizens, government organs,*

political parties’ that point towards Neutral Mediator DM. Army and defence forces are, for example, absent from Đukanović’s model, but he uses *narod* ‘people’ which has strong connotations to nationalistic politics. Looking closer at *narod*⁷ ‘people’ and comparing it with *građani* ‘citizens’ shows the complexity involved in analyzing the situated meanings of lexical items and the danger of automatically connecting them to DMs.

The semantic field of the word *građani* is defined in the *Dictionary of Serbian Language* (Moskvljević 2000) as: 1. a city dweller and 2. someone who belongs to a state and enjoys full rights.

The noun *narod* is in the same dictionary defined as: 1. all people living on some territory (village, city, state); 2. nationality, nation; 3. broad masses; 4. people who live in the same house.

From these definitions⁸ we can see some potential for accessing different situated meanings. *Građani* evokes the equal status of all members, while *narod*⁹ evokes the hierarchical relationship between the people and their leader. This distinction is very important as it was used to index different ideological positions of the speakers. Indeed, Milošević has often been described in some popular and scholarly literature as nationalist and autocrat, while Đukanović has been described as a democratic leader.

The situation is complicated by the fact that neither of the speakers use only one term – on the contrary, they each use both denotations. But, both the frequency of use and the collocations in which these two words appear are different.¹⁰ For example: *građani* is used almost as often by Đukanović as by Milošević in their initial addresses, but the qualifier *svi* ‘all’ together with *građani* is used much more often by Milošević than Đukanović (5 vs. 2 times). The function of the qualifier *svi* in this case is building the unity within the group and merging many voices into one voice. One voice is easier to handle and opens a possibility for manipulation. If one merges citizens into a single group by constantly talking about ‘all citizens’, the meaning changes towards the meaning closer to the meaning of the term *narod*, as a mass.

Narod has often been used in the political and everyday discourse both in Serbia and Montenegro. *Narod* is usually presented as victimized, dependent on their leaders and emotionally connected with them. In the words of Ivan Čolović, a renowned Serbian ethnographer ‘*people* is a demagogic euphemism for a politically non-articulated mass ruled by a god-given elite with the almighty leader ahead’ (Čolović 2001: 83). And indeed, in the analyzed material *narod*¹¹ has a high emotional connotative value. The high emotional value gives it potential for manipulation.

Đukanović used the word *narod* once in his address - when he wanted to underline the close ties between the Montenegrin government leadership and the *narod*; *zajedno sa svojim narodom* ‘together with its own people’ – using, in addition, the space builder *svojim* ‘its own’. This implies that the word *narod* is used for Montenegrin people only, and not for the Yugoslav people. So, both *građani* and *narod* are used to denote inhabitants of Montenegro only. The difference between the two is the connotative value: *građani* is underlying the existence of rights and civil society, while *narod* is used to underline togetherness in times of crisis.

7.2 Them-category

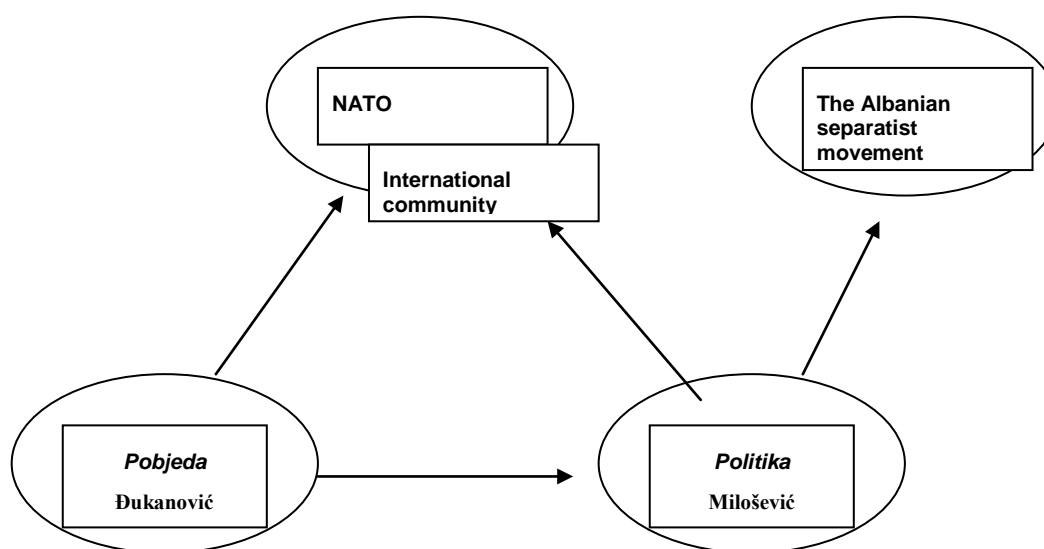
The different conceptualization of the them-category in these addresses marks the beginning of the tension between the representations of the conflict in these

newspapers, which will during the further NATO-bombing develop into an open war of words and almost real armed conflict.

The difference in conceptualization is twofold:

- 1) the division of the them-category
- 2) the construction and description of the them-categories.

Figure 4. Them-category as seen from two different deictic centers



As illustrated in Figure 4, NATO and the international community fall into the common them-category for both deictic centers. The degree of ‘otherness’ and the distance differ as seen from the two deictic centers. We will see how it is done in section 7.3.

The international community is in the them-category for both politicians, but it is presented as a possible partner for cooperation in Milošević’s address, while Đukanović does not differentiate between NATO and the international community. By using the *international military forces* to denote NATO and later on *the international community* he gives the impression that the international military forces and NATO are the same. Fairclough (2005: 50) concludes that in the material he analyzed ‘International community – sounds fully inclusive, but tends to be reduced down to the powers which constitute G7 (now G8) and NATO’. The *international community* might sound inclusive in this address as well, but a closer look suggests it is reduced to NATO in this first article in *Pobjeda*.

As mentioned above, Milošević discerns between the international community and NATO. The representatives from the international community are presented as somebody Yugoslavia was interacting with (*contact which we had with representatives of the international community*) – thus more positive, while the NATO is presented as only negative. The denotations like *NATO-pact* and *foreign troops* connect with the vocabulary used during WWII and point at the Defence War DM.

The Albanian separatist movement is constructed as a member in them-category only by Milošević. It is not mentioned in Đukanović’s address.

Finally, Milošević is in Đukanović’s them-category– but not vice versa. By not mentioning Montenegro or Đukanović during the whole period of bombing, Milošević was minimizing its salience. By not acknowledging the problem with Đukanović he was not giving it prominence and the problem simply did not exist. See more about Montenegro as a geo-political index in 8.2.

There is more distance between us- and them- categories in *Politika* than in *Pobjeda*. In the following we will see in what way these two politicians distance themselves from the them-category.

7.3 Distancing from the them-category: Rationality vs. irrationality in Pobjeda

The us-category in *Pobjeda* is presented as rational in contrast to the irrational them-category (Milošević and the government). This type of judgment that the speaker is exercising falls under the social esteem category – ‘attacking the capacity/ability of the other to act by claiming his insanity’ (White 1999: 104). Conceptualization of rationality in this address is linguistically realized through use of metaphors.

The most prominent metaphor is: A POLITICAL ENTITY IS A (HUMAN) BODY

The state (political entity) is our target domain. It is perceived as a body, a person, - which is our source domain. A person can be either healthy or sick. We prefer the state of being healthy, while sickness, either physical or mental is not desirable.

Using the *body politic* (Musolff 2004) metaphor, Đukanović is explaining the functions of the parts of the state. The head of the Yugoslav state, a part of the political body, impersonated as Milošević is not functioning well, which in bodily terms means that it is not healthy. In this case the mental health is in question and it is addressed throughout Đukanović’s address either by nominal phrases or clauses: Milošević is leading ‘*mindless politics*’, ‘*suicidal adventure*’, ‘*he is in conflict with the whole world*’. The inference of this metaphor is that the government (body) is mentally ill and should not be obeyed since it is not accountable for its mistakes.

The mental health/suicide was possibly an index pointing at Milošević’s family history. Both his father and his mother committed suicide. Suicide was also a possible scenario put forward by the media when Milošević died in the prison in Holland on 11 March 2006.

On the other side of the equation, Montenegro is conceptualized as a separate, rational, thus healthy political body. Some of the examples are given in Figure 5.

Figure 5. Rationality (Pobjeda) vs. irrationality (Politika) as seen from Đukanović’s point of view

Rational – Us – Montenegro - Đukanović	Irrational- them – FRY government - Milošević
7. Učinili smo sve da spriječimo bazumnu politiku <i>We did everything to prevent this mindless politics</i>	4. vode bezumnu politiku <i>They lead <u>mindless politics</u></i>
16. jedini glas razuma sa ovih prostora <i>The only voice of reason from these parts</i>	5. uvode zemlju u opasnu avanturu čiji su ulog mir i životi građana; samoubilačku avanturu dalekosežnih posljedica <i>They lead the country into the <u>dangerous adventure</u> with peace and lives of citizens at stake;</i>

	<i>suicidal adventure with far reaching consequences</i>
9. uporno upozoravali sve na moguće posljedice <i>We persistently warned everybody about all possible consequences</i>	12. sukobljavaju se sa cijelim svijetom; dovode do kolektivnog stradanja nedužnih i ugrožavanja opstanka države <i>They are in conflict with whole world; they lead into collective suffering of the innocent and threaten the survival of the country</i>
	16. zbog njihove politike nismo pošteđeni vojnih sankcija <i>Because of their politics we are not spared from military sanctions</i>

NATO and the international community are used interchangeably.

There is a trace of rational vs. irrational parallelism between Montenegro and NATO as well. Montenegro is requesting the international community ‘*constrain itself from further strikes*’. Someone who cannot constrain oneself can be considered irrational. Further Montenegro (rational) warned the international community against the military solution to the Kosovo crisis - ‘*the Kosovo problem cannot be solved by anybody’s force, not even the force of the international military forces*’ - and urged everybody to return to a peaceful solution.

On the other hand NATO’s bombing of Yugoslavia is presented as ‘*strikes on military targets*’, which could be understood as a ‘rational action’ in contrast to ‘*strikes on civilian targets*’ as seen from the NATO’s context. The international community ‘*acknowledges that Montenegro is the only rational voice*’, thus, again being rational. During the whole NATO bombing, Đukanović did not use the word *agresija* ‘aggression’ to describe what was happening in the country. If he had used the word ‘aggression’ he would have immediately mobilized the Defence War DM and sided with the FRY’s politics (see the semi-instructions for media in 2.2).

The second prominent metaphor that was used to structure the relationship between us- and them-category was: POLITICS IS A HAZARDOUS GAME (for example Russian roulette). The scenario that is connected with the word ‘hazardous game’ implies at least the following elements: players, something you play with – a pistol, for example, and a bid that you have to place – life. The risk element of the game is very important in this scenario. When you play you may win, but you may also lose. Usually there is only one winner. The use of the word *ulog* ‘bid’ points toward the scenario of playing a game.

Uvela je našu zemlju u opasnu avanturu čiji su **ulog** mir i životi građana.

‘It brought our country into a dangerous adventure with peace and citizens’ lives used as a bid.’

Characterizing what happens as a *dangerous adventure*, a dangerous game, the speaker points toward the uncertainty of the end result. We could rephrase this metaphor as: Milošević and the federal leaders play a game whose result we cannot know, but taking into account the risky nature of games we can only fear for the final result. This is particularly important when the objects at stake are the lives of citizens. At other places in the address the politics is characterized by means of gradation as *irrational*, *suicidal* and as *politics which leads to collective suffering of the innocent and threatens the existence of the state* – which supports our interpretation of a risk factor. This metaphor is also connected with the rational/irrational dichotomy. Irrational people play with other people’s lives. The metaphor is pointing at the

collocation mentioned earlier ‘*mindless politics of confrontation with the whole world*’ and ‘*suicidal adventure*’ which explicitly connects the irrational with the political and thus with the game in this case.

7.4 Distancing oneself from the them-category in Politika: Truth and legality vs. lie and illegality

The us-category in *Politika* is presented as truthful and just because it defends the country’s independence and freedom. In the terminology of appraisal theory, Milošević passes the judgment within the social sanction category – ‘claiming that the other is immoral, unjust, brutal and untrue’. (White 1999: 104) The them-category (NATO and the international community) are portrayed as threatening, trying to enter the Serbian ‘house’ and not actually wanting equality in Kosovo. The us-category is represented as peaceful while the them-category is threatening the peaceful solution of the conflict.

Figure 6. Us vs. them category as seen from Milošević’s point of view

Us-category for Milošević	Them-category for Milošević
Jedinstveno opredeljenje za nezavisnost i slobodu i slobodan razvoj [we show] <i>unified devotion for independence and freedom and free development</i>	Vrata kroz koja je trebalo da uđu strane trupe i da dovedu u pitanje te najveće vrednosti <i>The door through which the <u>foreign troops</u> were supposed to <u>enter and to threaten</u> the biggest <u>values</u></i>
Zalaganje za mirno rešenje problema [we show] <i>devotion for a peaceful solution of the problem</i>	Strane trupe na našoj teritoriji <i><u>Foreign troops</u> on <u>our</u> territory</i>
Zalaganje za ravnopravnost svih nacionalnih zajednica [we make] <i>efforts to achieve equality of all national communities</i>	[Presupposition: <i>they</i> do not want equality of all national communities]
Mi ćemo u našem nastojanju da postignemo politički sporazum i da se nastavi politički process istrajati <i>We shall persist in our work to achieve the political agreement and to continue the political process</i>	Izloženi pretnjama i opasnosti od napada NATO pakta <i>Exposed to <u>threats and dangers</u> of NATO <u>attack</u></i>
Istina i pravda su na našoj strani <i>Truth and justice is on our side</i>	[Presupposition: truth and justice are not on the enemy’s side]

The enemy is marked by the lexemes ‘*foreign troops on our territory*’ where a space builder – ‘*our*’ that is building closeness is juxtaposed to the adjective ‘*foreign*’ clearly making a binary/opposite structure. The DM evoked is again the model of a defence war.

The metaphysical distance between us and them is also powerfully expressed by use of the metaphor KOSOVO IS THE DOOR that builds on the metaphor: STATES ARE CONTAINERS. In this case Serbia is the house (container), and Kosovo represents the door into that house. NATO is trying to enter Serbia through Kosovo and in that way they are conveying the menacing enemy intent.

Kosovo bi samo predstavljalo vrata kroz koja je trebalo da uđu strane trupe i da dovedu u pitanje upravo te najveće vrednosti [nezavisnost i slobodu].

'Kosovo would only represent the doors through which the foreign troops would enter and question exactly those biggest values [independence and freedom].'

By using this metaphor, Milošević underlines the importance of protecting the entrance point into one's house – activating the fear factor of readers. We all feel safe in our homes. We want to and have the right to protect our homes. Anybody who wants to enter our homes without our permission is committing a crime. This metaphor is inferring that an enemy is entering our home, and justifies our desire to protect ourselves.

8. Geopolitical indices in DMs - Kosovo and Montenegro

Perception and conception of space, distance and closeness play an important part in any discourse, especially political discourse (Chilton 2004). Geopolitical entities are spatial indices that point at both physical and metaphysical entities. As Milošević's politics on Kosovo was given as a reason for attacking Yugoslavia, and Montenegro distanced itself from this politics, we will specifically look at these two geopolitical indices.

8.1 Kosovo (and Metohija)

It is possible to differentiate between physical and metaphysical Kosovo. Physical Kosovo is the actual geographical space while the metaphysical Kosovo is the idea of Kosovo being the 'cradle of Serbian people' - part of the Kosovo myth¹². Kosovo as a foundation of Serbian 'imaginary community' (Zdravković 2005) has a highly symbolic importance. In literature (Perica 2005) Kosovo is often compared with Jerusalem and its importance for the Jews. So, the geopolitical entities - geographical locations are indices that point at some cognitive frames or in our terminology - DMs.

GEO-POLITICAL INDICES - POLITIKA	GEO-POLITICAL INDICES -POBJEDA
Kosovo	Kosovo
Kosovo and Metohija	- -
Our southern province	- -
- -	Montenegro

In *Pobjeda* Kosovo as a geographical location is referred to as Kosovo. The longer form, Kosovo and Metohija, which is connected with Milošević's regime, is not used in *Pobjeda*. Kosovo is used only twice in Đukanović's speech; both times in connection with the peaceful agreement for Kosovo with no connotations to the mythical Kosovo.

In *Politika*, on the other hand, we find three different referentials: *Kosovo* (used twice in the speech), *Kosovo and Metohija* (used 5 times) and *our southern province* (used once). Kosovo and Metohija (Kosmet in abbreviated form) is the Serbian name for the province. That name was used from 1945 to 1968. The constitutional amendments in 1968 in the former Yugoslavia gave a greater autonomy to the province, and the name was at that time changed to Kosovo. This change in amendments was considered very negative by the Serbs and was pinpointed as the source of victimization of the Serb people. In order to change that view, the province was again renamed to Kosovo and Metohija during the Milošević's period. Accordingly, the autonomy was taken away from the province, connecting it closer to Serbia. So, Milošević was considered by some Serbs as the leader who gave Kosovo back to Serbs.

The noun phrase ‘*our southern province*’ is indexing Kosovo as a part of Serbia. With its space building elements – *our*, and *southern* it makes Kosovo closer to the hearers and underlines the message that Milošević is sending – Kosovo is a part of Serbia and it is going to stay that way.

8.2 Montenegro

Montenegro is mentioned 17 times in the article in *Pobjeda* giving it a salient position. The high frequency of use of the word Montenegro shows the importance it has for the speaker and his desire to entrench the entity Montenegro and differentiate/separate it from FRY.

In addition, when collocated with larger geographical units, Montenegro is always put in the initial position.

Further, Montenegro is conceptualized through the metaphor STATE IS A PERSON. Thus, Montenegro ‘*did everything to prevent that [Milošević’s] suicidal adventure*’, the conflict happened ‘*without any guilt from the part of Montenegro*’, Montenegro is going through ‘*difficult trying moments*’.

Milošević does not mention Montenegro at all in his address. Montenegro is a part of FRY – and in order to present a unified country, Milošević does not mention Montenegro specifically, even though he knew where Montenegro’s government stood politically. Different sources would attribute this ‘not speaking’ to Milošević’s leadership style of ‘never publicly revealing his ideas and intentions’ (Slapšak 2001; Veiga 2004). Milošević was often referred to as ‘our autistic leader’ in the 90’s in Serbia (Slapšak 2001; Veiga 2004)

So, Montenegro is not mentioned on the first pages of *Politika* during the NATO bombing at all. Nevertheless, reactions to the Montenegrin politics were strong; they were presented on other pages (from 10 onwards) and in the form of other evaluative media genres: like readers’ letters and editorials.

9. Concluding remarks

This article has presented a part of a micro analysis of two Discourse Models in addresses given by Slobodan Milošević and Milo Đukanović during the NATO bombing of FRY. Those two DMs are the Defence War DM used by Milošević, and the Neutral Mediator DM, used by Đukanović. The analyzed DMs are not the only DMs used by the politicians, but as they are the most prominent ones they were chosen for further scrutiny.

Special attention was given to newspapers’ multimodal choices and speakers’ lexicogrammatical and metaphor choices which, it was found, have different situated meanings in the two addresses. We saw how those choices point at different, partially implicit DMs, which further point at different political views. As the DMs’ scenarios include an element of implication (of expected action to follow the addresses) that connects them to particular political actions, we tried to point at some of those connections. This type of work requires further interdisciplinary research.

Recognition and analysis of DMs in connection with political actions can help us make better sense of the actions and relations between different political actors, in this case Serbia and Montenegro.

¹ At the end of air war, Milošević announced victory over NATO, while Đukanović asked for the redefinition of relations with Serbia.

² NATO bombing of FRY lasted from 24 March to 10 June 1999.

³ Both addresses are attached in Serbian and English. English translation is not a fluent version, it follows the original more closely in order to facilitate comparison with the original text.

⁴ I was informed by a journalist from Pobjeda that the most salient position on the first page, from the editor's point of view, was upper left corner.

⁵ For more about *narod* 'people', see 6.1.

⁶ One example of such a talk show is 'Utisak nedelje' on TV B92.

⁷ Word *narod* can be countable – *narod-narodi*, meaning 'nation-nations' or uncountable meaning *narod* – people. The meaning is often overlapping.

⁸ The definitions are included here because in everyday discourse in Serbia and Montenegro people tend to refer to dictionaries to find out what words 'really' mean.

⁹ 'Media in Serbia created 'people' – real democracies create 'citizens'. Čolović, I. (2001:130-140).

¹⁰ In the material analyzed, which consists of 40 first page articles in *Pobjeda* and 54 first page articles in *Politika*, Đukanović/*Pobjeda* uses word 'people' 17 times in 6 articles, while Milošević/*Politika* uses it 97 times in 28 articles. *Pobjeda* uses 'citizens' 28 times in 9 articles, while *Politika* 69 times in 29 articles. There is a clear preference by Đukanović to use 'citizens', and by Milošević to use 'people'.

¹¹ The recent use of the word is found in the discourse about the WW II *narodnooslobodilačka borba* 'people's liberation struggle –WWII', in Josip Broz Tito's discourse (in the 1950's Josip Broz Tito, the president of the former Yugoslavia, declared that he was *u službi naroda* 'at people's service'), and in Slobodan Milošević's *dogadanje naroda* 'awakening of the people'. But, in the rhetoric of the Communist party in the former Yugoslavia, including the beginning of Milošević's rule *radnici, radnička klasa, drugovi* 'workers, workers class, comrades' had a more prominent position than *narod*. That changed during Milošević's regn when *radnici* 'workers' disappeared and *narod* appeared in a process called *dogadanje naroda*. Andrijašević, Ž. M. and Š. Rastoder (2006). *Istorija Crne Gore od najstarijih vremena do 2003*. Podgorica, Centar za iseljenike Crne Gore.

¹² Kosovo myth is the story of a battle between the Turks and Serbs (other nationalities were partaking in both armies) that took place in 1389. The leader of Serbs, Lazar Hrebljanović could choose between accepting the Turkish sultan Murat as his master or to resist. He chose the latter solution even though he knew that he would lose the battle since the Turks had much bigger army. This choice was interpreted as a choice between the material, earthly kingdom or heavenly kingdom. Lazar chose the heavenly kingdom, he lost the battle, the earthly kingdom and his own life. This battle was an inspiration for a whole series of folk poetry and the material for Kosovo myth. During the time of the disintegration of the former Yugoslavia (from 1989 and onwards) the Kosovo myth was used by the politicians to move the masses to war. The NATO bombing of Yugoslavia was an excellent recontextualization of the myth: the fight between the very powerful and materially weak, the leader who chose the 'heavenly kingdom' who lost the material battle but won the heavenly one. Defeat is turned into victory.

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Attachment 1

OBRAĆANJE NACIJI PREDSEDNIKA REPUBLIKE

POLITIKA – 25.3.99

Address to the nation by the President of the Republic

Opređeljeni smo za dve glavne stvari – da nastavimo politički proces sa svom upornošću, jer smatram da su istina i pravda na našoj strani, ali i da branimo zemlju svim sredstvima u meri u kojoj ona bude napadnuta.

We are devoted to two main things: to continue the political process with full persistence, because I believe that the truth and justice are on our side, but also to defend the country with all necessary means

Slobodan Milošević u svojoj izjavi kaže da je jedina ispravna odluka koja se i mogla doneti bila je odbijanje da se strane trupe prihvate na našoj teritoriji, međutim, uprkos tome mi želimo da nastavimo uporno zalaganje za mirno rešenje problema na Kosovu i Metohiji. - Svi građani doprineće odbrani zemlje ako uspešno obavljaju svoje redovne radne zadatke: na taj način će najbolje pomoći i snagama državne odbrane, Vojsci Jugoslavije i snagama unutrašnjih poslova da obave svoje zadatke u odbrani suvereniteta i teritorijalnog integriteta zemlje.

Slobodan Milošević in his statement says that the only correct decision which could have been made was to reject foreign troops on our territory, but, nevertheless, we want to continue persistent work for peaceful solution to the problem in Kosovo and Metohija. - All citizens will contribute to defending the country if they successfully do their usual working tasks: in that way they will help in the best way to the forces of state defense, the Yugoslav Army and the forces of the internal affairs to do their tasks of protections of sovereignty and territorial integrity of the country.

1. Predsednik SRJ Slobodan Milošević obratio se juče po podne jugoslovenskoj javnosti.

The president of SFRY addressed the Yugoslav public yesterday afternoon.

2. U obraćanju naciji predsednik Milošević je rekao:

In his address to the nation president Milošević said:

3. Dragi građani, smatram da je Narodna Skupština veoma ispravno postupila kada je donela odluku da ne prihvati prisustvo stranih trupa na našoj teritoriji.

Dear citizens, I believe that the National assembly acted very correctly when it made a decision not to accept the presence of foreign troops on our territory.

4. Ovu odluku Narodna Skupština je donela jednoglasno, što izražava jedinstvo svih građana naše zemlje i njihovo jedinstveno opredeljenje za nezavisnost i slobodu i slobodan razvoj naše države i svih njenih građana.

The National assembly made this decision unanimously, and that expresses the unity of all citizens of our country and their unanimous devotion to independence and freedom and free development of our country and all its citizens.

5. Ovde nije bilo u pitanju samo Kosovo, mada je i Kosovo za nas od ogromne važnosti, ovdje je u pitanju sloboda čitave naše zemlje, a Kosovo bi samo predstavljalo vrata kroz koja je trebalo da uđu strane trupe i da dovedu u pitanje upravo te najveće vrednosti.

Here, not only Kosovo was in question, even though Kosovo is of enormous importance for us, but Kosovo would only represent the doors through which the foreign troops would enter and question exactly those biggest values.

6. Izabrali su ta vrata zbog toga što se pretpostavljalo da na njima treba da stoji albanski separatistički pokret, a ne vojska Jugoslavije, a ne građani ove zemlje u celini, i da na taj način naša zemlja, korak po korak, ali veoma brzo izgubi svoju slobodu.

They chose those doors because it was presumed that the Albanian separatist movement would stand there, and not the Yugoslav army, and not the citizens of this whole country and in that way, our country, step by step, but very quickly would lose its liberty.

7. Jedina ispravna odluka koja se i mogla doneti bila je odbijanje da se strane trupe prihvate na našoj teritoriji.

The only correct decision which could have been made was the rejection of foreign troops being accepted on our territory.

8. Međutim, uprkos toga mi želimo da nastavimo uporno zalaganje za mirno rešenje problema na Kosovu i Metohiji.

Nevertheless, in spite of this, we wish to continue our persistent devotion to peaceful resolution of the problems on Kosovo and Metohija.

9. Mi iskreno verujemo da se dugoročno problemi na Kosovu i Metohiji mogu rešiti samo mirnim i političkim sredstvima.

We sincerely believe that in the long term, problems on Kosovo and Metohija can be solved only by peaceful and political means.

10. Pritom mi insistiramo na ključnom pitanju koje je bilo predmet zalaganja naše delegacije u Rambujeu i predmet svih naših zalaganja u kontaktima koje smo imali sa predstavnicima međunarodne zajednice.

With that, we insist on the key question which was the subject of our delegation's insistence in Rambouillet and the subject of all our efforts in contacts which we had with representatives of the international community.

11. To ključno pitanje je naše zalaganje za ravnopravnost svih nacionalnih zajednica.

That key question is our devotion to equality of all national communities.

12. Onaj politički sporazum, koji obezbedi ravnopravno postavljanje svih nacionalnih zajednica na Kosovu i Metohiji – i Albanaca i Srba i Crnogoraca i muslimana i Turaka i Goranaca i Roma i Egipćana, ima šansu da uspe, i da stabilizuje našu južnu pokrajinu, da obezbedi mir i stabilnost u čitavoj zemlji.

The political agreement which ensures equal alignment of all national communities in Kosovo and Metohija: Albanians, and Serbs and Montenegrins and Moslems and Turks and Gorans and Roma and Egyptians, has a chance to succeed and to stabilize our southern province, to ensure peace and stability in the whole country.

13. Mi ćemo u našem nastojanju da postignemo politički sporazum i da se nastavi politički proces istrajati na takvom zalaganju.

We will persist in our intentions to do political efforts to achieve political agreement and to continue the political process.

14. U tom smislu ja želim da naglasim da u celini podržavam postupke naše delegacije u Rambujeu i Parizu i postupke predsednika Milutinovića i njegove stavove o ovim ključnim pitanjima od kojih zavisi budućnost Kosova i Metohije i rekao bih, čitave Srbije, jer se ovde radi o celoj zemlji, a ne samo o Kosovu i Metohiji, ma koliko nam ono bilo važno i ma koliko ono stvarno bilo važno za sve građane ove naše zemlje u celini.

In that sense, I want to underline that I fully support the actions of our delegation in Rambouillet and Paris and [I support] the actions of president Milutinović and his

positions about this key question from which the future of Kosovo Metohija depends and I would say [the future of] the entire Serbia. Because [the question] here is about the entire country, and not only about Kosovo and Metohija, no matter how much it is important and no matter how really important it would be for all citizens of this entire country of ours.

15. U ovom trenutku kada smo izloženi pretnjama i opasnosti od napada NATO pakta svako treba da radi svoj posao.

In this moment, when we are exposed to threats and danger from an attack by the NATO pact, everybody should do their job.

16. Svi građani doprineće odbrani zemlje ako uspešno obavljaju svoje redovne radne zadatke u proizvodnji, zdravstvu, školstvu, kulturnim institucijama.

All citizens will contribute to defending of the country if they successfully do their normal working tasks in production, healthcare, education, cultural institutions.

17. Na taj način će najbolje pomoći i snagama državne odbrane, Vojsci Jugoslavije i snagama unutrašnjih poslova da obave svoje zadatke u odbrani suvereniteta i teritorijalnog integriteta zemlje.

In that way, they will in the best way help the forces of the state defence, the Yugoslav Army and the forces of the internal affairs to do their tasks of protection of sovereignty and territorial integrity of the country.

18. Dakle opredeljeni smo za dve glavne stvari – da nastavimo politički proces sa svom upornošću, jer smatram da su istina i pravda na našoj strani, ali i da branimo zemlju svim sredstvima u meri u kojoj ona bude napadnuta.

Thus, we are devoted to two main things: to continue the political process with full persistence, because I believe that the truth and justice are on our side, but also to defend the country with all necessary means.

19. Na tome svako treba da da svoj puni doprinos, pre svega svojim radom.

Everybody should give their full contribution to that, by, first of all, their work.

POZIVAM SVE NA PRISEBNOST, UZDRŽANOST, MIR I SLOGU

I AM CALLING UPON PRESENCE OF MIND, RESTRAINT, PEACE AND UNITY

Obraćanje predsjednika republike Milo Đukanovića građanima Crne Gore

Address by president of the republic Milo Đukanović to the citizens of Montenegro

25.03.99

Od predsjednika republike SRJ tražim da prekine sa politikom koja dovodi do kolektivnog stradanja nedužnih i koja ugrožava opstanak države. Istovremeno, od međunarodne zajednice zahtijevamo da se uzdrži od novih udara po ciljevima u Crnoj Gori i Jugoslaviji.

I ask the president of FRY to stop with the politics that leads to collective suffering of innocent people and which threatens the country's existence. At the same time we ask from the international community to restrain itself from new strikes on targets in Montenegro and Yugoslavia.

1. Večeras se, na žalost, desilo ono na šta smo mjesecima upozoravali – izvršeni su udari NATO avijacije po vojnim ciljevima u Saveznoj Republici Jugoslaviji.

This evening, unfortunately, that what we have been warning against for months happened– the NATO aviation strikes on military targets in FRY were effectuated.

2. Večeras su NATO bombe pale i na teritoriju Crne Gore.

This evening, the NATO bombs fell also on the Montenegrin territory.

3. U tim napadima stradali su vojni objekti, a na žalost i ljudi.

In those attacks, both military objects, and, unfortunately people suffered.

4. To su tragične posljedice jedne bezumne politike konfrontacije sa cijelim svijetom.

Those are the tragic consequences of an irrational political confrontation with the whole world.

5. Ta politika uvela je našu zemlju u opasnu avanturu čiji su ulog mir i životi građana.

Such politics brought our country into a dangerous adventure with peace and citizens' lives at stake.

6. Ovo je obraćajući se kasno večeras javnosti, istakao Milo Đukanović, predsjednik Republike Crne Gore.

This was emphasized, while addressing the public late yesterday evening by Milo Đukanović, the president of the Republic of Montenegro.

7. Crna Gora, nastavio je predsjednik Đukanović, učinila je sve da spriječi tu samoubilačku avanturu dalekosežnih i nesagledivo štetnih posljedica.

Montenegro, continued president Đukanović, did everything to prevent this suicidal adventure with long reaching and incalculably harmful consequences.

8. Do nje je ipak došlo, bez ikakve krivice Crne Gore.

It happened anyway, without any guilt on the part of Montenegro.

9. Sve ključne faktore u zemlji u međunarodnoj zajednici uporno smo upozoravali da se kosovski problem ne može riješiti bilo čijom silom; pa ni silom međunarodnih vojnih snaga.

We have persistently warned all the key stakeholders in the country and the international community that the Kosovo problem could not be solved by force; not even by the force of the international military forces.

10. Jer, sila neće donijeti mir ni Kosovu, ni Srbiji, ni Jugoslaviji.

Because force will not bring peace neither to Kosovo, nor to Serbia nor to Yugoslavia.

11. Zato apelujem još jednom na sve najodgovornije u zemlji i na međunarodnu zajednicu, da se vrate miroljubivom sporazumu za Kosovo.

Because of that I appeal once again to the most responsible in the country and to the international community, to come back to a peaceful agreement for Kosovo.

12. Naša budućnost nije u sukobljavanju sa cijelim svijetom, i zato tražimo od predsjednika SRJ da prekine sa politikom koja dovodi do kolektivnog stradanja nedužnih i ugrožava opstanak države.

Our future is not in conflict with the whole world, and that is why we are asking from the president of FRY to stop with the politics that leads to the collective suffering of the innocent and threatens the survival of the state.

13. Istovremeno od međunarodne zajednice zahtijevamo da se uzdrži od daljih udara po ciljevima u CG i Jugoslaviji.

At the same time, from the international community we request to constrain themselves from further strikes on the aims in Montenegro and Yugoslavia.

14. Mi se moramo okrenuti miru u zemlji i konsolidaciji odnosa i saradnji sa međunarodnom zajednicom što je naša jedina perspektiva.

We have to turn to peace in the country and the consolidation of relations in cooperation with the international community, which is our only perspective.

15. Tragičan epilog kosovske krize najdirektnije ugrožava i mir u Crnoj Gori, koja je danas jedini glas razuma sa ovih prostora.

The tragic epilog of the Kosovo crisis, most directly threatens the peace in Montenegro, which is today the only voice of reason in this region..

16. To uvažava cijela međunarodna zajednica, ali na žalost zbog pogrešne politike sa vrha savezne države, čiji smo dio, nijesmo pošteđeni vojnih sankcija.

That is taken into consideration by the whole international community, but, unfortunately, because of the wrong politics from the top of the federal government, which we are part of, we are not spared from military sanctions.

17. Na nama je u Crnoj Gori, na svim političkim subjektima, državnim organima, i svim građanima, da očuvamo mir, da obezbijedimo građansku sigurnost i dobre međunacionalne odnose.

It is upon us in Montenegro, upon all political subjects, government organs, and all citizens, to preserve the peace, to ensure citizen safety and good relations between the different nationalities.

18. Državni organi Crne Gore potpuno su spremni da to garantuju i sposobni da se suprotstave svim mogućim provokacijama unutar ili izvan naše Republike.

The government organs of Montenegro are fully ready to guarantee that and capable of resisting all possible provocation from inside and outside of our Republic.

19. Obraćam vam se kao predsjednik svih građana u ovim teškim trenucima iskušenja za Crnu Goru i SRJ, i pozivam na prisebnost i uzdržanost, na mir i slogu, na prevazilaženje svih svađa i podjela, koje su kroz istoriju skupo koštale Crnu Goru.

I address you as the president of all citizens in these difficult moments of trial for Montenegro and FRY, and I am calling upon presence of mind, restraint, peace and unity.

20. U interesu najsvetlijeg cilja – očuvanja Crne Gore i života njenih građana.

In the interest of the brightest aim – the preservation of Montenegro and the lives of its citizens.

21. U ime budućnosti današnjih, i generacija koje će doći.

In the name of the future of today's generations and the generations to come.

22. Pozivam građane Crne Gore sve partije i sve političke subjekte, da ostvarenju tog najvažnijeg i najdragocjenijeg cilja daju svoj maksimalan doprinos.

I call upon all citizens of Montenegro, all parties and all political subjects, to give their maximum contributions to achieve that most important and most precious aim.

23. Ne dozvolite da bilo ko danas okrene Crnogorce jedne protiv drugih, ili protiv bilo koga drugog, da okrene Crnogorce protiv Crne Gore, i da prolivanjem naše krvi namiruje svoje političke račune.

Don't let anybody today turn Montenegrins against each other, or against anybody else, to turn Montenegrins against Montenegro and by spilling our blood pay their own political bills.

24. Poštovani građani bez obzira na težinu situacije, nema mjesta strahu i uznemirenosti.

Respected citizens, no matter how difficult the situation is, there is no place for fear and uneasiness.

25. Demokratska i organizovana Crna Gora sposobna je da pokaže svu svoju snagu i u ovakvim, najtežim iskušenjima.

The democratic and organized Montenegro is capable to show its power even in these most difficult temptations.

26. Savremena Crna Gora spremna je da istorijskom zrelošću i razumom današnjih generacija, kao i snagom svoje države, odgovori na najveće izazove.

The contemporary Montenegro is ready to, with the historical maturity and common sense of today's generations, as well as with the power of its state, answer the biggest challenges.

27. Državno rukovodstvo Crne Gore i u ovim teškim danima biće, kao i do sada, zajedno sa svojim narodom, u stalnoj vezi sa demokratskom javnošću u zemlji, i sa ključnim faktorima međunarodne zajednice.

The state leadership of Montenegro will, in these difficult days, as well as up to now, stay together with its people, in constant connection with the democratic ... in the country, and with the key factors in the international community.

28. Razum, mir i sloga naša su najjača odbrana i zaloga naše sigurne budućnosti, zaključio je predsjednik Republike Crne Gore Milo Đukanović.

Reason, peace and togetherness are our strongest defence and the stake of our secure future, concluded the president of Montenegro – Milo Đukanović.