

SUPREME DEFENCE COUNCIL

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MILITARY SECRET  
STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL

STENOGRAPHIC RECORD

of the 18<sup>th</sup> session

OF THE SUPREME DEFENCE COUNCIL

held on 7 February 1994

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BELGRADE

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of the 18<sup>th</sup> session  
OF THE SUPREME DEFENCE COUNCIL  
HELD ON 7 FEBRUARY 1994

The session began at 1815 hours.

Attending the session: Zoran LILIĆ, President of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and President of the Supreme Defence Council; Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ, President of the Republic of Serbia and Momir BULATOVIĆ, President of the Republic of Montenegro as Council members; Dr. Radoje KONTIĆ, Prime Minister; Pavle BULATOVIĆ, Federal Defence Minister; Lieutenant General Momčilo PERIŠIĆ, Chief of the General Staff of the Yugoslav Army; Nikola ŠAINOVIĆ, Prime Minister of the Republic of Serbia, Milo ĐUKANOVIĆ, Prime Minister of the Republic of Montenegro; and Major General Slavko KRIVOŠIJA, Chief of the Military Office of the President of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

Zoran LILIĆ, President of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, presided over the session.

ZORAN LILIĆ:

I suggest that we begin.

You have received a proposal of the following

A g e n d a

for today's session:

– Adoption of the minutes of the 17<sup>th</sup> session of the Supreme Defence Council.

1. PERSONNEL ISSUES

2. CURRENT ISSUES

I suggest that we discuss, under current issues, the Report on the financing of the Yugoslav Army, a report prepared in great detail by the Ministry of Defence.

We should also review the Draft Law on the Military Prosecutor's Office and, perhaps, the merger of passenger aviation.

Under personnel issues, we can discuss a number of items: the cessation of the professional military service of generals and admirals under the law; promotion to the rank of generals; the deployment of generals; the draft decision in connection with the admission of non-commissioned officers in the Yugoslav Army and the confirmation of the promotion of officers, and a proposal for the selection of military envoys, a question concerning which the minister has certain comments to make.

Are there any objections to the proposed agenda? (There are none).

Are there any objections to the minutes from the 17<sup>th</sup> session of the Supreme Defence Council? (There are none).

I wish to note that the minutes have been adopted.

We shall proceed to the first item of the agenda:

1. PERSONNEL ISSUES

You have before you the proposal by the Chief of the General Staff to pension four generals, with five generals fulfilling the mandatory retirement age, including the Commander of the 1<sup>st</sup> Army, Jevrem COKIĆ. The Chief of the General Staff proposes that his length of service be extended for a specific period of time; I think that accepting this proposal, along with everything that was given here, is not a matter of dispute.

Does the Chief have any additions to make?

MOMČILO PERIŠIĆ:

I have none. All of them reached mandatory retirement age at the end of last year. But since we could not resolve this issue at the end of last year, because the Law went into effect this year, it is indispensable that this now be considered.

None of them can remain in service any longer except on the basis of a special decision by the Supreme Council, especially not in a leadership. If you decide that some of them are to stay, they cannot hold leadership positions. We have proposed that all four should retire, except COKIĆ. We are not proposing that COKIĆ retire because we have no one to replace him, i.e., the Commander of the 1st Army. It would be best if COKIĆ were to remain Commander of the 1<sup>st</sup> Army. But since he cannot hold a leadership position, we would have to replace him and perhaps appoint him as adviser to the Chief of the General Staff.

Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ:

Momo, I am surprised! So we have continued the practice of replacing the Army Commander every three or four months? That's not good. What would happen if a company director were to be replaced every three or four months?

Momčilo PERIŠIĆ:

Mr. President, I am pointing out the legal regulations to you. But if the Supreme Council decides that he should remain Commander of the 1<sup>st</sup> Army, then that would be the best solution.

Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ:

Well, let's leave him there; he should at least put together a year there, in that position.

Momčilo PERIŠIĆ:

That would be best.

Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ:

It would be a good thing if in the future, when solutions are proposed to us, we were to be informed of how long that person can remain in that post under the law – and we won't name those who are supposed to be relieved of duty in several months; especially when positions of such responsibility are in question.

Momčilo PERIŠIĆ:

All right!

Pavle BULATOVIĆ:

I agree that he should remain Commander of the 1<sup>st</sup> Army. If a question were to be raised in the Assembly concerning the interpretation or explanation, then the

Federal Government should provide the interpretation, because the law says “in positions of leadership”; we could provide the interpretation that this is command duty. The deputies insisted that the provision “not in leadership positions” be included primarily because of the VMA /?Military Medical Academy/.

Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ:

So they're regulating the Law on the Army because of the VMA? Non-military components in the Army, and they're arranging the Law on the Army according to them?

Zoran LILIĆ:

The other thing that is also illogical – he can be the deputy Chief of the General Staff, but he can't be Army Commander?

Momčilo PERIŠIĆ:

I have to inform you of the legal regulations, but you're the one who decides. If you decide that he should be the Commander of the 1<sup>st</sup> Army, then that's the best solution.

Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ:

I think he should remain Army Commander. We should have an internal agreement here not to appoint individuals to such important functions for short periods of time.

Second, I think that we should apply provisions of mandatory retirement when they actually retire, as soon as they hand over their duties, instead of adopting a

decision to terminate active military duty now and then say: "His mandatory retirement is on 31 December," and then he spends a year preparing to leave. This demotivates a person, and on the other hand we don't have the appropriate number of positions filled.

Momčilo PERIŠIĆ:

Mr. President, if we now decide that their service is to cease now, while they have fulfilled the conditions for mandatory retirement at the end of the past year, they will leave as soon as they hand over their duties. So no one is holding them back.

Zoran LILIĆ:

Can we reach the following conclusion:

We accept this proposal, but Jevrem COKIĆ will continue to perform the duty of Commander of the 1<sup>st</sup> Army? (Approval).

I also propose another conclusion:

In the future, when we appoint commanders, we should be careful to ensure continuity and a reasonable period of time in which they can accomplish something.

Momir BULATOVIĆ:

The same thing applies for ISAKOVIĆ.

Zoran LILIĆ:

Absolutely, because we appointed him two months ago.

Momčilo PERIŠIĆ:

The same thing applies for ISAKOVIĆ.

It is my responsibility to say how things stand under the law, but in view of their status, both of them can stay longer if they are promoted to higher rank. This has been limited by the new law: one can be a colonel for so many years, a major general for so many years, and a lieutenant general for so many years.

Momir BULATOVIĆ:

If we promote COKIĆ, how much longer can he serve?

Slavko KRIVOŠIJA:

He can't stay – a colonel general, and he's sixty.

Momčilo PERIŠIĆ:

He can't stay on because he has fulfilled both conditions.

Zoran LILIĆ:

But ISAKOVIĆ could stay on if we promoted him?

Momčilo PERIŠIĆ:

Yes.

Momir BULATOVIĆ:

I have no reason to insist. But COKIĆ and ISAKOVIĆ are in the same situation.

If we let COKIĆ stay on, how much longer can he remain in that position?



Momčilo PERIŠIĆ:

He can stay a year longer – until the end of the year.

Zoran LILIĆ:

Momo, have I understood you well – you are suggesting that both COKIĆ and ISAKOVIĆ stay on?

Momir BULATOVIĆ:

I am not proposing this; I have no reason and I haven't been following things. Are you satisfied with them?

Momčilo PERIŠIĆ:

COKIĆ's situation is specific, because we don't have a real candidate for the 1<sup>st</sup> Army, and we have ZEC in the Navy, but we wouldn't lose much there.

Zoran LILIĆ:

So the conclusion is that Jevrem COKIĆ should continue to perform the duty of Commander of the 1<sup>st</sup> Army while the others should be pensioned?

(Approval).

The promotion to the rank of general is next. Do you have any proposals?

It is proposed that major generals Vuleta VULETIĆ and Mićo DELIĆ be promoted to the rank of lieutenant general. I don't think this is contentious. There is also a proposal to promote colonels Dušan ZORIĆ, Slobodan KOVAČEVIĆ, Ratomir

RISTIĆ, Dr. Milorad OBRADOVIĆ and Borivoje JOVANOVIĆ to the rank of major generals. This is the proposal of the Chief of the General Staff.

I think we can accept this.

Radoje KONTIĆ:

I'd like to ask a question: why don't we have a single colonel general?

Zoran LILIĆ:

I think it would be best if we were to promote the Chief of the General Staff, but it is his personal wish that we not do this.

Radoje KONTIĆ:

The personal wishes of others are of no importance to me – I think that we should have at least one colonel general in the Army to “swear by”.

Momčilo PERIŠIĆ:

We were thinking that MANDARIĆ and POLIĆ who are going to retire could be granted the rank of colonel general after retirement. This would be very good because of the two of them but it would be very detrimental since we didn't promote the others in December.

Secondly, I want to ask you not to promote me before 1 June, until we see whether this programme of ours will succeed – whether the Army will be transformed. I think that we have to have justification for promoting someone, but the conditions have not been fulfilled; this would be an exceptional promotion.

What I am proposing would be an exceptional promotion.

Zoran LILIĆ:

I accept this explanation by General PERIŠIĆ.

Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ:

I don't think that's right. Momo, tell me what this is about. So you're waiting to see if we're going to go down the drain and so we should promote you if we're sure that we won't go down the drain? (Laughter).

Momčilo PERIŠIĆ:

General COKIĆ fulfils the necessary conditions and he too can be promoted. If you go down this path, it'll turn out that we have incredibly high inflation but that we're promoting generals. This can have a highly adverse impact on the people. That's why I think that it would be better if we were to leave this subject and not discuss it now. We'll have promotions on Army Day and on 31 December.

Zoran LILIĆ:

Momo, do you agree that we promote General PERIŠIĆ?

Momir BULATOVIĆ:

I agree!

Zoran LILIĆ:

So, Lieutenant General Momčilo PERIŠIĆ is to be promoted to Colonel General; Vuleta VULETIĆ and Mića DELIĆ to the rank of lieutenant generals, and everything else as written here.

Momčilo PERIŠIĆ:

If you allow me to say so, I think that COKIĆ, too, should be promoted, because he fought, he was wounded in the war.

Zoran LILIĆ:

Then that would be an exceptional promotion.

Radoje KONTIĆ:

He's the Chief of the Army, after all.

Zoran LILIĆ:

I think that this can wait until June, until Army Day.

Do you agree? (Agreement).

So, we're done with this sub-item.

As far as the deployment of generals is concerned, the only contentious question was that of army commanders. But we agreed on this when we discussed the previous item. When the 1<sup>st</sup> Army is in question, the proposal that Jevrem COKIĆ be replaced by Mile MRKŠIĆ has been dropped.

Momčilo PERIŠIĆ:

New appointments have to be made, because organisational and establishment changes have been made. Every decree must be verified at the Supreme Defence Council. That is why such a big list has been given. If you agree, then there would just be a replacement: Jevrem COKIĆ would remain Commander of the 1<sup>st</sup> Army and Mile MRKŠIĆ would be the deputy instead of him /as printed/. Everything else would stay the same.

Momir BULATOVIĆ:

On page 3: "Sector for the Navy, Dušan RAKIĆ, Rear Admiral." Is this the Minister of Defence of the Republic of Serbian Krajina?

Momčilo PERIŠIĆ:

Yes. I've spoken with them. They told me they're not counting on him as a minister in the New Government and we're required to keep his place, because he hasn't fulfilled the necessary conditions for retirement.

Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ:

All of this is not very serious.

Momir BULATOVIĆ:

You know why we removed him from that position, and now we're bringing him back?!

Momčilo PERIŠIĆ:

We can find another person; that's not a problem at all. But I don't know what they will do in the Republic of Serbian Krajina.

Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ:

But this is irresponsible on their part. In Geneva TUDMAN is protesting to the co-chairman about how we're involved in the war, how we're putting active admirals, and so forth. We're supposed to "swallow" all this, to provide them with an active officer with the rank of general, so that after three months they can say: "We were joking, we don't think he's suitable," whereas they had been asked ten times about the matter. They chose him, they asked for him, and now they're saying that they're not counting on him!

Momir BULATOVIĆ:

Precisely because of what TUDMAN is saying, we cannot bring him back here. That's the price that must be paid.

Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ:

I can't believe that people can act in so irresponsibly!

Momčilo PERIŠIĆ:

In that case, the best thing would be if, according to the principle applied to COKIĆ, we left ISAKOVIĆ as Commander of the Navy, and if we replaced RAKIĆ with ZEC as Assistant for the Navy.

Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ:

Who told you this about RAKIĆ, Momo?

Momčilo PERIŠIĆ:

I spoke with Mile NOVAKOVIĆ. I spoke with BJEGOVIĆ. They said they're not counting on him as the new minister. I didn't have a chance to speak with MARTIĆ – his word will be decisive, that's certain. But we have an alternative here – we would put ZEC there, and ISAKOVIĆ would stay down there, because we lack this kind of personnel.

Momir BULATOVIĆ:

I spoke with Vojo ŠEŠELJ on Saturday. I asked him what they were thinking over there – while they were arguing among themselves about who would be the prime minister elect and so on, because while they're arguing, TUĐMAN can waltz into Knin. He says: "I know that, but that's for them to worry about." I asked him what his plan was and he said: "Now we're going to bring down this prime minister elect and then the next prime minister elect until Milan BABIĆ becomes the prime minister elect."

So RAKIĆ can stay there, and we'll leave ISAKOVIĆ.

Zoran LILIĆ:

So ISAKOVIĆ should be exempted from the previous decision?

Momčilo PERIŠIĆ:

Let's leave ISAKOVIĆ as the Commander of the Navy, according to the same principle applied for COKIĆ.



Zoran LILIĆ:

All right, do you agree with this? (Agreement).

So, ZEC instead of RAKIĆ. ISAKOVIĆ will remain what he was.

Momčilo PERIŠIĆ:

All right. The position of Chief of the Civil Defence Administration in the Ministry still remains vacant. I spoke with the Minister; he's still "agonising" whether to be a serviceman or a civilian. We now have no adequate serviceman. Everything else will remain according to the solutions we have so far.

You should sign all these decrees for all the positions.

Pavle BULATOVIĆ:

I wish to ask the Supreme Council for its views with respect to the Chief of the Sector for Civilian Defence. We think that this should be a civilian; personally, I don't have a solution, but I think it would be natural if it were a civilian, while there should be a serviceman in the Administration for Defensive Preparations within that Sector, that is, the Chief of that Administration.

Momčilo PERIŠIĆ:

Since the Government decides on the structure of the Federal Ministry of Defence, it would be good if this were to be prepared – the Minister and I have discussed this – so that we could present the outline at the Supreme Council and then the Government could discuss it.



Zoran LILIĆ:

I think that we can adopt this conclusion.

Momo, can we accept the overview of the deployment of generals, and this conclusion that the Minister and Chief of the General Staff are being charged with preparing this? (Agreement).

Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ:

I suggest for practical reasons that only changes be given in the future. It makes no sense for us to go over the whole lists.

Momčilo PERIŠIĆ:

But we have to do it that way, because the President has to sign all the decrees because of the changes in the organisational and establishment structure. This is purely formal, but without your decision, I don't have the right to take them to the President to sign.

Radoje KONTIĆ:

In connection with the promotion of generals, I wish to ask a question relating to Branko BILBIJA, Director of the Federal Flight Control Administration. During the flight controllers' strike, he demonstrated that he was very professional, capable and constructive. He is a colonel – what's that? Is that a promotion to the rank of general?

Momčilo PERIŠIĆ:

No, it's only an appointment, but he has not fulfilled the conditions. We will make a proposal on /?1 June/.

Radoje KONTIĆ:

He brought the flight controllers into line; the strike wouldn't have ended the way it did without him. We must give credit where credit's due.

Zoran LILIĆ:

All right, we're moving on to the following sub-item:

DRAFT DECISIONS ON ADMITTING NON-COMMISSIONED OFFICERS INTO THE YUGOSLAV ARMY AND THE CONFIRMATION OF PROMOTED NON-COMMISSIONED OFFICERS TO THE RANK OF OFFICERS

*Momo, can you explain this, please?*

Momčilo PERIŠIĆ:

Because of their wartime needs of Republika Srpska and the Republic of Serbian Krajina, they have established a School for Non-Commissioned Officers. 94 officers completed the school from Republika Srpska and 41 from the Army of the Republic of Serbian Krajina.

We now need to verify that they are being accepted like all other active personnel into the military service of the Yugoslav Army, but there like other active personnel on the territory of Republika Srpska and the Republic of Serbian Krajina.

At the same time, this means that we are encumbering the budget and that we are paying their salaries just like here.

So, we are putting them in the same position as other active officers over there. If we don't accept this, then those forces will be polarised, in addition to the existing polarisations that are being carried out by ŠEŠELJ and others.1

Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ:

Having heard General PERIŠIĆ's explanation, I think this question is much more serious. This is a question which requires us to speak with them and see what this is about.

Momčilo PERIŠIĆ:

They graduated from the school and were promoted to certain ranks. Since they have not developed all the functions of the state and army to a true extent, they are still relying on us in many things, and in this matter as well. You know that we have verified their ranks of generals and appointments. This is not a matter of anyone's jurisdiction other than the Supreme Defence Council. The Council decides on the act of promotion to active officers.

Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ:

This is unclear to me formally. I am interested in that other matter you spoke about a while ago: the polarisation between them, the polarisation being created by ŠEŠELJ and others.

Momčilo PERIŠIĆ:

This is what's happening, Mr. President; maybe I should put together a more extensive report. There are people over there on whom BABIĆ has great influence. In general, he persecutes all the active officers over there; there have even been some contract killings; we have information that a contract on a killing and that the man was liquidated. They have divided themselves over there into officers – excuse the expression, “commies”, which means members of the former JNA /Yugoslav People's Army/ and officers they have promoted. It is the wish of the current leadership to have them have equal treatment, to avoid that tendency.

Zoran LILIĆ:

I suggest that we postpone this item, that they be spoken to and that a more thorough report be prepared.

Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ:

They need to give us a more thorough report on this.

Zoran LILIĆ:

All right, let's move on.

#### PROPOSAL FOR THE SELECTION OF MILITARY ENVOYS:

You know that at the Supreme Defence Council we concluded that we should get proposals in the future and that the Supreme Defence Council should give its views on future military envoys.

Momčilo PERIŠIĆ:

We have a proposal here for six countries.

In the meantime, we are abandoning two proposals, and that's where we must look for others; this pertains to POKRAJAC for Italy and DREKIĆ for Cairo. We have dropped him because we discovered, when we verified the information subsequently, that his wife is not qualified for such an important position. You know that military envoys have to be married and that their wives have to accompany them; they have to speak a foreign language and possess certain qualities.

We will stick to the other proposals.

As far as Italy and Cairo are concerned, we will prepare this for the forthcoming session.

Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ:

I don't know a single candidate; I assume the Chief of the General Staff has thought about this at length.

Momčilo PERIŠIĆ:

I'd like to inform you that we chose NEŠIĆ for the United States before we took the decision that military envoys should be selected on this level. We sent him to the United States, since we had to replace the military envoy there. He did not go through this procedure, because he was chosen before the decision on this mode of selection was made at the Supreme Defence Council.

Pavle BULATOVIĆ:

I'd like to say something about procedure. Had we abided by the suggestion of the Supreme Council to do this together, we would not now be in a position to eliminate these two persons; we would have done it while working together and drawing up proposals.

I think that it would be good if we had an overall report about the officer corps from which the military envoys are being recruited. Most of them here are from the Administration for Intelligence. I don't think they don't necessarily have to be from that Administration.

Momir BULATOVIĆ:

A lot of people here speak a lot of languages. What has been done to confirm that they know the languages in question?

Momčilo PERIŠIĆ:

They have to have finished the second level and validation was done in a civilian foreign language school.

Momir BULATOVIĆ:

I don't know – what kind of a classification is the “second level”?

Zoran LILIĆ:

That's the “advanced second level”; that's approximately the sixth or seventh in a row.

Momir BULATOVIĆ:

I would suggest that they take the exams of our Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs and have level VII, like all our diplomats who go over there, especially when someone is being sent to such an important country like Italy; you don't need English much there.

I have an unverified report that most of them have some kind of internal language certificates. I don't think we should be sending people over there who are going to learn the language there.

Momčilo PERIŠIĆ:

All these candidates know these languages: they write, translate and speak these languages. The condition is that they have to know the language of the countries they're going to, and then they can have a second language. For example, someone cannot go to Italy as a military envoy without knowing Italian.;

Momir BULATOVIĆ:

The candidate proposed does not speak Italian!

Momčilo PERIŠIĆ:

In addition to other reasons, this is why we rejected him.

Momir BULATOVIĆ:

How urgently do those people have to go there? Are those positions vacant?

Momčilo PERIŠIĆ:

The positions are not vacant; we are replacing military envoys because they have not satisfied the requirements in their posts. We have replaced the envoy in Great Britain and have sent another one. This was also the case with the United States. We also wanted to change the envoy in Hungary but you intervened to have us let him stay on.

Zoran LILIĆ:

They say that the envoy in Hungary is very apt.

Momčilo PERIŠIĆ:

When you reach a decision on this issue, then a visa and the rest are requested. This is a procedure that lasts from one to three months.

Pavle BULATOVIĆ:

Do they too have to get accreditation from the country they're going to?

Momčilo PERIŠIĆ:

Yes. We had problems with the envoy in the United States. We wanted to threaten them with reciprocity – to send their envoy back, but in the end they granted a visa.

Zoran LILIĆ:

Is the proposal given by the chief accepted, or do we need a more detailed report?

I know just one man from this list.



Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ:

It's not up to us to know them; that's not the criterion. That's done by the service of the Chief of the General Staff.

Zoran LILIĆ:

I think that the procedure should be abided by when the Federal Ministry is in question, in view of the decision we adopted here.

I suggest that we now accept this, along with the explanation of the Chief of the General Staff, in view of the importance of their appointment.

Do you agree? (Agreement).

But DREKIĆ, who was supposed to go to Cairo, and POKRAJAC who was supposed to go to Italy, should be taken off the list.

So we have decided this.

With this we're finished with personnel questions.

Let us proceed to

#### CURRENT ISSUES

Momir BULATOVIĆ:

I'd like to suggest two subjects to be discussed under current issues. We began discussing one of them a while back – the report on the current course of mobilisation for the needs of Republika Srpska and the Republic of Serbian Krajina.

The other subject is the involvement of the Yugoslav Army in the former Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Zoran LILIĆ:

All right, the first item under current issues is the

**FINANCING OF THE YUGOSLAV ARMY.**

You have received the report. I give the floor to Minister BULATOVIĆ.

Pavle BULATOVIĆ:

We have discussed this several times. A comprehensive report was requested about the manner and problems of financing the Yugoslav Army.

We tried to provide the relevant information here which reflects those problems and the current situation.

You know that on the basis of a decision of the Federal Government, the percentage of the military budget for 1994 has been set at 7.43% or 743,000,000 dollars. According to the assessment of the General Staff, this is below the minimum of funds needed to survive, because a percentage of 8.5, or 851,000,000 dollars, was requested.

We have provided here unpaid obligations from 1993 which will encumber the budget for 1994. We have also provided some facts which indicate what will be withheld in meeting the needs of the Army in the course of 1994.

The Federal Government assessed all these problems and concluded that a greater amount could not be allocated. The economic programme envisaged even stronger restrictions, with 6% participation or 600,000,000 dollars.

In those three variants they also anticipated that the number of Yugoslav Army members should be reduced to approximately 70,000. Now the Supreme Council must decide whether the absolute replenishment of the Yugoslav Army according to the first variant of 138,000 Army members can be undertaken.

We also gave an overview of the income of the Army – salaries and military pensions for 1993 and surveys for December 1993 – the last quarter, when salaries began to be calculated in new dinars for active military personnel, retired personnel and a parallel overview of salaries in the federal administration according to specific categories.

The suggestions of the Supreme Council for another way to be found to express the costs of the military budget, to relocate this to certain other users, have proved to be unrealisable now because of certain legal decisions and a series of technical problems.

One of the technical problems is the following, for example. If we were to give a contribution for health to the Federal Minister for Labour and Health, then he would be, at the same time, the person of authority issuing orders to this fund within the Army, which would be difficult to carry out. But the working conclusion of the Government is to attempt to unify together with the republics, in view of the uneven pension and health legislations in the republics. If there is a unified pension and disability fund on the level of the federal state, then the question would arise of transforming the military retirement fund and the health insurance funds.

We have excluded here contributions for health and pension insurance which, in the first proposal of the budget, were actually calculated twice: once as cost, and the other time as income. It was shown that only 15% of the overall necessary pension fund for the given year is financed by the contribution for retirement insurance. In the health field, that percentage is around 10%. That's because soldiers and recruits use health services without paying health contributions; that's why the discrepancy is there. We have reduced the requests to finance military pensions and requests for Army logistical support by these amounts.

That's all I wanted to say.

Radoje KONTIĆ:

Mr. President, the problem is highly complex.

I'd like to start with what is envisaged in the Programme which we accepted jointly and which you, as members of the Supreme Defence Council and Government, accepted individually. The Programme states that for 1994, the Yugoslav Army will be financed with 6% of the public revenue or with 600,000,000 dollars. This material which represents a basis for the reconstruction of the monetary system and the recovery of the economy states that the maximum number of members the Yugoslav Army can have in this year is 102,000. That's the maximum variant. The optimal variant according to the Programme, with 600,000,000, is 72,000 members. That's according to the Programme.

The Federal Government has exerted the maximum possible effort and of the 9.85% allocated to the federal budget on the basis of a consolidated budget, we gave the Yugoslav Army 7.43%. This means that 2.42% remains for all other needs. These 2.42% include protection for veterans and disabled persons which accounts for

around 1.5% and the federal administration which accounts for slightly over 1%. Protection for veterans and disabled persons has been regulated under the law and therefore we cannot reduce it. The 1% used to finance the federal administration could perhaps be reviewed.

Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ:

In objective terms, financing according to this proposal is much better than it was last year.

Radoje KONTIĆ:

Yes, but they used reserves. That's true as far as budgetary resources are concerned – budgetary resources were less at the time, but reserves were spent. From that standpoint, the situation is worse than last year. This means that we have no chance of increasing revenue to finance the Army.

Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ:

That's according to the economic programme. If the economic programme is successful, then this will be possible in the middle of the year.

Radoje KONTIĆ:

First things first! If it turns out that we're more successful than we anticipate, and that could happen, then that's another matter.

However, we cannot wait to see whether the programme will be successful or not. Instead, we have to decide whether we're in favour of increasing manpower, to put it bluntly, or whether to build up weapons and military equipment. Because both

cannot be done with these 7.43%. We already have obligations carried over from the past year in the amount of 180,000,000 dinars, while we planned only 127 for this year; this means that we don't have the amount we planned to cover our obligations. This means that in this year, we cannot order any new weapons or military equipment.

Manpower constitutes the second problem. The engagement, due to the reduced number of recruits, of slightly over 130,000 members of the Yugoslav Army is being considered here. Don't forget, we have now gotten 2,500 from the republics and this represents a new burden. That's something new which now belongs to the Yugoslav Army.

So we are anticipating the engagement of 5,000 or, in comparison with last year's average, 7,000 new professional soldiers. We are also anticipating 27,000 from the reserves, and these are enormous resources.

The question that comes up now is what is more important for the country's security – whether to reduce manpower or to augment military resources – weapons, military equipment and reserves. Because both cannot be done.

Third, the Supreme Council decided last year to purchase imports at a value of 73,000,000 dollars – kerosene, diesel fuel, military equipment and so forth. We have concluded all these agreements. Unfortunately, we don't have the hard currency at this moment because we have used them as a portfolio for the issue of the new dinar.

What we were able to do in the first quarter, we have already done – those 6.6 million dollars which have now been allocated for special purposes come from the 20,000,000 million dollars we have as expenditures for the first quarter for medication, energy sources and so on – we have set this aside and given it to the Yugoslav Army. We have neither dinars nor hard currency in the budget, and there is no hard currency in the National Bank of Yugoslavia which we could buy.

As far as financing apartments is concerned, I don't believe this represents a major problem. You have two items there – 50,000,000 dollars and following the transformation of the Army, 33,000,000 million dollars; that's 88,000,000 million dollars for apartments. I don't think that this is a problem of such urgency, even though I understand the situation regarding apartments.

You should know, however, that what we're doing is not in line with the law. According to the law adopted in the middle of last year, we can only finance apartments given on the basis of official positions, and we can only /finance/ everything else to the extent in which we increase revenue from apartment sales and rentals.

It's a good thing that two republican prime ministers are here. Two things are being proposed which exclusively fall within their jurisdiction, that is, the jurisdiction of the Assembly. That's item 11 – the proposal that funds for contributions and taxes on the salaries of Army employees be excluded from funds which are to be allocated to the Army of Yugoslavia for the payment of salaries, and that the taxes and contributions which the Yugoslav Army is supposed to pay are planned in the federal budget and paid out directly from the budget to the appropriate funds. This is considered unfeasible within the framework of existing republican laws and sub-laws because the matter is regulated in them.

The proposal in continuation is as follows: "In order to achieve this, it is indispensable that the republican assemblies and Federal Assembly" – the Federal Assembly has nothing to do with this – "adopt the appropriate changes in the law regulating allocations for contributions and taxes on employee salaries."

As far as contributions are concerned, I already know that this is not possible, and as far as taxes on the republican budgets are concerned, it would probably be possible, but, again, this would be “robbing Peter to pay Paul”.

The last question which is a major one and which completely upsets this balance is the question of excise duty on the import of petroleum products. The Army has never paid either sales tax or excise duty. Since the Yugoslav Army has large quantities of diesel fuel and kerosene, and this is 100%, this means that everything that will be imported is lacking in this balance of 743,000,000 dollars – the excise duty needed for payment is lacking. Quite simply, this is a tax on the budget. This means that the other items in the budget can be reduced by so much. I’m sorry but excise duty has not been introduced for petroleum products in Montenegro; it just exists in Serbia.

In conclusion, General, I don’t see how the Army will give me 15,000,000 of diesel and a thousand tons of food back. This, again, is “robbing Peter to pay Paul”, because I would have to secure those funds in the budget and then give them. My suggestion is that a “red line” be drawn there and that this be written off for the Yugoslav Army.

So, there is no chance of increasing resources – maybe for some small items – but there can be no major increases.

Thank you.

Pavle BULATOVIĆ:

Item 11 is presented here only in the sense of reducing the dimensions of the military budget.



Radoje KONTIĆ:

Not here but there.

Momčilo PERIŠIĆ:

With respect to the number of Army members, the anticipated number of 124,000 has been adopted at one of the sessions of the Supreme Defence Council. At this moment we don't have that number nor will we have it this year. We will have it only when we take in the anticipated number of soldiers under contract and if recruits come in according to the natural inflow of recruits. Essentially, we have no more than 100,000 in the Yugoslav Army.

But the officers in Republika Srpska and the Republic of Serbian Krajina should be added to this number, because a decision has been made to pay them. Those coming from the republican ministries to the Federal Ministry of Defence should also be added. However, they are not in the Yugoslav Army. When I told you what the number of soldiers was, I did not include the Federal Ministry.

The question of equipment is next. We calculated that there should be compensation for this equipment – what we give for equipment which is imported means that we will manufacture that much less of the equipment planned; this, too, has been calculated.

We wanted to undertake the minimal renewal of reserves. I have to make a small digression on the subject of reserves. Our reserves are minimal. If we decide not to opt for an increase but for the status quo to remain, we cannot give anyone anything – not a single bullet outside the Yugoslav Army, because then we will find ourselves in an inferior position and not be able to do anything.

The question of apartments. Those who have lost the most defending what we have are in a completely unenviable position. Those men don't have apartments here – they either live in the barracks, have a landlord or pay over 60% of their income for an apartment. If we cut off what we have set aside for apartments, this will mean that they will have no prospects. We have really brought them, in comparison with other officers who weren't there, to a position from which there is absolutely no way out. This can have deeply negative repercussions as far as the overall situation is concerned.

We just did something symbolic – 400 apartments under construction are to be finished and 500 new apartments are to be built.

Radoje KONTIĆ:

That's a total of 83,000,000 dollars! I am not proposing that this be reduced; I just say that this figure should not be underestimated.

Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ:

I think that it is difficult to discuss this question under current issues. Twenty per cent of the budget is used to cover obligations deriving from 1993; 15% of the budget is used for apartments; so that's 35%. 65% of the budget remains for the Army. The question is what kind of a structure is this and what, in fact, can be done here?

The question of the 5,000 soldiers under contract and the 27,000 reservists is a major one. That's 32,000 soldiers.

We need to have a serious report on how this group of soldiers under contract is behaving within the Army – is this a positive experience, what kind of an

experience is it, what your assessments are, and so on. There is a series of questions there. We should analyse that structure – are there fluctuations – some come and some go; how is this regulated? That's a lot of questions, all together. When I saw that these were current issues, I understood that this was an interim report. Actually, this is not an interim report, this means opening up all essential questions. We would have to consider this very, very carefully.

Momir BULATOVIĆ:

I understood this material as a somewhat belated response to that huge number of questions we have posed so far, and which we are now placing under current issues. These are dilemmas we continually contend with. General PERIŠIĆ is right to remind us of some of our earlier commitments. Likewise, KONTIĆ, too, is right when he says that we now live in a changed reality.

I think that this should remain the subject of our wholehearted engagement and work. I think that it will be very difficult to adopt specific conclusions today. But I think that an active attitude by the Ministry of National Defence regarding these issues is desirable.

On the other hand, just as we concluded with regard to the first item with which we began our consultations – we have to defend the Programme. On the other hand, we have to have an army to defend us. That's easy to say, but the difficult part is to reconcile the two. I think that this is the very reason why we have a General Staff and a Ministry of National Defence and a Federal Government.

I think that as the Supreme Defence Council we cannot consider subtleties and technical details, but let's resolve this dilemma which KONTIĆ has now indicated and that is whether we will go ahead and accept 30,000 reservists within the

framework of the funds we have at our disposal or will we say – let them stay at home so that we can save money to buy the military equipment we need and fill our reserves.

Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ:

Yes, will we resolve the question of apartments by putting money into the military budget to purchase apartments or will we levy a tax in the municipalities to see how a certain number of apartments can be obtained for the army. We are in a situation that all this will encumber the military budget and that /?we push/ for some kind of a peacetime option, but then we will put them in a situation in which they will be “ripped off” and not have anything to organise the army with. There are other ways there too; there’s something that’s provisional – let’s see what this is.

Second, do we have to place all the obligations from last year in this military budget at their expense or can this be dealt with in another manner?

Momir BULATOVIĆ:

You must pay the economy!

Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ:

All right, it’s not a matter of contention whether to pay the economy; instead, can we pile all this onto this military budget?

Zoran ILIĆ:

In preparing this material, we agreed to principally bring up those problems we discussed during the last two or three Council meetings and that we would adopt

the appropriate conclusions today as to how to prepare the best possible replies to each of these items and to consider, in this respect, the most rational thing that needs to be done and, also, decide on how to maintain the level of combat readiness – whether by engaging manpower as discussed by KONTIĆ or by renewing our weapons and military equipment. We have to take into account the fact that if we do not renew our military equipment, we will have a huge number of economic facilities which will not be working.

I therefore think that the most logical thing is to adopt a conclusion stating that we have acquainted ourselves with the report; that the Federal Ministry of Defence and the General Staff of the Yugoslav Army prepare and propose the most rational way of spending money and that we review the answers to all these questions. We should devote a whole session of the Supreme Defence Council to this subject with all the necessary analyses – an explanation should be given concerning the behaviour of professional soldiers, the way in which they are selected, the engagement of reservists and their overall cost in the Yugoslav Army. Let's see what is the most rational and, at the same time, the most efficient way to maintain the level of combat readiness. It's difficult here to give an answer to all of the twelve or thirteen problems set out here which are present in our daily life.

Momir BULATOVIĆ:

That's right! When you add it up, it's more than this number, but we cannot give more than that.

Zoran LILIĆ:

And we have the decision which we adopted earlier that we will do everything to implement this programme.

Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ:

We cannot adopt decisions which clash. If we do so, we are not being serious.

Zoran ILIĆ:

So, can we conclude as stated above?

Radoje KONTIĆ:

I want you to understand that these two matters are very urgent – 70,000,000 dollars approved by the Supreme Defence Council to import equipment last year which we now don't have in the portfolio, so we have to slow down, because we have already given 7,000,000 dollars.

Zoran LILIĆ:

It's not possible to ask the Supreme Defence Council to adopt decisions of this kind.

Radoje KONTIĆ:

Imports should be slowed down; there is a Council decision for imports in the amount of 70,000,000 dollars but we don't have the 70,000,000; imports should be slowed down until the Council reviews this.

Second, the excise duty on imports of petroleum products is disastrous for the budget.

Nikola ŠAINOVIĆ:

All the republican regulations and these changes which are emerging now must now be allowed to worsen the Army's position. Therefore, we will carry out the necessary adjustments as we go along and this will not be a problem.

Since we are all exerting great efforts to maintain security and defence, joint solutions should be found to preserve the most vital aspects of our defence.

Pavle BULATOVIĆ:

This means this figure is constant?

Radoje KONTIĆ:

Yes, the figure of 743,000,000 is constant.

Zoran LILIĆ:

The only thing that should be attempted is to ensure that what has been approved is actively funnelled where it's supposed to go.

Radoje KONTIĆ:

All right, we can talk about the dynamics.

Momčilo PERIŠIĆ:

As long as we're talking about dynamics, we already owe 32,000,000 dinars.

Zoran LILIĆ:

Momo, let's Raja, Pavle, you and I see to this matter so that we don't have to take up time here at this meeting.

Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ:

How many apartments did you plan to buy?

Momčilo PERIŠIĆ:

We want to buy 400 and to complete 500 with respect to which the construction phase is 30 to 90% complete. We have 18,000 people without homes.

Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ:

Give us some kind of an overview so that we can see for which garrisons those 400 apartments have to be bought and at which locations, so that we can see whether we can give some kind of tax on the municipalities; at least part of it so that we can reduce the military budget.

Momir BULATOVIĆ:

A simpler system is to take the total surface in square metres of the apartments which are military property, even those that have been purchased, and then we can see. I am thinking of my parents' situation: my mother and father are living in a 100 square metre apartment; what do they need a 100 square metre apartment for?

Momčilo PERIŠIĆ:



In retrospect, there have been many drawbacks. There are 3,500 apartments which have been appropriated; they cannot be recovered without using force, and you know what that means.

Momir BULATOVIĆ:

You can work out an incentives model and say, for instance: whoever is in an apartment which exceeds the needs of his household can get 5,000 dinars and a smaller apartment. A large number of pensioners would take it.

Momčilo PERIŠIĆ:

We could do that, if the whole of society were to go in this direction.

Zoran LILIĆ:

I suggest that these questions regarding apartments be prepared analytically, and then we can talk about this separately.

Let's move on:

## LAW ON MILITARY COURTS AND THE MILITARY PROSECUTOR'S OFFICE

Pavle, go ahead.

Pavle BULATOVIĆ:

We have already discussed this at one of the sessions of the Supreme Council. The basic dilemma remains – the location of military courts, that is, the military prosecutor's office and the work of the court administration: will it be related to the General Staff or to the Ministry of Defence?

We have prepared a draft of both laws. It was being worked on by the government; the working bodies and Federal Government were reviewing it. It was concluded that it should be a working text because the General Staff had reservations about the prosecutor's office and military courts being connected to the General Staff of the Yugoslav Army.

The government has concluded that it will also seek the views of the Federal Legal Council. They have reviewed it – we have submitted their views to you. The working conclusion of the government was that the position of the Supreme Defence Council should be sought about this question.

The Ministry and I have taken the position that this should be connected to the Ministry of Defence. There are arguments both in favour and against, but I am convinced that there are more arguments in favour.

I'm also afraid that when the bill comes before the Assembly tomorrow, the decision to connect it to the General Staff may provoke additional discussion and make the adoption of the laws conditional.

Once when we had a discussion between the Ministry and the General Staff, I said that this wasn't the only question which was controversial with respect to the jurisdiction of the General Staff and the Ministry of Defence. In those areas where we failed to adjust our views, we presented those questions and asked for your position and decision.

Zoran LILIĆ:

It would be best if you were to adjust views.

Momčilo PERIŠIĆ:

In all armies in the world, military courts are part of the army of the given country.

Second, the President of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia as the supreme commander appoints the judges of military courts and military prosecutors.

Furthermore, the judges and prosecutors are officers and non-commissioned officers.

The courts and prosecutors' offices are an integral part of the organisational and establishment structure of the wartime army. I don't see a single sound reason why this should be outside the Yugoslav Army. I personally think and it would be far easier for me if this were outside the General Staff, because then a series of scandals that have taken place so far could be ascribed to other organs.

It is illogical that this should be outside the army; this would be a precedent in the world.

Radoje KONTIĆ:

It's not a precedent – there are so many examples.

Pavle BULATOVIĆ:

There are even examples that regular courts adjudicate such matters.

Radoje KONTIĆ:

There are both kinds of solutions in the world.

Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ:

I suggest that they review this carefully. As far as I'm concerned, General PERIŠIĆ's arguments appear quite convincing to me and logical, too – that military courts should be part of the Army and not part of a civilian administration organ. They are appointed by the Supreme Commander, they try army cases; this is logical, because they are the army and they are part of the wartime army in every variant. That's the logic of things. Lawyers can explain whatever they want, but I think it is unnatural that military courts should be part of civilian organs. But let them think, let them review both experiences, and then we can judge what kind of decision we should make. To tell you the truth, I didn't even know that the question was controversial.

Momčilo PERIŠIĆ:

The biggest problems concerning this are in Republika Srpska and the Republic of Serbian Krajina because they don't have organised prosecutors' offices at all. Why? They don't have them, because they have gone through a transformation – the JNA has left, and they have not constituted themselves and now they have terrible problems, and there is a war underway. Now they don't have a chance to establish them, nor can they. If they were to take on civilian judges – they are not familiar with the subject matter. MARTIĆ, a lawyer, asked me for judges; I'm now sending five judges to help him.

Pavle BULATOVIĆ:

But rulings are being made based on civilian law; not a single law exists which the General Staff has adopted; these are all laws which the Assembly adopted.

Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ:

No executive authority, including the military authority, has legislative power. Therefore, legislative power is legislative power; that's the affair of the Assembly and that is clear. In no country in the world does the executive authority have legislative power. So this is not an argument. It is logical that military courts try cases in accordance with the law, and it is logical that laws are adopted by the Federal Assembly. As far as military courts are concerned – if they weren't in the military, they wouldn't be military courts. It's another matter if you want to adopt the concept that civilian courts try military cases.

Radoje KONTIĆ:

Military courts are being established within the framework of civilian courts.

Momčilo PERIŠIĆ:

The courts are independent. I have no influence on either military courts or the prosecutor's office.

Zoran LILIĆ:

What's the existing solution that we have in this connection?

Momčilo PERIŠIĆ:

They are now part of the Army.

Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ:

I think that the reorganisation of military courts will cause havoc. I would not move the military courts out of the Army at this point, especially because they are now functioning in a regular manner.

Radoje KONTIĆ:

I am not really well-informed about the subject matter. I have listened to our lawyers but they say that military courts try cases as part of civilian courts.

Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ:

Rajo, those same lawyers were around when military courts were with the Army, and they probably explained that military courts are part of the Army! Now they're explaining that military courts are not part of the Army.

Momir BULATOVIĆ:

Minister BULATOVIĆ raised the central question: what is the jurisdiction of the Ministry of National Defence and what is the jurisdiction of the General Staff? I think that this is the dilemma faced by the Federal Secretariat for National Defence, which had jurisdiction over everything; now those functions are very difficult to separate. Cases are tried according to the Constitution and the law; the same people would be trying the cases; it's only a question of our principle. We have established the principle that the Ministry of National Defence is in charge of affairs related to implementing the policy of this state, Assembly, and the law in relation to the Yugoslav Army. The Federal Ministry of National Defence and the Federal

Government are in charge of implementing the principle of constitutionality and legality, while the General Staff is a military and specialised organ.

I must say that I am sorry that last time we literally harassed General PERIŠIĆ to explain matters to us which fall under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of National Defence. You were right when you said last time: instead of going from garrison to garrison and observing the combat readiness of units, you are explaining contributions to us. This should be done by the Ministry of National Defence.

On the other hand, there is no essential or fundamental difference between the Yugoslav Army and the Ministry of National Defence, because this is an integral part of this state.

I suggest that these disputes be sorted out. There is an abundance of illogical things which exist and which cause serious financial expenditures. What the Minister of Defence said is for the Guinness Book of Records: the Medical Corps Administration orders and draws up a list of medicine, while the Ministry of National Defence pays for the medicine. That's all the same money. Give us some kind of rationale so we can divide, in terms of concept, what the General Staff does and what the Ministry of National Defence does. In the Ministry of Defence, the percentage of officers is around 50%.

Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ:

I suggest that they review this; let them take a look at all the arguments.

Momčilo PERIŠIĆ:

A lot of things will be resolved when the Federal Government adopts the concept of the Ministry of Defence, and in order to adopt it, a large number of things concerning jurisdiction have to be defined.

Zoran LILIĆ:

Let's discuss this essential question then.

Momčilo PERIŠIĆ:

This should be discussed as soon as possible.

Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ:

The best thing would be if you were to sit down and take a look at the demarcation of those functions, in view of the constitutional and legal solutions, so that we can see if we can help you in any way in this matter.

Zoran LILIĆ:

I think this is the most reasonable decision.

Let's go on –

#### UNIFICATION OF PASSENGER AVIATION

There are also different assessments here. This is a problem which we have to resolve because of purely economic reasons.

Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ:



I am in favour of seeing what is more favourable economically. It is our state both when the Army and the Government are involved. Let them see what is economically more favourable and then they can give us their proposals.

Radoje KONTIĆ:

If what we want is commercialisation, then it is natural that it should be civilian aviation. I am not negating what has been said here that there needs to be a certain quota of aircraft in which the President or this or that official will fly within the framework of the Yugoslav Army. We have four Leer jets and two Falcons. I think that instead of expenditures, we can have a pretty good income. That's quite clear. As far as JAKs are concerned, they will belong to the Army because they are not for commercial flights.

There are six aircraft – two are Leer jets and one is a Falcon, and you have two Leer jets and a Falcon. I suggest that all the aircraft be unified. We will have fewer technicians, pilots, and so on.

Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ:

It is certainly rational to unify them.

Zoran LILIĆ:

We already made this decision last time to unify them. But the question remains where to unify them?

Radoje KONTIĆ:

We have to take a hangar which we gave to JAT /Yugoslav Airlines/ and just use it for commercial purposes. There can be no commercialisation if the Army has them; that's the essential question. It is more difficult if a commercial flight takes off from a military airport.

Momčilo PERIŠIĆ:

That's why our security is better.

Radoje KONTIĆ:

If we're going to be truthful, our security is better!

Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ:

The way in which those tires are bursting, I'm not quite certain! (Laughter).

Radoje KONTIĆ:

That's another question. It happened to me, too, at Batajnica /airport/ – I had to get out of the plane three times because it was in disrepair.

Zoran LILIĆ:

Momo, what do you have to say?

Momir BULATOVIĆ:

It think that these arguments to unify this in the civilian sector are more persuasive.

In happier times, the procedure for having approval granted for flights abroad in the civilian sector was incomparably faster and simpler than in the military sector. These sanctions will not last forever. We can transfer this to Greece and Italy and commercialise it, and the civilian sector will get it very quickly.

Zoran LILIĆ:

All right, let's adopt this conclusion.

Do you agree? (Agreement).

Let's go on.

Momo, you proposed something for current issues?

Momčilo PERIŠIĆ:

That's the

#### REPORT ON CRIMINAL REPORTS

On the basis of material control, the Ministry of Defence has established that regulations were violated and that Života PANIĆ broke the law. A criminal report should be filed against him, Dane AJDUKOVIĆ – both are retired – and Borislav ĐURIĆ. They ordered 300 tons of frozen pork on the basis of a direct contract from Romania. They thereby caused damage at a value of 1,755,000 US dollars.

A commission was formed for this purpose and established this. This has been sent. I am asking you – should we allow this to be “dealt with” or not?

Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ:

We have to follow the law!

Zoran LILIĆ:

The whole case should be handed over to the prosecutor and then the complete material should be submitted.

Pavle BULATOVIĆ:

When the whole subject is completed, I think that it is indispensable for the Supreme Council to acquaint itself with this and then a decision should be made.

Momčilo PERIŠIĆ:

But when this begins to be processed, we can't stop any longer. He's required to finish it. I'm just asking – should we let the Military Prosecutor's office do its own thing and continue working or not?

Momir BULATOVIĆ:

He's not under our jurisdiction any more, because he's been pensioned off.

Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ:

So you do that when you buy pork. (Laughter).

Zoran LILIĆ:

It's our decision to work according to the law!

Momčilo PERIŠIĆ:

There's another essential question.

The property law which entered into force does not give the Chief of the General Staff any right to misappropriate any resource, especially in terms of assistance and specifically now to Republika Srpska and the Republic of Serbia Krajina. All this now should go through the Ministry and the Government. If this proceeds, I just want to warn you about the path: first, the operational aspects are brought into question; second, the risk of information leaks will increase, especially if we conclude that the Ministry should primarily be civilian; third, we thereby have no possibility to conduct normal business according to the principle followed hitherto.

If you agree, either things should remain the way they are regulated by law, or the Supreme Council should adopt a decision to authorise me to give them something that this body decides upon. So, they make a request to the Supreme Council, I convey it to you and say whether this is justified or not; you make a decision and then it is implemented by the Chief of the General Staff.

This is the way I propose, because we really have to bear this in mind – if the two Krajinas are not defended, we will be significantly jeopardised. And they certainly can't be defended without our assistance in weapons and military equipment.

Radoje KONTIĆ:

With the entry into force of the new Law on Federation Property, the Federal Government is the owner of the property as a whole. It's the Federal Government's to dispose of. It takes over everything. We will establish a staff, a ministry, an agency which will be manage that vast property. We want to derive revenue from that property. We have to resolve a lot of questions with the Yugoslav Army concerning

this. One of these questions is the following. We have to resolve this question in conformity with the law. The Supreme Council cannot authorise someone to do that; only the Government can do it.

I suggest that within the framework of what we agreed that belongs to us on the basis of the budget, we should decide at whose disposal we should place this – either at that of the Chief of the General Staff or the General Staff so he can work on it operationally.

Zoran ILIĆ:

All right, we agree.

We have two other questions raised by President BULATOVIĆ:

#### REPORT ON THE COURSE OF MOBILISATION.

Momir BULATOVIĆ:

We already received that.

Zoran ILIĆ:

We received this, and now this is a

#### REPORT ON THE ENGAGEMENT OF THE YUGOSLAV ARMY.

Pavle BULATOVIĆ:

As far as the first question concerning mobilisation is concerned, one of you probably got a letter from Helsinki Watch. I got it today – it's a page and a half long



– and they cite those facts that Yugoslav Army officers handed out /?call-up papers/. There's also a statement for the press. I haven't noticed that it was published; they gave that text here which is a shorter version of this letter which was sent to me.

Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ:

We cleared this up at the beginning.

Momir BULATOVIĆ:

I think that we did an honest job, and now adverse counter effects are emerging. It serves no purpose to continue to bring this to a conclusion, even if those 1,200 men went their voluntarily. The question now is to have the political wisdom as to how to avoid this, but I think this activity should be stopped, so that we don't bring people in to the police.

Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ:

This should not be done with the police. Agreement should be reached with them to have them do it by political means and propaganda. /?Issuing call-up papers/ is not forbidden.

Zoran LILIĆ:

We still have the

REPORT ON THE ENGAGEMENT OF THE YUGOSLAV ARMY

Momčilo PERIŠIĆ:

There isn't a single unit of the Yugoslav Army there now, not on the territory of Republika Srpska or on the territory of the Republic of Serbian Krajina, except for officers, in conformity with that principle according to which a decision was made here: born in that area.

Momir BULATOVIĆ:

Yes, but there was a paratroop brigade from Belgrade.

Momčilo PERIŠIĆ:

It was not a compact unit. The men went on a voluntary basis. Not a single soldier completing his military service went. Professional soldiers went – voluntarily, and officers went – voluntarily.

Momir BULATOVIĆ:

They didn't know where they were going at all!

Momčilo PERIŠIĆ:

Had they known where they were going, they probably wouldn't have gone!

Momir BULATOVIĆ:

That's a big question!

Momčilo PERIŠIĆ:



If they had known, this would have been uncovered. The world is not attacking us because of this, they say they don't have arguments. Had this been announced, they certainly would have attacked us just like the Croats.

Momir BULATOVIĆ:

There is no need to accuse and attack us when they have already attacked and punished us. That's no problem – if we have to send one of our units over there to rescue someone who is in trouble, we should do it, but the Constitution and law have to be respected; we must know how a decision about this is being made.

On the other hand, we have to speak seriously with our friends from Republika Srpska about what this means, if the stability of the front over there depends on whether we will send several scores or hundreds of men, and then have seven or eight die without anyone knowing anything about it. This is a separate problem!

That's a very poor practice. What's particularly bad is that members of the Supreme Defence Council were not informed about this.

Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ:

We don't have a single unit there. If someone went there as a volunteer, it's not terrible. But we need to be informed before this is carried out.

Momčilo PERIŠIĆ:

I don't have the right and I won't engage a single unit without a decision by the Supreme Council; all of us sitting here don't have the right to do it, without volunteerism or without proclaiming a state of war.

Momir BULATOVIĆ:

I know, but essentially a unit had been engaged, without the decision of the War Council and without volunteerism!?

Momčilo PERIŠIĆ:

Everyone who went went as a volunteer. I can assert that. But as regards the former, you're right!

Momir BULATOVIĆ:

This was done in a clumsy manner. I spoke to ŠEŠELJ on Saturday. He lectured me: "What are you doing?" He told me all the details, even though I knew them through other channels. I know because some young men from Nikšić whom I knew had been killed. What ŠEŠELJ knows, everyone knows. So it's not a matter of protecting state secrets and the policy we are conducting.

Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ:

If ŠEŠELJ knows state secrets, then something's wrong.

Momir BULATOVIĆ:

Not only does he know them, but he has the right of criticising us for things having been done in such a clumsy, disorganised manner. He claims that this has been uncovered and that people died because the Muslims knew where our unit was arriving. I am not commenting on whether this is true or not. If it can occur to someone to do something of this sort, then we really have to ask ourselves if the Constitution and law exist in this country.

Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ:

I don't believe what ŠEŠELJ said was true. Let's see what ŠEŠELJ said.

Radoje KONTIĆ:

Several men from Nikšić were killed.

Zoran LILIĆ:

I think that we can agree on the conclusion that not a single unit can be engaged.

Momir BULATOVIĆ:

Except this one! Two young men from Nikšić were killed. I now have to face their parents and tell them how and why they were killed!

Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ:

If they went as volunteers, then it's clear.

Momir BULATOVIĆ:

They didn't go as volunteers.

Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ:

If someone forced them to go, then that's another matter!

Momčilo PERIŠIĆ:



Of all those people who went, I have it in writing that they went as volunteers.

Momir BULATOVIĆ:

The West won't criticise us for this now, but it will criticise us when it's time to lift the sanctions.

All right, nothing!

Momčilo PERIŠIĆ:

A state of alert of the first level was introduced in Northern Italy with regard to the use of the air force. We are following this and you will be informed if they have any intentions with regard to Republika Srpska.

The intensified deployment of US aircraft both from aircraft carriers and from bases in Italy has also been observed.

Another question is the use of these devices in Sarajevo. Over there in Republika Srpska they say that they certainly were not the ones who did it, and the likelihood is small. Two possibilities exist for such massive losses: a special device which explodes in the air was used, so the effect was three to five times greater than that of a regular projectile.

Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ:

General Rose said that the shell hit the stall and not the ground and that's why it exploded a meter and a half away from the ground.

Momčilo PERIŠIĆ:

There are special projectiles – close-range and time-fused which explode 15 to 20 metres above the obstacle, which means that they don't hit the ground. I know what the area is like – it is closed off on all sides by buildings, there is a large number of people concentrated there and the area is small; in such an area, the effect is even greater. Moreover, there is a tram stop there, and so on.

I think that it would be a good idea to prepare this and to have the Government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia issue a statement. Our military experts claim that this is impossible. We assume that the same was done in Vase Miskina Street – that the explosive was prepared ahead of time and placed in a number of spots and that at a given moment the signal was given to set it off when the largest number of people were there.

Second, there are those who believe that one of their projectiles which was just supposed to mask those effects was actually used. That's our understanding. The likelihood that a 120mm calibre projectile can kill so many people in that space is very small.

We assume that the mujahedin did it, because they are against any kind of negotiations and agreements. Second, the possibility that the Croats did it can not be excluded, so as to divert attention from the threat of sanctions. It is impossible that the Serbs in Sarajevo set this up, except from a distance.

Zoran LILIĆ:

All right, we shall conclude the session.

(Session concluded at 1930 hours).