

SUPREME DEFENCE COUNCIL

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SHORTHAND NOTES

of the 28th session of SUPREME DEFENCE COUNCIL

Held on the 2nd November 1994

UNREVISED

BELGRADE

SHORTHAND NOTES

of the 28th session of the SUPREME DEFENCE COUNCIL HELD ON 2ND NOVEMBER 1994

The session commenced at 1615 hrs.

The present were: Zoran LILIĆ, President of FR /Federal Republic/ Yugoslavia – Head of Supreme Defence Council; Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ, President of Serbia; Momir BULATOVIĆ, President of Montenegro – members of Supreme Defence Council; Dr. Radoje KONTIĆ, Prime Minister of Federal Government; Colonel General Momčilo PERIŠIĆ, Head of General Staff of Army of Yugoslavia and Major General Slavko KRIVOŠIJA, Chief of Military Cabinet of FRY /Federal Republic Yugoslavia/ President.

(Shorthand notes taken by Jordan ŽIVANOVIĆ, senior debate stenographer - editor in the Cabinet of FRY President).

Zoran LILIĆ, Head of Supreme Defence Council presided at the session.

Zoran LILIĆ:

I suggest we commence with the work.

Momir BULATOVIĆ:

Before we move on to the agenda, something regarding the yesterday's discussions. He kept talking about a positive action plan. I think we should task our Ministry of the Foreign Affairs with drawing a document, only to remind both us and international public on what has been done so far. All that has been done so far should be presented as a whole, starting from Slovenia to Macedonia.

Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ:

In principle, he is in favour of a positive approach rather than being in position to reject the offers of the international community.

2.

Momir BULATOVIĆ:

It would be extremely useful for him, too. I think we can do that, starting with our relations towards Slovenia, then its rejection, the consistent attitude towards VANCE plan, the attitude towards the peace process in Bosnia and so on. Thus he would have reasons to say that to the Contact Group and those other people. No one wants to listen to you when you for example say, "We do not want to accept the recognition". You should say, "yes, we will recognise it but under these and these conditions". It is the same really, only that you have always insisted on our positive approach.

Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ:

You are totally right about their lack of understanding of the whole situation – you see how many of them have been replaced: the Americans had BARTOLOMJU /as written/, then REDMAN /as written/ and now there is TOMAS /as written/. There have been the replacements on French side too, now there are on Russian side.

Zoran LILIĆ:

Momo's suggestion is a good one.

Momir BULATOVIĆ:

I think we could task the Federal Ministry to do that so that we all have it and use it in our contacts, rather than inventing it at the spot.

Radoje KONTIĆ:

Otherwise, we are preparing ourselves to address the Security Council, i.e., the UN, with request for absolute lifting of sanctions. We intend to fully explain this request, item by item.

Zoran LILIĆ:

Fine, I suggest we commence the 28th session of the Supreme Defence Council.

Any objections to the minutes of the 27th session?

(No).

3.

I conclude that the minutes have been adopted.

For today's session, I have proposed the following:

Agenda:

1. Personnel issues
2. Miscellaneous

Under miscellaneous, we would discuss the situation in Prevlaka, a possible co-operation with Pakistan and Israel regarding the armament and military equipment manufacture and problems that have arisen regarding the compensation payment to the members of the 30th Personnel Centre that we basically closed with our decision made at the last session.

I would ask you to accept the request of the Association of Warriors of Serbian Liberation Wars from 1912 to 1920, who request a symbolic help. There are 33 live warriors. I think that we can do that much – it is about 3,000 dinars per month.

Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ:

I agree.

Momir BULATOVIĆ:

Montenegro is already paying for that.

Zoran LILIĆ:

The fact that makes it even more difficult is when one of them dies they are collecting the aid among each other.

I think that the Federal Ministry of Defence should assume the responsibility for their welfare. These are really insignificant means.

Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ:

Indeed, these are insignificant means.

Zoran LILIĆ:

Fine, we accept this.

4.

Radoje KONTIĆ:

I would kindly ask that the information on situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina be presented.

Zoran LILIĆ:

The map is here, so we will discuss this first.

General PERIŠIĆ has something to say.

Momčilo PERIŠIĆ:

Gentlemen presidents, I would like to briefly introduce you to the situation in Bosnia. The Muslim-Croatian forces have started a general offensive, aiming at cutting off the western part of Republika Srpska in the Bihać –Bugojno direction. They have had certain achievements in that area. You can see that those pegs of theirs, which foresee their intentions, correspond with the area more or less. This black line marks the area that the Contact Group agreed to give to the Croatian-Muslim coalition.

Therefore, they have started with the offensive, they have started with the offensive in the direction Bjelašnica – Goražde and vice versa, so that they merge and make a passage in this enclave.

Furthermore, they are significantly progressing towards the corridor. So far, they have occupied 843 square kilometres since September the 1st. In total, the Serbs had to evacuate around 15,750 citizens from that area.

In total, the hitherto casualties are: 536 members got killed, 673 are severely wounded, 1,842 are lightly wounded, and 235 are missing or captured. That means that in two months of combat they have lost around 3,000 people or around 1,500 in average. However, since the intensity of the combat activities was much less in September, the number for that month is around 1,000, while there were around 2,000 people in October.

Losses in material means are as follows: 15 tanks, around 30 different artillery arms, anti-aircraft weapons and other small devices.

Momir BULATOVIĆ:

Were the tanks confiscated or destroyed?

5.

Momčilo PERIŠIĆ:

The tanks were confiscated since the Serbs rapidly retreated from this area. The Muslims took them by surprise. We have indications that the soldiers were influenced to retreat from the first defence line. We have not figured out if the local authorities did that or maybe someone who followed the order of Republika Srpska, so that they could justify their political defeat by military defeat.

Above all, those people had been worn out, they were told that the area had been sold, that there was nothing to defend and so on. Secondly, the Muslim forces and we think others too, carried out a synchronised and big surprise. All those means were abandoned because it was impossible to move. They succeeded to destroy some but the biggest part was not destroyed.

Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ:

This is a situation similar to the one in the western Slavonia when they left without any reason.

Momčilo PERIŠIĆ:

Exactly. A new thing is that apart from the intensified actions of the 5th Corps, the activities of the 7th Corps of Muslim Forces have also been intensified. Yesterday, the Herceg-Bosna forces got involved in the direction Tomislavgrad or Duvno towards Malovan, probably in order to cut off this entire area and thus bring the Republika Srpska in more difficult position, especially the Serbian Krajina. All these developments should be looked at in the frame of achieving the best possible situation for Muslims and Croats in Bosnia but for Croats too, prior to the diplomatic negotiations. The deterioration of the situation here creates conditions for the advantage of Croats over the RSK /Republic of Serbian Krajina/.

If this continues, and if they start with the general offensive, and considering the position of Serbs, we predict the following:

As until now, the Serbs will continue losing the territory to some extent, which will result in drop in morale and mass emigration of civilians from Republika Srpska at first, and then soldiers, at some late phase.

The reason for this can be found if we look at the balance of forces.

6.

Up until now, the advantage of the Serbs was exclusively the material-technical factor. They were inferior when it comes to the manpower and everything else and the time and place were on their side. Now the material-technical factor has been balanced in favour of the Muslims. The material-technical factor has a negative impact on the morale and the time works for the Muslims. Out of total number of population of the entire area, 20% of Serbs hold more than 70% of the territory, which is unsustainable. You know that all military leaders, when occupying the territory and when advancing to a new one, were leaving whatever they conquered but those people want to preserve this at all cost. It will be impossible in these circumstances.

The gradual loss of the territory is inevitable, even without aircraft attacks. If the aircraft attack takes place, a selective or a mass one, the process of losing the territory will be even more obvious.

The balance of forces, for example in the artillery is almost one to one, they are even superior.

I would like to emphasise how this situation can influence on FRY /Federal Republic of Yugoslavia/ safety.

Firstly, the situation in the FRY Army.

You know that we have undertaken certain measures regarding the combat readiness. Considering the developments, there is no need for a higher level of combat readiness at the moment but considering the situation in the Army, we must do something about it in the forthcoming period, especially regarding the material factor.

The amount of lethal ammunition supplies: infantry ammunition in infantry logistics is 37%, which is not much. The artillery ammunition for anti-armoured combat is 46%. PA /Anti-aircraft/ barrel ammunition is 47 %. In total, our weak points regarding the lethal devices in our weaponry are mines 120 mm – only 16 %, 64 rockets and so on.

Fuel: we have 46 % of gas, 21% of diesel gas, 8% of aviation gas, 20 % of quartermaster equipment and 25 % of clothes.

This is all within the material reserves of the Yugoslav Army.

The situation is the following:

The entire manpower of the Yugoslav Army, in a peacetime formation, i.e., according to the adopted number is 126,000. At the moment, we have 74 % of it. Above all, this relates to the fact that we must overcome the lack of young men in this period somehow, because we changed the system and instead of starting with the service at the age of 18, they start it at the age of 21.

7.

Also, for the sake of saving, we are not sending call-up papers to the adequate number of conscripts in order to fill up this gap, so that is why we have 74 %. You have it here divided in categories.

The personnel drain is significant due to the entire situation, and above all due to unsolved housing issues, relatively low salaries and better salary offers in other structures. Besides those who went to retirement, from 01.01. 1994 to 30.09.1994, 391 non-commissioned officers and 413 officers left the army – 804 men in total. This actually means that as many people we educated in a year, as many of them left. It is very indicative and complex, and we have to take care of that in the future.

Critical positions: we have 67 % of commanders of departments and platoons; this is the hardest because here we need contracted soldiers; we have only one third because the salary is very low comparing to the salaries in the civilian structures. The squad and battery commanders are 88 %, battalion and division commanders are 70 % and 90 % of pilots.

I would say something about our proposal on measures.

Firstly, we propose that the FRY Government address the sharpest protest letter to OUN, permanent members of the Security Council, representatives of the Contact Group and UNPROFOR, requesting that the Muslim offensive is to be ceased immediately, especially in the protected zones. I didn't mention that the zone around Sarajevo is protected, but they are using it for the aggressive purposes, as well as the one in Bihać etc.

We imposed a blockade towards Republika Srpska in order to create the conditions for peaceful resolving of the crisis, certainly not to solve the crisis by war. Yet, the Muslims are even encouraged by public support of USA. If this continues, the Serbs will really face a hopeless situation.

Secondly, please allocate the financial means that have already been approved – those 36 million that we have spent and will spend on the increased measures of combat readiness. In case of further unfavourable developments regarding FRY security, we will have to increase the measures of BG /combat readiness/, as you have approved, and that will mean the engagement of more manpower and more means will be needed, the fuel too. Those would be additional means.

8.

So, now I need those 36 million. If we are forced to do this, then additional means will be needed. But even if we do not get more than 36 million, we will survive throughout this year no matter what we have to do.

Furthermore, and if possible, additional means in the amount of 7,5 million, apart from 36 million, need to be approved through the Federal Government, for the treatment expenses for wounded soldiers of the Army of Republika Srpska and ill persons from RSK. VMA /Military Medical Academy/ is in a very difficult situation. You know that from the very beginning not a single dinar has been provided for the medical support of the Yugoslav Army – i.e., for the treatment of wounded, but only for the Yugoslav Army, and we are receiving the wounded ones all the time. Thus, VMA and other institutions are brought in a very difficult situation, especially because they have to spend the current means out of the approved ones, while all incomes are directed at the Federal Government.

Secondly, if possible, the Federal Government should leave that part of the income that we earn, and if possible, to speed up the decision making on annulment of the excise duties on petroleum products of the Yugoslav Army.

Here we have the measures that were undertaken. (points at the map).

The units in the field are marked green, and they are within the regular activities. I would like to emphasise that we are keeping the unit in Kosovo and in the Raška area that are always on standby depending on the situation developments. In total, we have around 1,027 people engaged there.

The units in the field are above all those in Kosovo who, besides the conduct of training, have a task of preventing the expansion of riots from one area to another one in case of an armed rebellion. There are around 900 soldiers engaged for that purpose. There are the units that are securing the railway – you know that we are securing the railway, one unit is engaged on securing of the railway Belgrade – Bar that goes to

the Republika Srpska, but from our territory together with MUP, in case that an uncontrolled group shows up. We have units engaged in the security of the state border, around 3,000 people in total, out of which 2,848 are engaged in tightening of the security, while there are around 78 people along the range. The security is tightened on the border towards the Republika Srpska, Croatia and Albania.

Following the instructions on special measures, we have units that are on combat alert all the time, they are in the barracks, they can be used in three hours after the signal; there are about 15,299 people.

9.

Therefore, excluding those units in the field, there are 18,225 people who are on combat alert and including the units in the field, there are around 20,309 people.

Personally, I think that now, considering the situation, there is no need for any reinforcement. But the moment a danger occurs, for example, if Goražde enclave merges with Bjelašnica, by which, the deployment of the forces from the front line range is enabled which would cause immediate danger of expansion towards Čajniče, and would endanger the Raška region, we must have stronger forces in this area. This also refers to the actions of Tuzla Corps and its combat activities towards Zvornik, it is only 10 kilometres of distance – their the most eastern border – from the direction of Zvornik.

Otherwise, we do not think that there is a threat of foreign enemy in this situation.

This is only a brief report.

Zoran LILIĆ:

We heard General PERIŠIĆ.

We learned about the current situation in the Republika Srpska and about the current level of our combat readiness. We also heard General PERIŠIĆ's proposal on how to maintain that level, that is to say, how to ensure all necessary conditions for a smooth work. Anyhow, these means were previously approved by the Supreme Defence Council. The Federal Government had a task to implement that decision.

Radoje KONTIĆ is given the floor.

Radoje KONTIĆ:

First, we would need a political decision of you, three presidents, regarding the appeal, that is to say, the request for ceasefire in the former Bosnia and Herzegovina. As to the other things, regarding the budget and those negotiations that General PERIŠIĆ presented, I think that there is no need to deceive ourselves. We could agree that all those means that represent the income in the budget, do not go to the budget but to be allocated directly, but we won't accomplish anything. It is only a deception, we have not solved the problem.

10.

For example, let us say that VMA earns 10 million – when we distribute it as profit, 75 % of it is immediately transferred to the Army and 9 % goes for the military pensions, which means 84 %. If we withdraw 10 million from the budget, that would mean 8,5 million less in the budget. Therefore, the effect would be a million or a million and a half out of 10 million.

Momčilo PERIŠIĆ:

We have not understood each other. Since 01.01.1994 up until now, the medical treatment expenses have been 7,5 million and we have not got a dinar from it.

Radoje KONTIĆ:

We understood each other perfectly. There is no such budget item. Therefore, I can give it to the Army only if there is an item for it in the budget. Yet, we can deceive each other.

Secondly, regarding the excise duties, Serbia refused to lift the excise duties – I got the letter from them where it says that the Prime Minister was informed about it. Hence, this is left as a possibility.

Thirdly, around 36 million should have been distributed between the republics and federations, but the agreement has not been reached.

What I suggest now is the following. For nine months we have had extremely restrictive attitude towards the budget as a whole – including the Army and us. We have 550 million dinars left for the last quarter. Which means that we have much more means left for this quarter than we have had in the previous ones.

The basic task now would be to see if we could collect the incomes that are still to be collected within the budget items till the end of year. If we could do that, then the Army would get almost 400 million dinars for those three months, which would mean

more means for three months than the amount that it got for last four months. That is the only possibility. Let us not waste time whether we will give a million dinars for this or that. This is the key now – to see how to ensure the income for the FRY budget in the amount of 550 million, out of which we would allocate 400 million to the Army for those three months. It would be enough for them to fulfil their basic needs. We will discuss the next year as of next week.

11.

Momčilo PERIŠIĆ:

I am not asking for something that doesn't exist. But look, all those "small potatoes" that represent means and people. These are all increased expenses due to a new situation that we did not include in the budget in the beginning because we could not have known. A part of it has already been spent.

Radoje KONTIĆ:

In this quarter, you can get 100 million more than in the previous quarter, but it has nothing to do with the budget. Because the budget can be changed only by the budget revision and that is out of question, it will not be approved.

Momčilo PERIŠIĆ:

Many duties are due just now and you consider it as increment but it is not an increment. I am asking for the increment because of this and if this is not possible – let us see what to do? Because then I cannot carry out my tasks, I cannot send the people to the border, because I have no way to cover that task. I counted on those 36 million that were promised to us.

Zoran LILIĆ:

We chose one out of two possibilities for the increase of the combat readiness – one was over a billion and the other one was 36 million – we chose this option of 36 million. The Vice President ZEBIĆ was present too. The means were spent and this level of combat readiness is being maintained.

Radoje KONTIĆ:

Mr President, I can "play the game", I can say, "let us allocate millions from the budget", but then I will not have the money for other purposes. I can say, "take 36

million, allocate the money”, but then we will have to reduce other budget items. It is just a formal game and a game on a paper. Nothing can be done without budget revision.

Zoran LILIĆ:

Should we not admit the wounded to VMA?

12.

Is it possible to allocate funds out of something that does not exist?

Radoje KONTIĆ:

The entire Federal administration has got 110 million dinars!

Zoran LILIĆ:

We have carried out a total redistribution of the budgetary means of the Army for salaries – we have not done anything with the war material reserves, i.e., replenishment of reserves, we have not done anything, we spent it all on salaries.

Radoje KONTIĆ:

Then we have two options: one is to go for the budget revision before the Parliament, yet it will not be approved. The other option is to receive what is available in the budget for those two months.

Zoran LILIĆ:

I think that if the decisions that we make here are impossible to implement then we should say that right away but not when they have been accepted for there is no way to implement them then.

Radoje KONTIĆ:

When the decision about those 36 million was made, I was not here, ZEBIĆ was present together with two prime ministers and they accepted it. Neither of two republics has reacted to three written requests that I sent. But I repeat, we can allocate 36 million from the Federal budget but it would mean that they would have less money within this other item. We can play games but we will not solve the problem.

Yet, we can increase the amount of current expenses only by the budget revision before the Parliament, even if we do have funds. But if we present it before the Parliament, we will have thousand problems. I say that the Army will not spend even those 400 million!

Momčilo PERIŠIĆ:

Won't we, despite the fact that I have a dept of 70 million at the moment?

13.

Radoje KONTIĆ:

You should not owe at all, we can pay it off immediately.

Momčilo PERIŠIĆ:

I owe from 60 to 70 million on a daily basis.

Radoje KONTIĆ:

I am not familiar with that but I think that at this moment, there is no reason for that, because all budgetary funds that are in deposit – not in loans, but they are made in inactive at the AVRAMOVIĆ's request – therefore we can pay the enterprises off.

Zoran LILIĆ:

I think that we can conclude the following:

We should see what funding the Army needs to maintain this level of the combat readiness and this current standard and if these 400 million that President KONTIĆ is talking about can cover that.

Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ:

It does not seem logical to me that entire Army needs cannot be covered with 400 million in the fourth quarter – it is a 100 million increment. It is over 100 million of increment on a daily basis comparing to what they have spent in the previous quarter. We should see the real expenses.

Momčilo PERIŠIĆ:

We owe 72 million at this moment.

Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ:

Your aim is not to start 1995 without any debt?

Momčilo PERIŠIĆ:

Yes, but we started last year with more than 200 million of debt and that bothers us too.

Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ:

But you will start this year with 50 million of debt!?

14.

Zoran LILIĆ:

I think that this is the most logical conclusion: let us see what fits in those 400 million.

Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ:

Let us see which direct costs the Army will have till the end of the year, including the payment of this debt. Yet, a new debt will be created.

Momčilo PERIŠIĆ:

But we have not ensured food stocks, the fuel and other things for heating because we are in deficit all the time. As to the petroleum supply, "Jugopetrol" said that they would not supply us with the petroleum anymore. In October, 57 % of fuel, D-2 was delivered – according to the agreed balance – 48 %, GM-1 75 %; 39 % of crude oil, and not because there is a shortage of it, but because we are not paying regularly. In total, from the beginning of the year, the delivery has been: 57 % out of actual needs of the fuel, 48 % of different distillations including D-2, 39 % of crude oil and 75 % of GM-1.

Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ:

It is realistic that we consider the needs of the Army for the last quarter from the perspective of inflow and outflow of money. Within that, the following should be realistically calculated: if we have 400 million, that amount will be partially deducted

for a negative balance. Also, it is realistic that with 31st December and the end of the budgetary year, the Army will have some debt towards suppliers created due to supplies ordered in December but due to be paid in January.

It is important that with the 31st December, we would present much less negative balance of the Army than we presented on the 31st December last year. Also, we would conclude that the financing of Army has been improved since its debt on the 31.12.1993 was 230 million while its debt on 31.12.1994 is for example 50 million. This means that the negative balance have been reduced for five times, but it must exist as debts towards the suppliers. That also means that effectively, in order to increase that balance for another third, which means something around 375 millions, by reducing this balance that is always "on the surface", because one debt is paid while another one is created, that could be effectively spent for the Army's costs in the fourth quarter /sic/.

15.

Momčilo PERIŠIĆ:

It means that all reserves will be in decline and the entire combat readiness of the Army will be lowered.

Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ:

Why - how will those 375 million be spent?

Momčilo PERIŠIĆ:

It will be spent on pilots training, fuel and so on.

Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ:

How much is it spent for your monthly salaries?

Momčilo PERIŠIĆ:

42 million, plus 12 million for the pensions.

Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ:

It is 58 million per month. And 125 million can be spent for a month. If this costs 58 million, it means that besides salaries and pensions, there are 70 million left for

material supply of the Army. It is over 2 million per day!? It is impossible that these are only the current costs that cause the reduction in reserves!?

Momčilo PERIŠIĆ:

Excuse me, don't get me wrong, but I use a totally different logic. What we have planned – to carry out some additional activities but without paying a single dinar for it – we cannot do that. It means carrying this out to the detriment of the combat readiness and preserving the combat readiness in the best way we can, although this situation indicates that it will just get worse. It is a disproportion that we must resolve. Pardon me for telling you all this – Mr Minister should be telling you this but he is absent and I am replacing him.

16.

Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ:

Do we have a monthly report on expenses of the Army, without salaries and pensions?

Momčilo PERIŠIĆ:

We have!

Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ:

How much is the monthly amount?

Momčilo PERIŠIĆ:

I can order someone to bring it now!?

Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ:

It is simply not logical to me. According to the troop strength, there should be 90 000, with remark that more than one third cannot count on this support because they are the seniors and civilians who are receiving their salaries in a normal way. That would mean material costs for 50 000 people?

Momčilo PERIŠIĆ:

And those pensions from the approved budget should be added to this which is not presented here.

Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ:

So, those 46 000 that are included in the material costs of the Army need 70 million per month!? Then it is impossible that this burden falls on the reserves?

Momčilo PERIŠIĆ:

We need 210 million for the salaries till the end of the year.

Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ:

In my opinion, it is necessary to draw an internal mini budget for the fourth quarter.

17.

Radoje KONTIĆ:

It has been made. Anyhow, since the General is so persistent, we can transfer those 36 million in the budget for the next year.

Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ:

What is the amount of available means that the Army can get?

Zoran LILIĆ:

Around 400 million.

Radoje KONTIĆ:

We have 550 million in total, out of which 75 % is to be allocated to the Army – which means 400 million.

Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ:

If there is a mini budget of the Army for the fourth quarter, and if it is around 400 million, and if we do have those 400 million – what is the problem then!? Has the mini budget covered all regular activities without spending the reserves?

Radoje KONTIĆ:

It is out of question to spend the money from the reserves. It is not logical.

Momčilo PERIŠIĆ:

We cannot set the pace in making purchases, for example of petroleum products, because we are not paying regularly. I have a constant decline in fuel supply. I do not want to lie to you – when it comes to the preserving of the combat readiness level, I cannot keep the pace on a daily basis. We can give up all possible supplies. I am fighting to preserve it on a current level and that is why I am asking you for this.

Zoran LILIĆ:

We have had a minor increase of reserves concerning small ammunition like infantry, artillery and so on. The level of fuel has been preserved, with just a small decline; food supply has been improved etc. Momir BULATOVIĆ asked for a word.

18.

Momir BULATOVIĆ:

I have to admit that I don't understand this at all? There has been a constant remark in the Supreme Defence Council that we do not possess good and accurate information. We have received nine versions of salaries, costs etc. Now we are in the position to choose either to be directly responsible for lowering the level of combat readiness, which I think we should not allow at any cost but that burden should not fall on the Supreme Defence Council or, we will violate existing program in a certain way, the one that we have made. I think that this dilemma has been imposed on us and that we should not deal with it at all.

There are 400 million, there is a certain obligation that the Federal Government, together with the Ministry of Defence should present to us.

Zoran LILIĆ:

So let them do it!

Momir BULATOVIĆ:

Let them actually do it. I do not think that 36 million is a big amount, and it is the only one disputable here. This is the end of the year – we can arrange it in such way that we do not need the budget revision. But we took over the responsibility that we would allocate 36 million and I think we should allocate 36 million, even with the

help of financial “gymnastics”. Don’t take me wrong – but two thirds of our activities go for convincing each other whether we have good information or not? Let the Ministry of Defence and the General Staff do the first version of it so that we finally get the information. Afterwards the Federal Government should responsibly say what can be done.

I think that the problem can be solved with those 400 million at this moment.

19.

Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ:

There are 400 million for one quarter, as if the annual military budget is a billion and 600 million. Therefore, it cannot be less than the Army needs require, since its budget was a billion and 200 million.

Momir BULATOVIĆ:

We are approaching the time when we will have to address the issue of a new budget. We really need to have a comprehensive information on what we are able to do in this year, what obligations should be transferred for the next year and how those obligations should be compensated in a new budget. We will again face some bid of figures starting from 2 billion and more up to a billion and 400 million. We have to analyse this problem thoroughly. I have all possible options of different figures within my documentation.

I think it is a high time that the Federal Government, through the Federal Ministry of Defence and General Staff submit a responsible plan that will support and to see how this problem can be solved. I don’t think we can make any specific decision today.

Secondly, Slobodan, I don’t see any reason why the Government of Serbia would not lift the excise duties?

Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ:

I’m not familiar with that, I will check it out.

I don’t get these things at all. I’ve been involved in finance for my entire life and I thought, together with other people, that I get it. But nothing helps here!

Let us say that we have 100 000 members of Army. We have 125 million per month in the fourth quarter. It is over 4 million per day. Then divide 4 million with 100 000, that would mean that a daily consumption is 400 dinar per capita, per a member of Army! Out of that amount, salary is less than 10 %, because when it is weighted, it is

much less. Therefore, the rest are material costs, maintenance of equipment, re-supply of reserves and so on. How it is possible that this money cannot cover those needs, since there is no supply of new equipment in the budget; especially expensive one like planes etc.

20.

Momir BULATOVIĆ:

We have to get the accurate information in order to understand this. I have tried to deal with the economic aspect of this but to tell you frankly – I do not understand anything here!?

I think that the basic issue here is to ensure a smooth work for VMA.

Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ:

That is for sure – we must do that!

Momir BULATOVIĆ:

I have a few other questions: what is the response of conscripts in the September class?

Momčilo PERIŠIĆ:

It is 107% /as written/ out of the number of those called up - 7 % are the volunteers. These are those who want to serve the military service earlier. The response in Kosovo is very poor – I am talking about the Serbs and Montenegrins. We do not count the others, and these are also volunteers – there are also 7 % of them.

Momir BULATOVIĆ:

I possess a reliable information, so please give me your comments. The security situation on the border towards Albania has never been worse – it is the area of responsibility of the Navy, from Ulcinj up to Skadarsko Lake. At the moment, we have just enough soldiers for guarding the watchtowers – they do not go out for inspection of borders at all.

Momčilo PERIŠIĆ:

The strength level is 73 % out of prescribed number who need to serve the military service. We should bring it up to 100 % and compensate it by sending the call-up

papers to the reserves. If we send the call-up papers to the reserves, the costs will be even bigger. According to the contract, we have 37 % of soldiers, due to low salaries and many other factors.

Momir BULATOVIĆ:

If the normal number of soldiers in a watchtower is 30, then 60 % out of 30 is 16. How do you explain that there are 5 soldiers in a watchtower?

21.

I kindly ask for that information I just mentioned to be checked and some measures to be undertaken. Just so that we know that we have the army guarding the watchtowers pro-forma only and than anyone can pass by them from Albanian side.

Momčilo PERIŠIĆ:

We will check that out.

Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ:

Rajo, please deliver us a mini budget for the army for those three months, with exact planned costs. Also, I would ask for such a conclusion that would not endanger the combat readiness or reserves, but on the contrary, that would ensure a certain continuous positive trend, the increment of reserves and combat devices, quartermaster equipment and whatever is necessary for the Army.

Zoran LILIĆ:

I would add VMA.

Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ:

That goes without saying. We should see what the real amount is – instead of dealing with percentage of the budget. We should see what we need to do.

Zoran LILIĆ:

We can end it like this. Also, I totally agree with Momir's suggestion regarding the relations between the Federal Government, Ministry, the General Staff and the Supreme Defence Council – that each of them do their part of the job and that we really get the information that are relevant for decision making.

Regarding this issue that Momir brought up, I think that we all can conclude that the inspection of all border crossings and watchtowers is to be carried out and a detailed report made. Thus, we would see what the strength level is on the critical spots on the border and what the reasons for the lack of manpower are.

22.

Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ:

In the end, it is possible that certain units, within their regular service and training, cover the border. It can be achieved with a clever combination. It looks like the augmentation is the worst in the border where it is effectively needed the most!

Zoran LILIĆ:

Does anyone else wish to comment this issue?

Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ:

We have not even tackled the issue, except the issue of the budget! The fact that the worst situation is there is unfortunately the best argument that a disastrous mistake was made when the Peace Accord was rejected; it is a direct consequence.

That night when we talked with them in Dobanovci for the last time – Momir is here, Momčilo is here – we precisely pointed out such tendency and presented what would happen. They proved that the Peace Accord should not have been accepted. Unfortunately, that proof cost now – 3,000, no way, that is not true – it is much more! No one should have died in Goražde, not in Goražde, not in the corridor, not in Nišić plateau, not in Grabež or the Una valley, Kupres etc.

But if the price for proving the decision of the Pale leadership to reject the Peace Accord to be right is to have so many people get killed, and unfortunately, which resulted in losing the territory and not conquering it, then I really do not know what the logic means, what the justice means, what is a smart thing to do!?

When it comes to the political decisions, the things are valued by the results not by the ideas. The result is the loss of territory and loss of human lives for an impossible goal; to force the international community to change the plan in favour of the Serbian side, the plan that gave a half of Bosnia and Herzegovina to the Serbian side – to give more of it!

It is totally clear that the things are going to an opposite direction. The Peace Accord is still on the table, luckily! If the map changes due to the significant combat activities of the Muslim-Croatian coalition, they will not accept that plan!

23.

I agree that the Ministry of the Interior needs to prepare a demarche in this sense and you will hear the answer. The answer will be, “Gentlemen, the Serbian side refused the peace, not the Muslim one who actually accepted it! You rejected the peace but you protest because the party that accepted the peace continues with the war due to your rejection! Excuse me, but is there any logic there? You rejected the peace and you request that others who accepted the peace, respect it, but you are the one who rejected it!?”.

Momir BULATOVIĆ:

Since the reaction will definitely be as Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ described it, I have a question of opportunism which is in front of me, I ask myself if we should make that at all? The demarche can be very harmful for us. Due to internal political situation, it can look like some guilty conscience that occurs later on, like some wish. Actually, we would just do something that sounds nice but does not change the essence.

Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ:

It will not change anything in the sense that we will make the United Nations “cry”, or the Americans, who actively supported the Muslims. They will not say, “it is good that the Yugoslav Government informed us that the Muslims are on the offensive”.

But some diplomatic activity must be done. I think that in our contacts that we are having – I talked about this with a new Russian representative yesterday – we should say that this may jeopardise a peace process. The peace process has not been ended, it is ongoing and the escalation of war activities certainly put the peace process in jeopardy. I think that in Zagreb, day after tomorrow, JOVANOVIĆ needs to point out to the Croatian Government that they are straying from the normalisation of relations with us because of their involvement in the activities in the Bosnia and Herzegovina theatre of war and the involvement of HVO /Croatian Defence Council/ units because that is not Herceg-Bosna, these are the regular units of HVO! That is how it should be presented in the conversation with them.

I think that this issue must be opened. Otherwise, I think that any of us who have any suggestion, should tell it to JOVANOVIĆ. I planned to talk with him tomorrow and to give him my suggestions. I think that Moma also gave him certain suggestions.

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He is going to have a meeting with OWEN and STOLTENBERG, whom we also need to warn about it. We have to require their engagement because this further complicates the peace process. So, they should raise their voice against it and emphasise the fact that the offensive is being conducted from the UN protected areas, which is absolutely contrary to the character of those areas. He should also emphasise to them that all of this is to the detriment of the job that they are paid to do. He should point out that threat during a separate conversation with GRANIĆ, because otherwise they would postpone normalisation of their relations with us, that is for sure. They can hardly normalise their relations with us to any extent for as long as they wage their war against Serbs, especially if they are not under attack!

In that sense, I think that some kind of diplomatic activity is necessary. I think that this direct kind of diplomacy is more rewarding than the publicising of the letters to Butros GHALLI in the newspaper, etc. We have received information that during his visit to Romania, Butros GHALLI was informed by Romanian authorities about the overflights of the aircraft across Romanian territory. Those aircraft supplied weapons for Muslim and Croat factions. Three aircraft flew over Romania last month and one is scheduled for 5 November, etc. That is what we need to tell them, and that is what we need to tell OWEN and STOLTENBERG. We are so worried about the fact that the highest instance of the UN, which is the Secretary General, is being warned about direct and flagrant breaches of the UN embargo on arm sales and yet he is well disposed towards that. They must provide some kind of response to it. We need to embarrass them, if we want them to undertake any measures. Mind you, I think that there is no use, because everybody seems to understand now what we had understood before. Unfortunately, we assessed the situation correctly and realistically. Then everybody was confused by KARADŽIĆ's belief that they have sufficient amount of everything, that they can wage an infinite war and they won't give up on anything. But there is one thing they do not understand; our biggest advantage is that the territories, which are to be allocated to Serbs by the peace plan, are already in the Serbian hands so that nobody has to be removed from them. Should the situation in the field take turn and a part of the territories, which are now proposed for the

Republika Srpska, fall in the hands of the Muslim and Croat forces, no force under God would be able to order them to withdraw from those territories. Then the peace plan would collapse but not to the benefit of the Pale politics but to their immeasurable disadvantage. It would turn out to be what LILIĆ quoted in his

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interview. And he said that the shortest, safest and most correct was the comment of a peasant who was selling some peppers in the green market. When they asked him what he thought about the peace plan, he replied - They will screw up everything if they don't sign it! And sadly they have chosen the best way to screw up everything.

However, we are not able to convince them about that, but I think that there is a different kind of background to this case. I would like to remind you of the reaction of KARADŽIĆ and KRAJIŠNIK once we have presented the ongoing developments to them and once we told them that they would be forced to do certain things. Then they said - It is even better if we are forced, but only if we do not accept it! Then we told them - Being forced means a lot of dead men. They said - One should not ask about casualties. Bearing that in mind, they will sacrifice many lives in order to preserve their vanity and to prove that they are not the ones who accepted the peace plan because a half of Bosnia and Herzegovina is too little for them. Background is the following; they will accuse the Army of the Republika Srpska. All the guilt of their evil mistake will be thrown upon those who did their best in order to save the people and that is the Army! In the end the Army is going to pick up the tab for the political leadership! I hope it won't work, but that is absolutely what they are trying to do.

I know how they think - it is us who made them politicians. Their political awareness is rather unambiguous. They found that it would be good to blame the Army! And, unfortunately, the Army will pay the price for everything. That is what MLADIĆ and his Staff do not understand. For, if he understood it, he would not let them manipulate him into it. Sadly, that is how it is!

Momir BULATOVIĆ:

Perhaps we could have this proposal modified in order not to make any sort of appeal to the international community. Instead, we should address the Contact Group and express our concern about the fact that the Contact Group does not react to the fact that the Muslim side, which is allegedly inclined to a peace solution, continues its

combat operations. On the same occasion, we can suggest that they meet as soon as possible and make those modifications to the plan as they have promised, etc.

Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ:

They are not going to change anything for as long as they do not accept the plan.

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That is the standpoint of the Contact Group that they have announced after the meeting of ministers in New York.

Zoran LILIĆ:

What do we actually get from such a demarche or a protest letter apart, from excessive damage that we can suffer if we get involved in the conflict again?

Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ:

We must have diplomatic activity in order to explain to them that it may jeopardise the peace process. However, what is the matter here? Obviously there are some factors that want to avoid the success of the peace process. Unfortunately, those factors at the moment have a crucial influence on the position of the Pale leadership. They presented them their solution on a number of occasions and they swallowed that bait like a catfish. The question is who is doing it on purpose and who is acting like a fool? Knowing all of them very well, I am sure that that man KRAJIŠNIK is acting like a fool in this case. It is because he would not want it. As for the rest of them, I am not sure if they are doing it on purpose.

Momir BULATOVIĆ:

Did you check that information that Buda KOŠUTIĆ was in Germany and contacted their MIP /Ministry of Foreign Affairs/?

Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ:

It is easy to check it out, I did not pay my attention to it. Buda KOŠUTIĆ is a clerk of our Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and he could not deal with it without the Minister knowing about it.

Momir BULATOVIĆ:

Have you made any contact with Ratko MLADIĆ?

Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ:

Of course he has. If he has not made any contacts, he would not know all this.

Momčilo PERIŠIĆ:

Then, I would not know all this.

Momir BULATOVIĆ:

What are his estimates?

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Momčilo PERIŠIĆ:

I have already told you that Ratko is unrealistic about many things. He is actually caught in a cleft stick.

Zoran LILIĆ:

They are all overly unrealistic.

Momčilo PERIŠIĆ:

I went there on behalf of both presidents in order to persuade them subsequently about the pure military facts, but to no avail. As far as I am concerned, he feels like the situation in the international field will improve to their benefit. That is a product of misinformation that is dragging them straight to death! They do not believe in their motherland that gave them everything by now, but they believe in some world rascals and that is exactly how they act. He has been manipulated by his politics and that is how he behaves.

Momir BULATOVIĆ:

How does he cope with these defeats?

Momčilo PERIŠIĆ:

It is extremely hard for him! However, people, such as himself, who have been in war for four years, are somehow jaded by such defeats. They feel it way different than we do. Their basic assumption is that they must either win or disappear!

Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ:

The only question is - why is it so?

Zoran LILIĆ:

If we cannot say anything else particularly about this issue, then I think that a logical conclusion can be drawn from these suggestions. The conclusion is that in the situation that we are in, we should use direct contacts in order to exert as much pressure on those who can bring about the termination of this conflict. Obviously, the only way to terminate the conflict is that those who have not done that already accept the plan. But that does not occur to them indeed.

It will be terrible if the situation in which they are forces them to do it.

Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ:

They are now stuck in a worse kind of trap. KARADŽIĆ now does not dare accept the plan because they would ask him - Why did not you accept it before all these people got killed? That's the logic of a gambler who loses a game and believes that he will win eventually, but in the end, he loses everything. He is a gambler indeed and that is what you know. But he should not gamble with his state.

Momir BULATOVIĆ:

What concerns me all the time is this question - Is there any possibility that the international community offers Radovan at least an illusion of an honest outcome?

Yesterday, when NIKIFOROV asked me what I thought of it, I said - Radovan KARADŽIĆ is the way he is, but he is a political factor *par exelans* in the Republika Srpska. I think that he should not be pushed towards a shameful defeat, because he cannot survive the shameful defeat. And the people over there will not accept the shameful defeat. I asked him - Is there any chance that you offer him something, which is an illusion of success, and as such does not bring about any significant change of the plan? He asked me - What? I said - You are better diplomats, you will come up with something. That constantly haunts me; perhaps I am a bit naïve when I think about that.

Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ:

Momo, that is not naïve. Your thinking is entirely logical. I hoped that, after we confirm it at the meeting with the Contact Group, they would say - Now this is a new fact, let us consider it. I had a contact with the entire Group. They said that the rights were equal and their right to join a confederation was indisputable. You always throw at them some kind of solution, but our manoeuvring space is narrowed at the moment. The standpoint of the entire world and five superpowers is absolutely categorical. The talks can be continued only if the plan is accepted. They do not realise how little space we have for our manoeuvres and this was the best we could

get. They resigned themselves to their fate and said - All right then, it is quite clear that Serbs have the right to confederation with Yugoslavia! I mean, then it is one state.

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So, the question is – Is half of the territory not enough? They will destroy these people and then there will be the following question - is there anybody who would live in that territory at all? That is horrible.

We sent them whatever they needed. The last figures, on which I insisted because I wanted to include them in my exposé, say that we have sent them 14,500 tons of food and medicines since the border was closed.

Radoje KONTIĆ:

There was also some stock-cattle feed.

Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ:

Of course, there is also some stock-cattle feed. That is what they need the most. We do not send them potatoes, so that we can say we have sent them 14,000 tons of potatoes because they have enough potatoes to export.

Zoran LILIĆ:

Is it possible to organise another meeting with the Contact Group here? Perhaps we could invite Ratko or some of those reasonable men that they have.

Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ:

Ratko cannot take the responsibility and make any kind of decision. That is what Momčilo can tell you.

Momčilo PERIŠIĆ:

He cannot do it, you are right.

Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ:

They are functioning based on the logic that can be best described by that saying – The village is on fire, and yet the old lady is combing her hair. That is an old Macedonian saying, which is quite usable in this situation.

It is not the question anymore whether they can accomplish that goal because we promptly advised them that it was impossible to achieve the goal they wanted to achieve. We also told them that the politics is the art of the possible and not the art of the impossible. It is simply impossible that the international community will get along with the fact that two thirds of the population, including Croats and Muslims, are crammed into less than a half of the territory. Trust me, I did not expect that they would give us a half of the territory.

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I thought they would give us less than that. One third of the total population gets a half of the territory, while two thirds of the population get the other half of the territory!? They claim that it should be the other way around!? The worst things happen when you are using a bad example. Skadar is the right example which KRAJIŠINIK uses in the wrong way. He explains that we should not make the same mistake as Montenegrins did when a half of them got killed in Skadar after which they had to return it. On the contrary, even if we speak about the balance of power in the world, it just goes to show that a half of Montenegro's population died in vain because none of the superpowers wanted to recognise that – so you have to return it!

Momir BULATOVIĆ:

He is completely wrong when he says – We must not let Skadar happen to us ever again! They want to correct the injustice ever since the Kosovo myth onwards as if the God himself sent them here to rid us of all our troubles. That is what they do instead of saving their state and their people.

Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ:

And all that happens after so much suffering! We endured everything, we went through all the sanctions and we came to the point when the entire international community says – All right, you are not the aggressors, half of Bosnia and Herzegovina is yours, and you have the right to merge with Serbia and Montenegro. They say – No, and we will take even more by force, we will prolong the war. That is what I call complete madness!

Momir BULATOVIĆ:

They have already lost 850 square kilometres of the territory.

Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ:

That is already 1.5 percent.

Momčilo PERIŠIĆ:

Mr. President, perhaps your idea to call up once more those who can be talked to is good. On that occasion, we can try to bring them to reason and we can tell them that things are developing exactly as we told them.

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Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ:

Momo, from our point of view, the best member of the Contact Group is Russia. But you heard what Russian political director asked KONTIĆ yesterday and what was his reply? No way until they accept the plan! That is what Russia says.

Momčilo PERIŠIĆ:

I am saying that we should invite our men from Bosnia and try to persuade them to accept the plan.

Momir BULATOVIĆ:

I already informed you that I was ready to talk with Radovan. Radovan expressed his willingness to come. Besides, he also wanted to visit his mother. We organised it all, but he did not show up. He did not show up because those men there are not serious men. That was due last Friday.

Momčilo PERIŠIĆ:

I suggest that we try to persuade them if we still can do anything. Otherwise, they will face a complete disaster. And it is not only that they will face it, but such a situation will have dramatic consequences for Serbian and Montenegrin peoples.

Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ:

They failed to understand the basic thing. That is stuck deep inside Serbian consciousness that Serbs cannot stand the defeat. That is what this is all about. The peace plan was offered at the moment when Serbs were the winners! It means they won and they should say - For the sake of peace and everything else, we accept the division fifty-fifty. Thus, they would finish all the business as winners.

This way they will be forced to capitulate and they will screw up everything as that peasant said. Because, it is not the question anymore if they will achieve it or not, that is for sure. The international community will not give more than a half of Bosnia. The question is how long this peace plan will be lying on the table and when it will be decided that the Serbs will not be offered that peace plan again, but that they will be offered something much worse than that. And the worse plan will be - No confederation with Yugoslavia; no Republika Srpska; A unitary state is being established; Serbs will have autonomy in their areas.

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That is what they will lead to!

Momir BULATOVIĆ:

That is clear from the American standpoint. Unfortunately, Americans now have the full right to decline that NATO should bomb Muslim activities because the Muslims have a legally chosen government. They cannot make a precedent and target the UN units in their territory.

Momčilo PERIŠIĆ:

And the Muslims accepted the plan!

Momir BULATOVIĆ:

And now it is the Serbs who are treated as the group of rebels.

Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ:

They brought themselves down to that level and they put themselves into that kind of situation.

Zoran LILIĆ:

Sadly, it is understood that all those things, about which we have warned them and which they rejected, now come through. What I do not know is whether all that is happening and that will certainly happen according to our projections, should be happening only because of two or three people. I think that we should do something about that.

Momir BULATOVIĆ:

Now they have equal number of artillery field pieces. On the other hand, we know what is the realistic power and supply level of the mines and incendiary devices in the Army of the Republika Srpska. And we know that the Muslims have an infinite supply of that. It is clear that they will lose.

Momčilo PERIŠIĆ:

That is the essence.

Zoran LILIĆ:

They will ruin everything that has been created in the past three years.

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Momčilo PERIŠIĆ:

It would be great if we could get involved any factor that has any influence on them in order to try to bring them to reason.

Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ:

Momo, the Army is the sole factor that has influence on them and you know very well that you cannot do anything there.

Momčilo PERIŠIĆ:

Mr. President, at least we can invite them, and we can try to persuade those people in front of this audience. There are multiple reasons why I am asking you to do it.

Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ:

Call MLADIĆ, I think we can talk again.

Momir BULATOVIĆ:

There is now that gathering of priests in Banja Luka. Slobodan, what is your opinion about having another conversation with the Patriarch and their team.

Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ:

I talked to them three days ago.

Momir BULATOVIĆ:

What did they say?

Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ:

He is for peace, he is for everything! He came to me with Amfilohije RADOVIĆ and Irinej BULOVIĆ. I said I did not want to receive RADOVIĆ. I thought for a moment that all of them would turn around and walk away. But no, they were stone cold and they got in without RADOVIĆ, I mean the Patriarch and Irinej. Then the Patriarch explained to me that he was for peace and that he would put his best effort into it. Irinej said - You know Mr. President, Patriarch strictly follows the principle of the synod, and as such he cannot give orders to bishops and there are those bishops who are saying this and that, etc.

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I said - That is your problem, I cannot sort it out with the bishops. You had a chance to help our quest for peace that was in the best interest of the Serbian people to which you swear. However, you helped war by helping them build their illusion that what they were doing was a good thing to do. Unfortunately, you are partly responsible for what is going on.

Momčilo PERIŠIĆ:

The Patriarch stated that he only saw the exit from this situation through negotiations and peace. That is what he stated out there.

Momir BULATOVIĆ:

It is so blurry that even God himself does not know it!

Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ:

Come on people, they respect the Patriarch as much as they respect a rotten cheese. Even I respect him more than they do. They are just using the Patriarch; they kiss his hand and they cross themselves, but they just do it if they need to persuade him to do something for them. That is what they do. They do not really care about the Patriarch!

Momir BULATOVIĆ:

The Church has a lot of influence over there and it is their strongest alibi in my opinion. Given that in the Republika Srpska everything is irrational, KARADŽIĆ's alibi could be that the Patriarch kindly asked him to accept it.

Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ:

Momo, do you remember when we were persuading them and in the end they say - No, we cannot. And then we say - All right, you can accuse us, you can say that you don't think the plan is good, but Yugoslavia, Serbia, and Montenegro insisted on its acceptance. We gave them everything. We gave them everything we had. We even offered them that we would be blamed for such a decision regarding peace and they did not want to accept it either!

Momir BULATOVIĆ:

Everything is correct. Nevertheless, their point of view at that time was as if they were some kind of a major force.

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Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ:

We told them that they were not a major force, nor would they ever be!

Momir BULATOVIĆ:

At least we should inform BULOVIĆ or somebody else about the number of casualties.

Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ:

I informed them all, but I did not tell them how many were killed, because I did not have that information.

Momčilo PERIŠIĆ:

This is how many people got killed since 01 September if we assume that this information is correct. I suppose it is more than it was shown here.

Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ:

It is certainly no less than that.

Momir BULATOVIĆ:

Let us try with priests, though it is a little bit difficult to have a rational conversation with them.

Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ:

It is possible to talk to these very rationally.

Momir BULATOVIĆ:

Let us tell them - Do you remember our last suggestion; now you see what happened only two months after that; minus 850 square kilometres of the territory; minus 500 young lives!

Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ:

Let alone 500 people, there are over one thousand of the wounded and nearly 200 missing! That makes the total of about 3,000 people!

Momir BULATOVIĆ:

I would also like to say that we should at least try to open those people's eyes. They must know that the Turks, as they would put it, have now more guns than the Serbian side; they even have more ammunition!

Momčilo PERIŠIĆ:

And they almost don't have anything!

Momir BULATOVIĆ:

Let Amfilohije go to the first line of defence and let him curse there!

Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ:

People already swear those priests when they come to funeral to administer the last rites. They ask them – Where are your sons? There is neither a single SDS /Serbian Democratic Party/ functionary nor a functionary of the Government or Assembly whose son is in the lines! They keep on saying that the situation is good. And our opposition, which was helping them, is quiet now because they saw that it made no sense to speak like that. That opposition now says – Political situation in the Republika Srpska is excellent and the military situation is even better!?! They are driving those people to ruin! Because it is like we do not know what the Serbian interests are and they will teach us what the Serbian interest really is!

Momir BULATOVIĆ:

We now do not have other interlocutor from the Republika Srpska than Radovan, his men, and those priests. For, since the war is raging there and the environment is as it is, there is no any sort of opposition there. I think that I already presented that information to you – an innocent man was killed in Čajniče only

because he said that Serbia and Montenegro should not be accused in that way and the peace agreement should be signed. He disappeared in 24 hours! It means that we can hardly find a partner there for any sort of reasonable dialogue.

I think that we have to do one more thing with those priests and I think that we should present them this information without a guilty consciousness.

Momčilo PERIŠIĆ:

We can invite the priests, the soldiers, and some reasonable politicians if there are any reasonable politicians there at all.

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Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ:

There are none. KOLJEVIĆ all the time insisted that the plan should be signed, but they do not let him speak, they do not ask him anything! He told to me, not when we were all alone, but in the presence of KARADŽIĆ and KRAJIŠNIK, that the plan should be signed. However, he is helpless in this situation and they do not ask him for this opinion.

Momir BULATOVIĆ:

Did Ratko tell you who gives them hope from abroad that some dramatic turn will take place and that it would be to their benefit?

Momčilo PERIŠIĆ:

That is being done by those people who actually want to ruin the Serbian nation. They play their games with them and let them live in their illusions. At one point I even thought to myself, I said it to President MILOŠEVIĆ, that America was behind that. But that was all misinformation. Nevertheless they are a bunch of fools and they received it as it was the right information. They do not trust their motherland that was helping them from the beginning to the end, but they trust some politicians from all over the world.

Zoran LILIĆ:

Latest events – large number of casualties and lost territory – absolutely deny any hope of that kind. Therefore they should change the way they think.

Momir BULATOVIĆ:

Unfortunately, the time is ticking away and, as Slobodan already said, this plan will be removed from the table and replaced with a plan that will be much worse for them.

Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ:

Now Alija can say – We have been waiting long enough and now it is time we accepted that agreement; it is not our fault, months went by, gentlemen, and you cannot force us to stick to the plan that the other side turned down. That way he would have his job done. Should he ask for a new plan he would get it! That is what we told them.

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We said – the next plan can only be worse than this one because this one was conceived when the Serbian side was in its prime and when we were victorious. If you are defeated, you won't be offered any plan. Take a look at what the English and German press wrote; they wonder how it is possible that Serbian side loses its territory so fast!

Momir BULATOVIĆ:

They overestimated their combat readiness.

Zoran LILIĆ:

That is because Radovan went public with the information that he could wage war whole year.

Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ:

It was a headlong flight!

Momčilo PERIŠIĆ:

They were deserting their posts and there were no fights. If it spreads and if it becomes a general phenomenon, than it will be a complete catastrophe.

Momir BULATOVIĆ:

There is a political split over there; they do not know what they are fighting for and why somebody should now give his life for it.

Zoran LILIĆ:

I do not know what kind of conclusion we can draw from all this.

Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ:

Look, whatever conclusion we make, it would refer to something that we have tried already. There is not a single contact we make without trying to help them out. We made the situation a lot easier for them by means of the fact that we have opened a peaceful option, otherwise they would have been bombed long ago.

Radoje KONTIĆ:

Absolutely so!

Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ:

And it is not only that they would be bombed, but our radar stations and anything else would be bombed as well.

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It would be a complete chaos.

Radoje KONTIĆ:

What I told them is that we have actually saved them by accepting the plan.

Momčilo PERIŠIĆ:

But there is one big threat in it. The number of accusations directed to the regular army officers because of, as you said, manipulation of the army is increasing. They say – They betrayed us, they are communists, they are this, they are that, etc. And they are trying more and more to shift the responsibility to the army. If they continue dropping out, then the debacle will happen at rapid rate that will result in even more difficult circumstances. People cannot survive there. The man promised – I will give a hectare and a half of a forest to each one of you.

Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ:

That was on TV – Radovan KARADŽIĆ explains “the concept”. Do you know what is Paul POT for him - he is GALBRIGHT for him. /sic/ Even he himself has not conceived the economy the way he conceived it. He says – Everyone gets a hectare and a half of wood after which ten of them will merge and establish a sawmill, after which a 100 of them will merge and establish a furniture factory and all of them will be rich. (Laughing).

Zoran LILIĆ:

Or they can merge and establish a casket manufacture!

Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ:

Momo, if that option were possible, the Montenegro people would not know what the hell they would do with all that money! (Laughing).

Momčilo PERIŠIĆ:

Time is running out and what transpires now is pure one-party army of SDS. We can also pronounce the aforementioned army as a Chetnik army or the one that can give us hell in the near future. We should bear it all in mind.

Momir BULATOVIĆ:

Since we all think about this issue and,

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as Slobodan would put it, each of us gives his best from his position, I think that the probability of a radical response coming from the Republika Srpska decreases as the time goes by. Looked at objectively, they did not have political strength nor did they manage to turn the people against us. They have to deal with their own troubles now.

I am being surprised again and again every time I see who those who head those people and who decide about specific things. For instance, that man Božo VUČUROVIĆ, who tried to arrange a meeting between Radovan KARADŽIĆ and me which was strictly confidential matter. The meeting did not occur of course. However, he gets drunk and tomorrow a half of Trebinje knows that he was involved in it!

Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ:

That is barroom politics! A barroom politician cannot be involved in the real politics. You can try to make the real politician out of him, but he will always be only the barroom politician.

Momir BULATOVIĆ:

I told you that thing, when I telephoned you. He constantly insists that it should happen before Friday, Saturday, and Sunday. I think that NATO alliance will strike or another big thing will happen there. What actually happened? There was a festival of epic poetry in Novi Sad on Friday, Saturday, and Sunday and he was supposed to attend the festival as the member of jury even though he had to attend this meeting!? That is unbelievable. People are getting killed, evil things happen and he goes to Novi Sad for a festival.

Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ:

That is what I said – The room is on fire, and yet the grandmother is fixing her hair!

Momir BULATOVIĆ:

I am very glad that you did not receive Amfilohije. That was the worst statement that he has ever made. I mean the one that he made upon his arrival from Russia. Then he said that he did not fly JAT /Yugoslav Airlines/ on purpose because – Not a single flight is worth more than a drop of blood of a nurse on the Igman mountain.

Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ:

Rubbish, leave it alone. However, I thought after that that the other two won't come either, but they were cool and they just came without him.

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They even did not mention him.

Zoran LILIĆ:

I think that the army is the only factor that can do something there. Perhaps we should call MLADIĆ once again.

Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ:

Let Momo call MLADIĆ so we can talk to him once more. We are ready to do it, we will sit down and talk.

Momčilo PERIŠIĆ:

Are we going to call MLADIĆ only?

Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ:

Yes, MLADIĆ only! Who else can you call? Who else is worth any talk?

Zoran LILIĆ:

I suggest we start discussing cadre-related issues.

We have a proposal made by the General Staff.

Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ:

I suggest that we discuss urgent issues only. We can leave the other things for our next session because we have already lost two hours.

Zoran LILIĆ:

First of all, let us start with vacant positions.

Momo, you can start.

Momčilo PERIŠIĆ:

We have the 1st Army. Two candidates have been proposed for the position of its commander - OJDANIĆ and MRKŠIĆ. The third possible candidate is MARJANOVIĆ.

We have here information regarding all of them. Should we opt for one of them, then the position of that one who is leaving, would remain vacant. It is all systematised here so that it is self-contained.

Second vacant position, if MRKŠIĆ has to leave, would be Assistant to the Chief of Main Staff for Land Forces. However, should OJDANIĆ take that position, then MARJANOVIĆ would become Chief of Staff instead of OJDANIĆ and the Commander of the Užice Corps would be Rumenko DIŠOVIĆ, who is Chief of Staff there at the moment.

Further on, there is a vacant position in the Novi Sad Corps. For that position we proposed Zlatoje TERZIĆ, who is now Chief of Staff. In that case Slobodan ANTONIĆ, who is now Chief of Staff in the Kragujevac Corps, would take his position.

There is a slight change related to the Principal of the National Defence School. Initially we proposed ŠULJAGIĆ. However, while we were doing subsequent clearance we came to know that he has some impediments so we decided to propose Tripko ČEČOVIĆ, who has been the Commander of the Military Academy until present. Besides, he has already been appointed by a decree. He is a tried and tested person; he took part in three wars; he is of Montenegrin nationality; he completed all the schools and I think that he is the right person for the job. Other than that, in the school where he has been working so far he was one of the top tutors and he was very successful.

Should that happen, his post would be filled by Milan KARAJOVIĆ, who would then be the Commander of the Military Academy. He holds a Ph.D., and has a vast experience in teaching. He originates from the Kraljevo area and is a very capable man.

We propose the appointment of Geza FARKAŠ to his current position but with all those formational elements and appropriate pay scale etc. This is because his status has not been resolved so far. He is a Hungarian and an outstanding personality and he played a very positive role in the mobilisation of the Novi Sad Corps.

Next is Dušan RAKIĆ. He is to be retired because we could not seem to find an adequate position for him. I had a conversation with him and he asked me to give his greetings to you and to thank you for everything that has been done for him. Nevertheless, he also wants you to provide an apartment for him in Belgrade. He does not object his retirement because he is fully aware of everything you said. I think that

his claims should be fulfilled. I will try to find a possibility to provide an apartment for him.

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I am also asking for your help so that we can provide a small 40 square metre apartment. He is alone, you know that he does not have a family. That is all.

Zoran LILIĆ:

Here you are, we heard what General PERIŠIĆ said.

Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ:

I suggest that we should take a look at those urgent matters and as for the other ones, we will address them later.

I think that we should appoint OJDANIĆ as the Commander of the 1st Army. He is Chief of Staff, he is an excellent General, he is capable enough to execute that duty and he is the best of all the candidates. In my opinion, he has an outstanding development as a soldier. He used to be a Battalion and Brigade Commander. He passed all commanding positions – here only those most important are mentioned. It means that he passed through command structure from its bottom to its top. Other than that, he is an intellectual and overall clever man. I think that he also holds a Master's degree.

Momčilo PERIŠIĆ:

Yes he holds a Master's degree.

Zoran LILIĆ:

I agree with it, and I also suggest that MARJANOVIĆ should take over his current position. He is the Commander of the Užice Corps. I think it is a good combination.

Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ:

I do not know that MARJANOVIĆ person, but since you propose him, I believe he is a good one.

Momčilo PERIŠIĆ:

He is a war veteran. He established the border and he accepted all the units that were withdrawing from Croatia towards Turanj near Karlovac. And it is thanks to him that many units were pulled out safely. The border that he has established is still there. He graduated from highest military schools and

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he was a successful commander of the Užice Corps.

Zoran LILIĆ:

As for the 1st Army, it means that Major-General Dragoljub OJDANIĆ will be appointed as its commander. Major-General Svetozar MARJANOVIĆ, who is now Commander of the Užice Corps, will be appointed Chief of Staff.

Let us see who may be Commander of the Užice Corps.

Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ:

Colonel DIŠOVIĆ is probably a good man. However, he does not have any outstanding development as a soldier. He has not been in command of anything other than Student Battalions at the Military Academy. He was an Administrative Officer in the group for planning of the lectures, Commander of the Student Battalion, an Operational Strategy Officer in the 1st Department, he was Head of Administration Officer in the 1st Department of the 1st Army.

Momčilo PERIŠIĆ:

He has been Chief of Staff in the Užice Corps for two years already.

Zoran LILIĆ:

We may not even appoint him, but he can execute that duty as a Chief of Staff.

Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ:

The Užice Corps is very sensitive. I do not know DIŠOVIĆ, so I cannot say anything about him, but the Užice Corps is very sensitive and it has a large area of responsibility. Have you got any general who is capable of being a corps commander?

Momčilo PERIŠIĆ:

I am afraid not. We have 42 generals, and we are supposed to have 92. DIŠOVIĆ is on the promotion list, and he is one of the most serious candidates to be commissioned as general. He is the best solution that we have at the moment. Bearing in mind many facts, he actually handles the Užice Corps because MARJANOVIĆ was absent the whole year studying.

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Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ:

How long has he been in the Užice Corps?

Momčilo PERIŠIĆ:

He has been attached to the Užice Corps for almost two years.

Zoran LILIĆ:

It means he was Chief of Staff even when LONČAR was there?

Momčilo PERIŠIĆ:

Yes, we do not have a better candidate.

Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ:

All right. Give us a review of generals so that we can see what positions they hold and think about that for a while. Let him execute his duty. If we cannot find a

better solution than we will appoint him, that is not a problem. Objectively, I do not think that he has any limitations but that is a massive and very difficult job. I am afraid that he may not have sufficient experience for that job based on what he has been doing so far.

Momčilo PERIŠIĆ:

We can use a decree and make him an acting corps commander, and after that we can move him.

Momir BULATOVIĆ:

Basically, we do not change anything even if we give him a chance now to do that job. That is what he actually does now anyway. If he makes a mistake, we will replace him.

Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ:

That applies to everyone.

What was DIŠOVIĆ's duty in the Corps before he became Chief of Staff?

Momčilo PERIŠIĆ:

He was Chief of Operations, and then he became Chief of Staff.

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Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ:

Who would then be Chief of Staff of the Corps?

Momčilo PERIŠIĆ:

Mr. President, we have not proposed it yet. That is a position for a colonel. If we move him then we will seek the solution – that is what we are in charge of. We

will choose an outstanding colonel. We were not thinking about completing everything because we did not know if this would be accepted. It is up to you to decide, and we only make proposals.

Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ:

All right then, let us appoint that man.

Momir BULATOVIĆ:

We are not going to make a mistake.

Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ:

You know him, don't you?

Momir BULATOVIĆ:

No, but that is a logical thing to do.

Zoran LILIĆ:

Then, let us give him a chance and appoint the man.

Do you agree? (They do).

Then we are done with the 1st Army and the Užice Corps.

Momo, what comes next?

Momčilo PERIŠIĆ:

Next comes TERZIĆ for the Commander of the Novi Sad Corps. This process is underway. I have already supplied Boro's details to you. Here I have all his marks for each of these items. In that decision on putting him under the VDS /as written/, one of the glaring examples is the following: abuse of authority. We have evidence for this one. We have statements of the witnesses and a blank equipment sheet that was given to the witness. Other than that, he was stealing equipment in different ways and he was selling it to civilians.

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For example: “Corps had made a decision, based on our order, to prohibit issuing of the material supplies to the RS Army as the material and humanitarian aid, and also to other persons on the level of the Unit Corps Command, without a written order of the JNA /Yugoslav People’s Army/ General Staff.”

Miodrag JOVANOVIĆ, Colonel, to whom he was giving orders said: “In January or February 1994, General IVANOVIĆ gave me an equipment sheet which was verified with the stamp of the Serbian Teslić Brigade and there was nothing else written on it. General IVANOVIĆ said: “Take this and you will resolve what should be resolved.” This was in March 1994.

Mile JERKOVIĆ, the owner of the BM /as written/ Company, was tasked with receiving the following pistol ammunition from JOVANOVIĆ: 7.62 mm, 7.65 mm and other ammunition. He addressed the General and told him that JOVANOVIĆ was in charge of resolving that matter in a way that he would issue this ammunition to him through the equipment sheet. There was a signature and everything else on it: please, take a look at this blank list. He replied to him that he was not able to give that to him because if he would do that, he would be obliged to enter those supplies in the books and also to settle that matter through the material bookkeeping system. Then General IVANOVIĆ replied to him: “You know how to do this”. I understood this as an order and I can tell you that I have already seen that some officers who came in conflict with General IVANOVIĆ were transferred and had to suffer the consequences, as for example Major Slobodan PLANOJEVIĆ and others, etc. Then, the idea crossed his mind to put the ammunition, which this private owner asked for, on that equipment sheet with which he would sign off the sniper rifle and binoculars.

I have the evidence with me here to prove all of this, but the Court will establish that in the end. Therefore, I think it would be very detrimental to return that man there and, depending on the Court’s decision, we will resolve his status accordingly. With such an act of issuing, for example, the 100-mm rounds used for T-55 mortar he reduced the combat readiness of the Corps by 3.7%, with issuing of 12.7-mm rounds by 24%, 7.62-mm rounds by 5% or howitzer rounds by 5.7%, etc. This goes all the way to issuing of 7.9-mm rounds used for M-48 rifle, with which he reduced the combat readiness of the Corps by 8%, etc.

Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ:

Which is the formation that has an M-48 rifle?

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Momčilo PERIŠIĆ:

Ammunition M-7.9 mm is for both rifle and other weapons – for light machine gun.

Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ:

As for that 7.9-mm light machine gun, there is no such gun in any formation.

I do not like this thing at all and I have to say that. I had a chance to talk with the Collegiate body members who explained to me that General IVANOVIĆ literally disarmed the Novi Sad Corps and prevented it from functioning properly. I asked for this to be documented. I received a paper that you probably received as well.

Momir BULATOVIĆ:

You are the only one who received it.

Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ:

Maybe, I did not bring it with me, I thought I had it with me here.

Then, they approved the overall issuing of the supplies to the RS Army and RSK Army from the time BIORČEVIĆ was appointed the Commander until this time and they did it in a very dishonest manner. He was issuing those supplies as a Chief of Staff and Commander of Novi Sad Corps since BIORČEVIĆ was the Commander at that time. They collected all of that.

Momčilo PERIŠIĆ:

They did not collect all of that.

Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ:

It is not correct in principle. All the stuff that was given during that time was the following: 3,7,5,4,6,/as written/- 4%, etc.

I am afraid that in this settling of accounts, with General IVANOVIĆ as an object, we are addressing some issues that can be very unpleasant. Personally, I think that there is no an officer in the Yugoslav Army on the level of a corps commander, chief of staff or maybe a brigade commander who was not issuing ammunition to the

RS Army and RSK Army; this refers to Army Commanders as well. Absolutely no, there was no such a commander. If they start with a general who should go on

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trial because he was giving ammunition to the RS Army and RSK Army, then it would inevitably open the issue related to all persons who were doing the same thing during that period of time, here is no doubt about it. It is evident from this that no allegations were proved, except for the fact that the ammunition was being issued, and almost every corps was issuing it!

Momčilo PERIŠIĆ:

As for all that was mentioned here, it took place after your written order and it was done in this way. You are kindly asked to acknowledge this opinion.

Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ:

This is not the matter of opinion, but the matter of facts.

Momčilo PERIŠIĆ:

Court is doing its job. I am saying that it would be detrimental to bring him back, but let the Court decide about it in the end.

Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ:

It would be a pity if it appears in newspapers that General IVANOVIĆ is accused of issuing the ammunition to those people over there and if it opens discussions about the issues related to the issuing of ammunition by SRJ /Federal Republic of Yugoslavia/ to the RS and RSK. In order to punish General IVANOVIĆ the state should be punished as well. I think that you do not have it in mind at all?

Momčilo PERIŠIĆ:

But you did not order the issuing of this ammunition to private owners.

Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ:

What private owners are you talking about?

Momčilo PERIŠIĆ:

Look! I told you which one I refer to – 4,000 rounds are given to a private owner. You are kindly asked to take this point into consideration because it makes no sense to allow someone to weaken the combat readiness and the last person who should do that is the General.

Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ:

Is there any commander who was not issuing the ammunition to the RS and RSK?

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Momčilo PERIŠIĆ:

After your order and the order of the General Staff, nobody was issuing it except for a commander...of brigade.

Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ:

Fine, as for the ammunition that you mentioned here, was that ammunition given after the order or this was a total amount of the ammunition given by BIORČEVIĆ and others?

Momčilo PERIŠIĆ:

No, that was the ammunition that was given after the order.

Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ:

All of this that is written here was given after our order?

Momčilo PERIŠIĆ:

After your order.

Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ:

Then, it was not written correctly for the following is said here: “ In his capacity as a Chief of Staff and Commander of Novi Sad Corps, in the period from 6.1.1992 until 2.8.1994 – it means for two years and half – he was abusing his position, he exceeded his authorities in a way that he was acting contrary to the orders...”/ sentence not completed/

Momčilo PERIŠIĆ:

Here is the witness statement and the equipment sheet. Look at the date: 21.1.1993, and he was given a blank list in January and February.

Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ:

Who says that?

Momčilo PERIŠIĆ:

Witness Miodrag JOVANOVIĆ, Colonel.

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Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ:

Have JOVANOVIĆ's claims been proved, I mean this guy who was in prison?

Momčilo PERIŠIĆ:

Here is his signature!

Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ:

It means that it was concluded based on the signature of a colonel?

Momčilo PERIŠIĆ:

That was just one of the statements; there are other statements as well.

Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ:

So, all these persons who signed it falsified this date?

Momčilo PERIŠIĆ:

But he is the cause and he gave the verbal order, Mr President.

Look at the number of witnesses who are here.

Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ:

Momo, almost three years have passed since 6.1.1992, all these three years are included.

Momčilo PERIŠIĆ:

Fine, it is up to you to make a decision, but it is my duty to give you a proposal.

By the way, by the time the Court establishes the facts we can consider that TERZIĆ was replacing the Commander. As for this one, let him have the same status or let us find some other solution, but he should not be returned to the Novi Sad Corps.

Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ:

Momo, I am talking about a simple thing.

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There is no senior officer at such position who was not giving that stuff to the Army. It has been decided now to try people for that with consequences that would backfire on the Yugoslav Army and Yugoslavia.

Momčilo PERIŠIĆ:

This refers to both the Yugoslav Army and those who are out of the Yugoslav Army.

Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ:

Therefore, in this blindness someone wants to settle some accounts, and no one thinks of the consequences! If he is the only senior officer of the Yugoslav Army who was giving the ammunition to the RS and RSK then he should be tried.

Momčilo PERIŠIĆ:

Mr President, allow us to find another position for Boro, so that we do not have to bring him back to that place.

Zoran LILIĆ:

And to suspend this procedure.

Momčilo PERIŠIĆ:

Yes, and to suspend the procedure!

Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ:

I can tell you as a man of character who does not accept to do disgraceful things and regardless of the consequences I do not accept to do that. I cannot accept that a corps commander – it is even ridiculous to say- that a commander of corps should go to trial because of 2000 bullets.

Do you see what the conclusion of this act is, the act that all of you signed: “Based on the aforementioned...there is a proposal to remove him from service, to send him to retirement due to his unreliability in the commanding system”. – He was an excellent war brigade commander. However, “due to the false reporting and damaging the reputation of all honourable members of the Yugoslav Army, which is contrary to its commitments to transformation, as well as due to the strategic goal of the state leadership in their fight against crime...” It means he is a criminal because he was giving the arms to people across the Danube River.

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Momčilo PERIŠIĆ:

He was giving that to the private owners.

Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ:

“ We point to the fact that any other solution, except for the retirement, may badly affect the morale and the overall combat readiness of the Yugoslav Army, especially restoring to his position of commander...”.

Momčilo PERIŠIĆ:

He failed to obey to both your and my order, the order of the Army Commander. I am asking myself now who is the person that Boro is going to obey if he remains in this position? He was doing all of that despite the orders!

Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ:

The order was not given in January 1993, it was given in 1994.

Momčilo PERIŠIĆ:

I have an obligation and it is my duty to present you the facts and it is up to you to make a decision you like, but in a management and commanding system if a

person is not reliable and he proved to be unreliable... I do not know the person that Boro would obey in the future and whose orders he is going to carry out. You are aware that the unconditional execution of orders is an axiom for many things.

Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ:

I agree with you. Let us not talk about some other thing: he was with LILIĆ and he told him that that was not correct. I do not see the reason why we should throw mud at him until it is proved to be true: All of this was based on the statement of a colonel who is in prison for the crime he committed. He claimed that Boro had told him verbally and you know very well that no supplies in the Army have been issued upon a verbal order, but there has to be an equipment sheet.

Momčilo PERIŠIĆ:

There are also other statements of senior officers and other persons.

54.

Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ:

Among other things, he offered LILIĆ to have an insight into four of his orders with which he prohibited the issuing of supplies and there is no order with which he approved the issuing of supplies.

Momčilo PERIŠIĆ:

It does not exist because of his machinations. Here is ŠEGO, the Logistics Commander who stated the same thing; the next witness is Miloš JANOŠ, then there is Pavle MILENKOVIĆ, etc.

President LILIĆ was there and he could feel the atmosphere in the Corps. He saw for himself the atmosphere on the spot. I am talking only about the bad effects in case of returning Boro there.

If the Court is going to make a decision about that then none can prevent this information from being revealed. Something will leak out and it will have far-reaching consequences. If possible you should make a decision for him not to return to that post. Let us assign him to some other position and in that way we will alleviate the problem and he will not go on trial.

Momir BULATOVIĆ:

Zoran, what is your impression after the visit to the Corps?

Zoran LILIĆ:

An atmosphere was created in the Corps in which Bora is really considered to be a criminal par excellence. Even his war achievements are being questioned now and this is very bad. I do believe that there could be a problem due to such kind of atmosphere that exists at that place, I mean if he returns there. However, at the same time I consider that there are not so many arguments in the materials accusing him for what he did regardless of this what General PERIŠIĆ is saying now.

Therefore, I think that TERZIĆ should not be appointed now. In my opinion this what President MILOŠEVIĆ said is more important – we have to comprehend the consequences that such process may have when it comes to the Yugoslav Army and Yugoslavia in general.

I am not for appointing TERZIĆ to the post of the Commander of Novi Sad Corps today, but according to what I saw and what I heard there it would not be a good thing to bring Boro IVANOVIĆ back to the Corps either.

55.

Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ:

All right, we will discuss that later on. I cannot suggest to General PERIŠIĆ not to institute the legal proceedings. Let them fight in court but I am telling you in advance –just for the record - I am warning you that this will have bad effects for the Army, I mean such kind of legal proceedings.

Zoran LILIĆ:

That is for sure.

Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ:

This is not good – to try General because he was giving ammunition to those across the Danube River; this will have the "boomerang" effects for the Army.

Momčilo PERIŠIĆ:

I and my collegiate body and all other people who were doing that will be considered guilty if there is no legal proceedings. The only thing I can do now is not to have Boro at the post of commander, we could find some other appointment for him, and in that way we could exert some influence. Otherwise I would not be able to accept the responsibility.

Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ:

Fine, was General Jevrem COKIĆ sent to court for falsifying the Decree of the FRY President?

Momčilo PERIŠIĆ:

No, but he was sent to retirement.

Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ:

As for this about Boro IVANOVIĆ, nothing has been proved as yet, it should be proved in the Court. As for the falsification of the SRY President Decree, there is nothing to prove about that, it is in our hands! That criminal act is ten times bigger than this one. If we are going to continue in that way then we will say the following: Please, the Law is applied to everyone. I am telling you, when it leaks out in public, nobody from public will blame IVANOVIĆ for giving the ammunition to people across the Danube River, but everyone will be astonished that the Commander of the Army falsified the Decree of the President of SRY /Federal Republic of Yugoslavia/!

56.

Momčilo PERIŠIĆ:

I don't even know to which place that ammunition went.

Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ:

To be honest with you, as for all the ammunition that was given to them, it would be difficult to say to which place each supply went.

Momčilo PERIŠIĆ:

The question is whether all of that went there?

Zoran LILIĆ:

We could really start clearing up things that are extremely unpleasant and dangerous for Yugoslavia.

Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ:

It will be like in a proverb: "They were trying to catch a fox but they caught a wolf!"

Zoran LILIĆ:

Secondly, I told you last time that we would face a situation in which we will have to question many generals from the General Staff just because of such acts. I told you the same thing at the meeting of the Supreme Council and I am telling it now.

Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ:

That business is not good at all.

Momčilo PERIŠIĆ:

The solution for this is not to send him back there but to appoint him to some other post.

Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ:

Momo, I am deeply convinced that what I am saying now is in the interest of the Yugoslav Army and not against the interests of the Yugoslav Army. And I think that this what is being done to this man is against the interests of the Yugoslav Army! I strongly believe in this!

Momčilo PERIŠIĆ:

We had taken only one thing and you have the evidence here for everything else. The Court will determine the facts. I cannot stop the Court, let it work independently. It will leak out to the public definitely.

57.

Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ:

And what are you going to do if the Court makes a decision?

Momčilo PERIŠIĆ:

So be it.

Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ:

The Court decision goes to the Supreme Court of Yugoslavia.

Momčilo PERIŠIĆ:

Let it go as far as it can go.

Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ:

And what is going to happen if they do not have any written order given by Boro IVANOVIĆ; if JOVANOVIĆ says: "he asked me to do that" Boro may reply: "I did not ask you to do that!"

I am a lawyer. You can say: "I know that MILOŠEVIĆ stole this and that", and I will say: "No, I did not" and that is the end of story; there are as many "yeses" as "noes".

Zoran LILIĆ:

Momo, I am not a lawyer but at the last meeting we said that those materials have weak grounds and they can hardly be accepted by the Supreme Court and we could cause a considerable damage to the Yugoslav Army.

Momčilo PERIŠIĆ:

I did not even plan to discuss this at today's session – you raised this issue.

Zoran LILIĆ:

I think that this should not go to that place.

Momčilo PERIŠIĆ:

If we were going to stop the process then it would be inconvenient to send him back there. You saw that.

58.

Let TERZIĆ perform this duty the way he has been performing it so far. It means that we have an option to stop the process, to designate him to some other

position or to have a legal proceeding, which will prove it in details, and whatever happens!

I feel a bit uncomfortable because there is more influence on some things coming from outside than through a direct military subordination and military subordination is something sacred. Anyway, you know that.

To be honest with you, if we had carried out the airforce exercise last year in December I would not have dared taking you to the place to which I took you this year – to such a distance and into real situation in which the lethal ammunition is used, etc.

Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ:

Why?

Momčilo PERIŠIĆ:

Well, because of lot of things that are still unresolved. A lot of things improved in many aspects. I kindly ask you to have confidence – if you have it, it is fine but if you do not have it, please, tell us that you do not have confidence in us.

Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ:

Momo, I kindly ask you to keep in mind only one thing: We are performing our duty here. Our duty is not only the matter of confidence, but also our duty means the responsibility to make decision within our competence. That is the big difference. We have to make the decision within our competence in accordance with our beliefs, and not in accordance with to whether we have confidence or not. We can have as much confidence as you want, but we are the ones who make our decision.

Momčilo PERIŠIĆ:

All right, I offered a proposal and you are to make whatever decision and we are the soldiers who will carry out the decision! I am obliged to tell you my opinion and the opinion of my Collegiate body that this would be detrimental and would have serious consequences if he would return there. Whatever decision you make – I am a soldier and I will carry out your decision.

Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ:

I suggest you to establish that through the commission and not to involve the court in this. It is much better for you to do that.

59.

Momčilo PERIŠIĆ:

We are not able to establish that through the commission because you will deny what I will say in the same way you are denying what I am telling you now.

Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ:

What am I denying?

Momčilo PERIŠIĆ:

I do not mean personally you, but you all will deny a proper approach to this with regards to the evidence. Isn't this we all signed enough and couldn't we do that without involving the court? If we want to establish the facts and to bring this matter to an end then we have to go to the court.

Zoran LILIĆ:

I would accept right away for General IVANOVIĆ to be replaced and sent to retirement if these allegations were true. As for this matter about the ammunition, it is a burden that falls on the back of all officers equally, especially for the fact that there is no evidence!

I think that this post should not be filled now because anyway it is a vacant post unless we count on that false document that General COKIĆ took there?

Momir BULATOVIĆ:

Is Zlatoje TERZIĆ there?

Zoran LILIĆ:

Zlatoje TERZIĆ is the Chief of Staff and he is performing that duty too.

Momir BULATOVIĆ:

We got ourselves into deep water. Slobodan is right, if we initiate a court proceeding anything might happen.

Zoran LILIĆ:

And he will be entitled to talk before the court.

Momir BULATOVIĆ:

To be honest, we made a mistake. We released Žiko PANIĆ and he is a multibillionaire, a famous businessman

60.

He is still entitled to military security escort; he is renting and using the fancy facilities of this country. If we should have done anything about anyone then it was him that we should have taken care of. There is a court proceeding being instituted against Pavle STRUGAR.

Zoran LILIĆ:

Who are the other Generals in question?

Momčilo PERIŠIĆ:

DAMJANOVIĆ, JOKIĆ, SIMIĆ and many others. I have already presented some of them to you.

Momir BULATOVIĆ:

I think we should sit down and get an information. We have to stop that, not because of those people since they do not deserve that. How to look at the eyes of fathers and mothers of those who were killed there?

Zoran LILIĆ:

I said that IVANOVIĆ has got some of the mentioned elements. As for all other persons, they had profited enormously.

Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ:

As for this Bora IVANOVIĆ, he was the best in carrying out the assigned task – he was the Brigade Commander in Osijek, he fought, he did an excellent job. And he is the principal accused on the grounds that he was giving the ammunition to those across the Danube River!

Momo, I would suggest to see into this matter with TERZIĆ. Here are the information obtained from you: Administration Clerk in Artillery Department, Senior Clerk in Artillery Department, Section Chief in the Cabinet of SSNO /Federal Secretariat for National Defence/, Analyst Clerk in SSNO Cabinet, Chief of the Section in SSNO Cabinet, Senior Analyst to the Deputy Chief of SSNO Cabinet. This is his employment record! Those are good data. For example, there is a proposal to appoint him a Military Attaché.

Momčilo PERIŠIĆ:

He was the Commander of the Reserve Officers School in Zadar. He took part in the war in Vukovar. He was the Commander of the complete artillery in Vukovar.

61.

I do not aspire for him to be a commander; some other person will be appointed a commander. It is important to me that Boro does not go back there because of the reality of the situation, which is very bad. This will have bad effects.

Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ:

Fine, let us leave some things at rest, and then we will find a solution.

Momčilo PERIŠIĆ:

Let them be at rest and in this way we can stop the criminal proceedings. This JOVANOVIĆ should be subject to criminal proceedings.

Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ:

Why should he be subject to criminal proceedings – is it because he was issuing ammunition?

Momčilo PERIŠIĆ:

Yes, and now when he is “pinned” he is defending himself in this way, and not only he, but others as well. They are just accusing Boro.

I will stall it for as long as it is possible, but I kindly ask you to understand us. I believe that you care about it as much as I care, but I do not care less than you to have a good situation in the Army and in the defence of country; do not think that I

care less about it than you do! Excuse me, you are responsible for the whole country, and as for the Army, I am responsible as much as you are, even more.

Zoran LILIĆ:

Let us find a solution in order to avoid dealing with this issue. Let TERZIĆ do that job as a Chief of Staff and we should see which other solution we could find.

Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ:

Fine, let us think about it a little bit.

Momčilo PERIŠIĆ:

By the same analogy the next one should not be moved, let him remain at the same place. ČEČOVIĆ will be appointed the Director of National Defence School.

62.

Zoran LILIĆ:

Momo, that is a formation post of a Lieutenant General?

Momčilo PERIŠIĆ:

Yes, it is.

Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ:

Momo, let us have a look at those data. You are proposing a Colonel for the formation rank of a Lieutenant General?

Momčilo PERIŠIĆ:

Mr. President, you saw that we have 42 generals; where to find one— “from a sleeve”? We do not have them because we are 50% filled up.

ČEČOVIĆ is currently a Chief of the Military Academy of the Yugoslav Army. He was born in October 1947 in Montenegro, He has in total 22 years of service. He has performed the following duties: Teacher of Tactics in Military school for senior officers –four years; Commander of Motorised Brigade –two years; Teacher of practical exercises in the National Defence School – one year; Class Teacher in the National Defence School – 4 months; Commander of the Specialised Training Centre –KOV /as written/ - 7 months, and currently he is the Commander of

Military Academy. He finished the Military Academy with very good success, he also finished the Military school for senior officers with excellent success, he has a good knowledge of foreign languages – both marks are “outstanding”. We consider that we do not have better Colonel for this post.

Zoran LILIĆ:

We have a General for that post!

Momčilo PERIŠIĆ:

What General?

Zoran LILIĆ:

Slavko KRIVOŠIJA!

63.

Momčilo PERIŠIĆ:

He could be appointed to that post. I agree with that! Mr President, as for Boro, we could give him to you to replace Slavko.

Zoran LILIĆ:

I have already found a person to replace Slavko.

Slavko KRIVOŠIJA:

I have been for five years at this post. I have been attending the advanced studies – starting from Bileća and further on.

Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ:

Which duty were you performing at Bileća?

Slavko KRIVOŠIJA:

I was in charge of the Tactics Department. I was the Commander of the Secondary Military School in Sarajevo, Director of the Military High School here and Commander of Brigade.

Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ:

It is good to have a nice approach in dealing with young people.

Momčilo PERIŠIĆ:

Mr President, excuse me, but this one is even better candidate; excuse me, Mr General! He is much better person for this duty!
(Laughter!)

Zoran LILIĆ:

I agree with appointing Slavko to this post.

Momčilo PERIŠIĆ:

I have nothing against Slavko; he is a remarkable person and I am glad he is with you, Mr President!

Zoran LILIĆ:

To be honest I am also glad to have him.

Slavko KRIVOŠIJA:

I stay here – I like it here.

64.

Momčilo PERIŠIĆ:

There are some other duties for you, General!

Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ:

It is not a bad idea; we have a general who worked a lot in education. That's a very high rank, that's a formation rank of Lieutenant General.

Momir BULATOVIĆ:

Sir, this is the best school! (Laughter).

Slavko KRIVOŠIJA:

I count on that as well, sure! (Laughter).

We are discussing strategic matters here.

Zoran LILIĆ:

Fine, I think that we could appoint General KRIVOŠIJA to his new post.

Momčilo PERIŠIĆ:

We could.

Zoran LILIĆ:

Do you agree? (Approval).

Let us see with regard to this man, ŠUŠIĆ, he is from political sciences department. He works with Pavle BULATOVIĆ in the Ministry; he is a brilliant person. You have to prepare him. But we will see into that matter.

Momčilo PERIŠIĆ:

ŠUŠIĆ is a good person. I checked him when I was looking for the chief of cabinet.

ČEČOVIĆ remains at his place and I will take KARAJOVIĆ for the Chief of Cabinet because a person who is currently performing the duty of my Chief of Cabinet is transferred to Brussels.

Slavko KRIVOŠIJA:

I agree with this, Mr General, and I hope that I did not spoil things for you.

65.

Momčilo PERIŠIĆ:

You did not spoil anything for me.

Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ:

It was not him who “spoiled things” for you, it was LILIĆ.

Zoran LILIĆ:

I really do not have any remark with regards to Slavko’s performance. I think he is good and the whole Cabinet is functioning impeccably!

As for FARKAŠ, nothing is disputable, I mean this what Moma proposed. As for RAKIĆ, we have an obligation to resolve his housing problem.

Momir BULATOVIĆ:

I would propose that we write nothing about Prevlaka in the report.

Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ:

I would not write anything about Prevlaka; we would achieve nothing if we do that.

Zoran LILIĆ:

I have some additional proposals with regards to the personnel issues. Shall we discuss that now?

Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ:

We can do it some other time.

Zoran LILIĆ:

I suggest that we hear the report concerning Prevlaka and then to finish. Pakistan and Israel are not so urgent matters. I would prefer Pavle to be there. Secondly, we have no capabilities to produce the mentioned 300 tanks.

Momčilo PERIŠIĆ:

I believe that all of you received the material regarding Prevlaka.

Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ:

We will have a look at this and adjust it a little bit.

66.

Zoran LILIĆ:

Momo, I wanted to say something more regarding the personnel issues although according to the Law on the Yugoslav Army it comes under the competence of the Chief of General Staff. When it comes to the appointments of brigade commanders, I think it would be good to get that information from the Supreme Council. I believe that such a conclusion would not be a problem?

Momčilo PERIŠIĆ:

Mr President, that is too much. Excuse me. That would be a sort of usurpation of the authority and nothing significant would be achieved in that way. Then, you would need to meet more often.

Zoran LILIĆ:

Why would it be a problem to inform the Supreme Defence Council that this or that person is appointed a Brigade Commander?

Momčilo PERIŠIĆ:

I can do that whenever you want.

Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ:

What is the matter?

Zoran LILIĆ:

I proposed that regardless of the Law on the Yugoslav Army which gives the authorities to the Chief of General Staff to appoint and dismiss the brigade commanders, etc, that the Supreme Defence Council should give its consent about it as well. Moma said that this is the usurpation of his authorities.

Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ:

That is not the usurpation and this could be resolved by the order of the Supreme Commander. It is logical that this line concerning the brigade commanders is the first line of candidates for the generals' posts. Am I right?

Momčilo PERIŠIĆ:

That is one of the possibilities, but that is not the main point. I always propose the fully-grown persons to you and we have them.

67.

We have a list of Colonels who are the candidates for the ranks of Generals. This is the list from which I am offering you the people. For example, KARAJOVIĆ and ČEČOVIĆ are from that list. They passed through many "filters".

If you start deciding about this it would be too much.

Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ:

No, you are the person who is deciding about that, nobody said that we should decide about that.

Momčilo PERIŠIĆ:

I will inform you how many people we have from those areas. Look, this General also comes from that area.

Zoran LILIĆ:

No, KRIVOŠIJA was born there "in passing". I have a lot of people from those areas that are not there and you know that they should be there.

Momčilo PERIŠIĆ:

Mr President, in the spirit of that matter I would like to say the following:

At the first meeting I insisted that those who were born there should go there. The current situation is the following: we have 62 men from the areas of the RSK and RS who are appointed at the level of duty of a brigade commander. There are 62 of them in total. I have a review and I can tell you their names and their duties. Out of that number, there are 29 appointed in the General Staff; 12 are in the 1st Army, 1 in 2nd Army, 3 in the 3rd Army. There are 7 in RVO /as written/ and PVO /Air Defence/, 3 in Navy, 3 in the Corps of Special Units, 2 in High Military School Centre.

Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ:

There are only 3 in the Corps of Special Units?

Momčilo PERIŠIĆ:

But those are the Brigade Commanders and higher ranks.

Zoran LILIĆ:

There are three commanders because there are three brigades?

Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ:

And all three of them are yours?

Momčilo PERIŠIĆ:

No, the Commander of Guard Brigade is from place.

Zoran LILIĆ:

No, he is not from here – it is STOJIMIROVIĆ, he is from Banija.

Momčilo PERIŠIĆ:

Mr President, he is not, he is from here.

Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ:

Who do you propose for the post of Commander of Special Corps?

Momčilo PERIŠIĆ:

I have to find a good General. That was not urgent – I proposed only those requiring urgent action. We have STUPAR from Zrenjanin, he is a good boy. However, I cannot propose all of them at once. You know, I wanted to propose all of them at one time in order to resolve the matter, but you said “no”.

Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ:

No, we said “not to sent them by force”

Momčilo PERIŠIĆ:

What shall I do with them then – to put them at some place where they will do nothing? Some of them even requested to go there, but we did not allow them to go because they would not be assigned an adequate duty there and he is much needed here; for example: in the airforce, data processing department, doctors, etc.

I have something more to tell you.

I have 148 Serbs and Montenegrins who were born here and who had gone there and they stayed there. I have a proposal with regards to them in order to alleviate the problem of their families. We could assign them to some posts here and to give them the salary for their families. There are 148 such persons.

69.

Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ:

That will cause chaos over there – the discrimination against those who are from here and those who are from there.

Momčilo PERIŠIĆ:

Mr President, they do not have means to feed their families. Can you imagine - they receive 200 dinars and they have no apartment because they served their duty there? They lost everything, they stayed there because they did not want to separate themselves and right now they are in extremely difficult situation.

Momir BULATOVIĆ:

I am in support of the idea to do that. It is the first time I hear such an idea – I think that this is a good idea: we should have a deadline, let's say that we give two months deadline for reporting to the new formation duty.

Momčilo PERIŠIĆ:

That will make a ruckus!

Momir BULATOVIĆ:

No, this should remain with us, we will not inform them about this.

Momčilo PERIŠIĆ:

I can find some posts for them. I have both the 30th and 40th Personnel Centre – they are there and I have the 28th too, that really serves as a nursery-garden for filling the vacancies in the school centres and in the case of war for the war duties. It means that I can assign 148 of them to some pro-forma posts, not in the units, so that they receive their salaries and to have them here. This would be a good solution in order to prevent them from accusing us.

Momir BULATOVIĆ:

This is in accordance with our minutes and the decision from the last session. We said the following: “The 30th Personnel Centre will be abolished, and they will keep receiving their salaries until they are assigned to some other posts”.

Momčilo PERIŠIĆ:

We did so.

(The further part of the session was not taken down in shorthand).

(Taking down in shorthand was stopped at 1850 hrs).

UNREVISED