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I worked in the office of the Chief of the General Staff of the Yugoslav Army (VJ) during the Kosovo crisis, as well as in the post-war period up to 5 October 2000. I was permitted to attend the VJ General Staff collegium meetings in my capacity as a technical officer charged with making recordings and short-hand notes. Having attended such meetings at the time when Milošević was trying to politicize the VJ, I had access to information which indicated clearly that the politicization coupled with a negative personnel policy had the object of achieving total and unquestioning political subjugation of the Army to the then political leadership of the country. This was deemed necessary in order to eliminate the political opponents of the regime in both Serbia and Montenegro. The constant unnecessary tensions and conflicts with Montenegro provoked by the military establishment on dictates from the political leadership, as well as the surveillance of the Serbian opposition, caused me to resent the misdeeds being hatched at those meetings. The choice between being a party to a political and military ruination of the state and the nation and helping however little I could, never posed a dilemma for me. Being of the same mind as the author of this book, I decided to help my people to leave the well-trodden path leading them to ruin. Not making my assistance conditional on anything, and being fully aware of the risks and consequences I faced in case my intentions were revealed, I did what every normal person would do. Thanks to the information and the documents at my disposal, the Montenegrin government and the Serbian opposition obtained insight into everything that went on in the military leadership and the state between July 1999 and August 2001.

I was fully conscious of what would happen to me if my intentions regarding the information in my possession were so much as suspected.

I did what I did in order to prevent a fratricidal war in Montenegro and a repetition of the first act in the drama which lasted 78 days during the spring of 1999.

I found this necessary in order to avoid further casualties and loss of young life, and to mitigate the misery and poverty born of some people's arrogance and obstinacy.

While I was prepared to bear the consequences in the event the politicized General Staff found out my intentions, I was not prepared for my ordeal following the coming to power of the people and political parties espousing European ideals to whom the information had been of great help in averting a cataclysm that once seemed inevitable.

Prior to October 5, I was an officer who had been awarded top achievement marks, my family life was in order, I was working for a doctorate in information science and held the rank of colonel with a military future before me. Since then, I have been relieved of duty and my pay has been halved; with no prospects before me, I am awaiting judgement from very the people and authorities I had helped unselfishly, for I believed then and still do that I did the right thing. I have no regrets about anything I did and wish to certify the truthfulness of every word of this book, although its contents tells us about only a fraction of the evil done to us. Notwithstanding the price I had to pay for what I did, I am sure that there are enough officers who will put their professional honour and pride before their personal interests and who will prevent the monstrous brainchild of certain politicians and generals from being put into practice regardless of how it is presented to the people.

Belgrade, December 2003
Miodrag Sekulić, MSc

Article 133 of the Constitution of the FRY (Federal Republic of Yugoslavia):

‘The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia has an Army which defends the sovereignty, territory, independence and constitutional order...’

‘The defendants Aca Tomić, Borislav Mikelić and Dragan Vujičić,

In the course of 2002 in Belgrade, they became party to the conspiracy organized by the late Dušan Spasojević and Milorad ‘Legija’ Luković, which is described under point I of the indictment, with defendant Aca Tomić establishing contact on several occasions with the late Spasojević and Luković, both in the building of the VJ Security Directorate on Kneza Miloša street and in his flat, where they discussed the current political situation and where he passed on to them the results of “listening-in measures”, telling them that following the arrest of General Perišić on grounds of espionage, who had not been stripped of his immunity by the Assembly, the whole government ought to be arrested and a state coup carried out, that they should adhere to their political position towards the authorities to prevent the country falling into the hands of traitors, that the VJ special units the Cobras would not interfere and confront the JSO [Special Operations Unit], suggesting that Ljiljana Buha, who was in Spasojević’s custody in New Belgrade,

should be moved to another, more secure location, [Tomić] having received the gift of a Nokia mobile phone equipped with a camera from the late Spasojević during a meeting in the building of the VJ Security Directorate, with defendant Mikelić acting as go-between and fixing meetings between Luković and Spasojević and Tomić, repeatedly going to Šilerova street to meet Spasojević and Luković or receiving them in his flat and passing on information whether Carla Del Ponte had brought in a Hague indictment against “Legija” and Šešelj, whose arrest, he said, was expected to be spectacular, with defendant Vujičić passing on information about Spasojević and Luković which he had gathered during contacts with people from government, as well as information that people from the JSO would be delivered to the Hague, and recruiting Mikelić to arrange meetings between defendant Luković and the late Spasojević and defendant Aco Tomić.’

The foregoing is an extract from the indictment of General Aco Tomić, former head of the VJ Security Directorate.

NOTE:

The original shorthand notes (in Serbian) were not corrected for grammatical and spelling errors made during the transcription of the audio recording.

I dedicate this book to my brother Goran ‘Viraga’ Vlajković, who was born on 14 August 1966 and died tragically on 28 December 2002.

INTRODUCTION

‘History is but a catalogue of crimes and calamities’
Voltaire

If we assume that history teaches us about life - which indeed it does - then the testimony contained in this book should help history to explain to the succeeding generations where we stand now and why we erred, at the same time warning them not to trip over the same stone again. *Military Secret* is a testimony born of a strange conjuncture of historical circumstances and my desire to expose fully and at all costs the place and role of the military leadership in maintaining, at the beginning of the 21st century, a sick regime uncharacteristic of both Serbs and Montenegrins. Having been drawn into the games of big services and dragged out of anonymity, as well as subjected to a personal ordeal, I have tried, drawing on the services of honest people in the Army and the police and encouraged by the generosity of others, to throw light on the course of historical events in the former Yugoslavia. Bearing in mind the fact that the individual has the gratitude of the state only as long as he is needed, and having no desire for revenge or any remorse for what I did, I shall try in the succeeding pages to give my own account of my persecution at the hands of the regime and to present authentic evidence about how certain politicians and generals abused their office and rank to the detriment of the people to which they belong. The book does not deal with the evil perpetrated on others; it deals primarily with the nationally destructive suicidism in the minds of generals who won their epaulets by annulling everything that used to adorn the Serb and Montenegrin soldier, namely humanity and valour. With all due respect for some

generals, admittedly very few, I shall try to present the reader with an authentic account of the places, people, events and decisions which brought the nation to the very brink of ruin, a place from which there is no easy return. By throwing light on the generals' collective madness as evidenced in the shorthand excerpts from the VJ General Staff collegium meetings, which are here given in their original form including grammatical and spelling errors, I shall try to illuminate this dark chapter of our history and break the seal of 'military secret' on the crimes committed against own people. The book came into being after the murder of prime minister Đinđić, an expression of my anger and desperation at the fact that people from the Milošević era still hold high positions, so that today we remain their hostages torn between dying nationalism and enforced cosmopolitanism.

Had the Milošević oligarchy been swept away, had the murder of prime minister Đinđić never happened, and had the immoral people shut up and the wise ones spoken out, this book would not have been written. Had there been a general waving about of evidence documenting the most ignominious episode in the history of the Army of Serbia and Montenegro, I certainly would have remained silent. In order to give a chance to the people who had inherited the chaotic situation in the country and had assumed responsibility for the future of the nation, as well as because I believe that people can err in spite of their best intentions, I remained silent when I ought to have known better. If I had written then what I am writing now, some people might have come out of their deep slumber, and prime minister Đinđić might now be with his children Luka and Jovana. The present situation being completely contrary to what normal people expected and hoped for, I decided to submit the evidence in this drastic manner to the court of public opinion and, hopefully, to the courts of the state of Serbia in which I believe. The gentlemen belonging to the 'patriotic bloc' have robbed the citizens of this country of fifteen years of their lives which, added together, amounts to an eternity. Unfortunately, they have also robbed many of their lives.

In addition to what I know personally and the testimony of others, the authenticity of this book of documents is borne out by the cruel reality we have experienced during the past few years.

The book covers the period from immediately after the bombing of our country in 1999 to the present day. I wish to warn you, dear reader, that on opening this book you will enter the world of Military Secret, a label used to cover up war crimes. Since the Military Court can sentence you for this to up to five years in prison, be careful and tell no one what you have read.

Author

The persons and functions mentioned in the book
The VJ General Staff

1.	President of the FRY	Mr Slobodan Milošević
2.	Federal Minister of Defence	Gen. of the Army Dragoljub Ojdanić
3.	Chief of the General Staff	Gen. Nebojša Pavković
4.	Deputy Chief of the General Staff	Gen. Svetozar Marjanović

5.	Assistant Chief of the General Staff for Operational Staff Affairs	Gen. Miodrag Simić
6.	Assistant Chief of the General Staff for Land Forces	Lieut.-Gen. Ljubiša Stoimirović
7.	Assistant Chief of the General Staff for Air Force (RV) and Air Defence (PVO)	Lieut.-Gen. Branislav Petrović
8.	Assistant Chief of the General Staff for the Navy	Rear Admiral Vlade Nonković
9.	Assistant Chief of the General Staff for Mobilization and Status Questions	Gen. Stamenko Nikolić
10.	Assistant Chief of the General Staff for Schooling, Education and Textbook-publishing Department (ŠONID)	Gen. Zlatoje Terzić
11.	Assistant Chief of the General Staff for Communications, Reconnaissance and Electronic Measures	Maj.-Gen. Grujica Uskoković
12.	Assistant Chief of the VJ General Staff for Logistics	Gen. Branislav Obradović
13.	VJ Inspectorate	Lieut.-Gen. Ninoslav Krstić
14.	Security Directorate	Lieut.-Gen. Milan Đaković
15.	Intelligence Directorate of the General Staff	Lieut.-Gen. Branko Krga
16.	Reconnaissance and Morale Directorate of the General Staff	Lieut.-Gen. Milen Simić
17.	Firstst Directorate of the General Staff	Lieut.-Gen. Đorđe Ćurčin
18.	Chief of Staff of the Chief of the General Staff	Maj.-Gen. Dragan Živanović
19.	Chief of the Fifth Directorate	Lieut.-Gen. Živorad Vujčić
20.	Commander of the 1st Army	Gen. Srboljub Trajković
21.	Commander of the 2nd Army	Gen. Milorad Obradović
22.	Commander of the 3rd Army	Lieut.-Gen. Vladimir Lazarević
23.	Commander of the Air Force (RV) and Air Defence (PVO)	Gen. Spasoje Smiljanić
24.	Commander of the Navy (RM)	Admiral Milan Zec
25.	Chief of the Military Staff of the President of the FRY	Gen. Dr. Slavoljub Šušić

Other personalities

Goran Matić	Federal Minister of Information
Vlajko Stojiljković	Serbian Minister of Internal Affairs
Rade Marković	Head of the Serbian State Security Service (SDB)
Dragan Filipović	Head of the Special Operations Department

Momčilo Perišić	Former Chief of the VJ GS and Serbian Deputy Prime Minister
Aca Dimitrijević	Former Head of the VJ Security Directorate
Budimir Šćepanović	Special National Security Advisor to Vukašin Maraš and former Acting Head of the Montenegrin SDB
Vukašin Maraš	Former Montenegrin Minister of Internal Affairs and present Deputy Minister of Defence
Dragan Leštarić	Former member of the Serbian SDB
Živadin Jovanović	Former Minister of Foreign Affairs of the FRY
Nikola Šainović	Former Federal Deputy Prime Minister
Miroslav Filipović	Journalist with the daily <i>Danas</i>
Wesley Clark	NATO Commander in Europe
Martti Ahtisaari	Special Envoy of the UN Secretary-General
Viktor Chernomyrdin	Special Envoy of the UN Secretary-General
Nebojša Vujović	Yugoslav diplomat
Borislav Milošević	Former FRY Ambassador to Russia and brother of Slobodan Milošević
Geza Farkaš	Former Head of the VJ Security Directorate
Miodrag Sekulić	Information Officer in the Office of the Chief of the VJ GS

THE ROLE OF THE MILITARY JUDICIARY IN DEFENDING THE DICTATORSHIP

As the state union of Serbia and Montenegro came into being in March 2003 and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (FRY) ceased to exist, the question arose as to what was to be done with those federal institutions which already had their counterparts at the republic level: ought they to be dismantled or incorporated in the existing organs of the member states? The fate of the military judiciary in particular was an issue attracting especial interest. The problem is very complex given that the military judiciary employs a great many highly qualified people. The military judiciary consisted of first-instance military courts in Podgorica, Niš and Belgrade and the Supreme Military Court as a second-instance court, there also being the Office of Military Prosecutor and the Office of Military Attorney. The judges of the military courts were officers with Faculty of Law diplomas. The military judiciary was organized on a territorial principle, its first-instance courts ranking as district courts because they covered the whole of the former FRY.

The military court judges were named by the FRY President at his own discretion or on the proposal of the Ministry of Defence. This was contrary to the practice of modern parliamentary states where judges are nominated in parliament subject to the approval of the deputies. In our state parliament still has the main say regarding the appointment of civil court judges, but the military judiciary has always been a state within the state. It was used as an ace in the hole first by the ruling Communist Party after 1944 and then by the new political oligarchy hiding behind the mask of multi-partyism. The personnel were chosen according to the role they were to play. In all fairness, a good many members of the military judiciary are worthy of respect, but the rest are beneath contempt and not even worthy of mention. The ignominious role of this

institution in the execution of Serbian citizens after the Communists came to power in 1945 marked its future. Military prosecutors such as Miloš Minić *et al* invested the judiciary with a role it had not played even under the Obrenovićs. The execution and persecution of Belgrade citizens, the confiscation of property and the forfeiture of civil rights, perpetrated in the name of creating a more just society, left an indelible mark on the Serb and Montenegrin being. The sentences were prepared beforehand to cover up future crimes, the investigating judges served also as court panel presidents. Evidence of all this is still kept in the archives of the military judiciary. People say that there is no greater injustice than that perpetrated by a court of law; I should like to add that in these regions between 1945 and the present day perhaps the greatest injustice has been done by the military courts. The camp on Goli Otok (Bare Island) is the most notorious example of the persecution conducted with the Office of Military Prosecutor and the State Security Service (UDBA). Much has been said about this subject but not all. Bearing in mind all this as well as recognizing the aspiration of the progressive part of our nation to take us into modern Europe, it is quite logical that one cannot approach Brussels with a segment of the judiciary such as this even if it be military.

Because the Constitutional Charter (of the state union) had no room for such a type of judiciary, the authorities set about incorporating it into the existing civil judiciary, warning that not every member of the military judiciary deserved to be a judge or a lawyer, because their past performance and immoral professional conduct were no recommendation for a judicial post in a normal state we wanted to establish.

The Milošević regime knew that it could rely on both the servile ‘patriotic’ generals and the military judiciary, the latter being prepared to extend its unreserved support even where it was absolutely certain that the regime was violating the Constitution and the law of the country. If, on the basis of false evidence, the judge forms a wrong opinion about the person he is trying, he can do that person terrible injustice. But I understand that a judge can be misled into making an error of judgement. But what do you call a judge who knows that he is trying an innocent person in a mock, politically-motivated trial? What is the name of such a crime? As good lawyers say, ‘When politics enters the courtroom through the door, justice flees through the window’. We know that many of the judges who served Milošević as doormats in all sorts of villainous undertakings are now ‘distinguished’ lawyers, having used the Bar Association as a place of expiation.

Miroslav Filipović, the journalist with the daily *Danas*, was one of the victims of this monstrous company. His indictment by the toadies in the Office of Military Prosecutor, resulting in a sentence of many years’ imprisonment, was meant to be a warning to other journalists not to write about things everybody in Serbia knew.

Gen. Nebojša Pavković, then Chief of the VJ General Staff, had called an extended collegium meeting attended by the Minister of Defence, Gen. Dragoljub Ojdanić, and key military judiciary personnel to debate the military judiciary’s past performance and guidelines for the future work of the Office of Military Prosecutor. Having felt the ‘justice’ of the military judiciary myself, I had a perfect idea of how Filipović and his family may have felt. All those who attended the aforesaid meeting ought to be held accountable on moral if not on other grounds. Interestingly enough, the same Nebojša Pavković who put Mr Filipović in prison at the behest of his boss, received Filipović in his office on several occasions after 5 October, this too being documented by

shorthand notes. When after the ‘Perišić affair’ I met Mr Pavković and inquired after Filipović, Pavković replied that they were friends and that Filipović and his family had been visiting him at his home. Of course, all this was after 5 October. The opposition papers kept the public informed about these developments:

‘The Kraljevo correspondent of Danas is still in detention.

Miroslav Filipović, correspondent of the daily Danas and the news agency Agence France-Presse, was examined on Tuesday by the investigating judge of the District Court in Kraljevo. The interrogation took about two hours, after which the judge decided to keep Filipović in detention until Wednesday, when the interrogation would be resumed. His lawyer, Slaviša Vojnović, told reporters that a decision on whether to keep Filipović in custody would be reached at the end of the interrogation.

The Independent Association of Journalists of Serbia condemned the arrest of Filipović and demanded his immediate release, describing his custody as a most brutal violation of basic human freedoms. The Helsinki Committee for Human Rights in Serbia too protested at Miroslav Filipović’s arrest. “By this gesture the regime continues with its strong repression of independent media and journalists who do their work in a professional manner. At the same time, the authorities continue to spread feelings of fear and general insecurity,” the Helsinki Committee said in a statement.’

A confirmation that the military judiciary had been used for political ends and that innocent people had been tried in mock trials was made by Branko Stanić, a former judge of the Supreme Military Court, in a statement for the daily *Balkan* published on 28 December 2003:

‘Although I served as judge of the Supreme Military Court, I believe that the civil judiciary ought to take over their [military courts’] jurisdiction. In the SFRY [Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia], the FRY and SCG [State Union of Serbia and Montenegro] I saw the military judiciary being activated repeatedly in crisis situations, and I can say that on those occasions the rule was to stage mock trials in which people, who were often innocent, were condemned in advance.’

I am sure that there are many more honourable and honest members of the military judiciary who are willing to point out other examples of the abuse of the military judiciary for political ends.

Following is a list of the persons who attended the aforesaid meeting:

1.	Federal Minister of Defence	Gen. of the Army Dragoljub Ojdanić
2.	Adviser to Federal Minister of Defence	Gen. Risto Matović
3.	Chief of the VJ GS	Gen. Nebojša Pavković
4.	Deputy Chief of the VJ GS	Gen. Svetozar Marjanović
5.	Commander of the 2nd Army	Gen. Milorad Obradović
6.	Commander of the 3rd Army	Lieut.-Gen. Vladimir Lazarević
7.	Commander of the RV and PVO	Gen. Spasoje Smiljanić

8.	Commander of the RM	Admiral Milan Zec
9.	Assistant Chief of the General Staff for Mobilization and Status Questions	Lieut.-Gen. Stamenko Nikolić
10.	Chief of the Security Directorate	Gen. Geza Farkaš
11.	Chief of Legal Directorate	Maj.-Gen. Gojović
12.	Chief Military Prosecutor	Maj.-Gen. Svetomir Obrenčević
13.	President of the Supreme Military Court	Maj.-Gen. Miloš Gojković
14.	Chief of the Legal Directorate of the Federal Ministry of Defence	Maj.-Gen. Aleksandar Ignjatović
15.	Belgrade Military Prosecutor	Col. Nikola Petković
16.	Podgorica Military Prosecutor	Col. Miroslav Samardžić
17.	Niš Military Prosecutor	Col. Stanimir Radosavljević
18.	President of the Belgrade Military Court	Col. Đorđe Trifunović
19.	President of the Podgorica Military Court	Maj. Nebojša Nikolić
20.	President of the Niš Military Court	Col. Vukadin Milojević
21.	Chief of Staff of the Chief of the VJ GS	Col. Dragan Živanović

Shorthand notes from the VJ GS Collegium meeting on 25 May 2000

**Federal Minister of Defence
Gen. of the Army
Dragoljub Ojdanić**

Gentlemen officers and generals, it is my pleasure to welcome you, above all the Chief of the General Staff, Gen. Pavković, and his aides, especially you from the judiciary. I wish that our working meeting today will turn out successful and useful to all of us. I wish to point out that this is the first meeting of this kind to review the work of the military prosecutors and military courts. This fact alone testifies amply to the significance the VJ attaches to the work of the military judicial authorities in general, especially in our present conditions and circumstances.

The importance being attached to the work of the military judicial organs should therefore be borne in mind regarding this meeting, at which all who are present here, and who occupy the highest positions of command, will be directly acquainted with the work of the judicial organs, their results, difficulties, and even their omissions.

I wish to point out that one must never lose sight of the fact that the military judicial organs are autonomous and independent regarding their work and their decisions. The fact that they are bound solely by the Constitution and statute is their great asset; but, on the other hand, they and you bear an even greater responsibility in the present conditions, when out state and the VJ in particular are attacked and endangered equally from outside and inside. For this reason the judiciary must act timely and give its full contribution to the suppression of all sorts of criminal activities in the VJ; in protecting the VJ and all other values of society, it must act lawfully and justly,

impartially and - as, of course, befits us soldiers - resolutely. This task and obligation of the military judiciary will be its contribution to the tightening of discipline and, I dare say, to the raising of combat readiness throughout the VJ.

I expect a constructive attitude to the addresses and the discussion during the meeting; it will surely be a sound basis on which we can take up positions and draw conclusions necessary for improving the work of the military judicial organs; it will help commands and their organs to better understand the work of the judicial organs and vice versa, to help the latter to appreciate the needs and expectations of commands and military personnel in general.

If we succeed in this, we shall have attained the objective of today's meeting. I am personally convinced that it will be so. I am equally convinced that I share your opinion that we who are present here should be meeting in the future to review the work of the military judicial organs and to co-ordinate our positions in this way or similarly.

This is as much as I had to say by way of introduction. The next to take the floor is the Chief of the General Staff, Gen. Nebojša Pavković.

Gen. Nebojša Pavković

Mr Minister, generals and officers, I am glad of the opportunity to welcome you in this combination. I am thankful to the Federal Minister of Defence, Gen. of the Army Dragoljub Ojdanić, for accepting our suggestion to convene this meeting with the military prosecutors and representatives of military courts, in the presence of the superior members of the VJ General Staff and commanders of strategic groups.

Without wishing to play down the importance and necessity of acquainting ourselves with the annual reports on the work of the military prosecutors and military courts - something I believe should be done on a regular basis - the thing which caused us to initiate this meeting were certain decisions by the judicial organs which attracted our attention. In using the words 'attracted our attention' I wish to stress that the military judiciary plays an exceptionally important role in the VJ, so its decisions cannot pass unnoticed and fail to elicit a reaction in the public and the VJ itself.

Assuming that this is so, you will appreciate that we in the VJ who are in command posts cannot remain impassive, we must present our view of those decisions. Let me put it this way: are such decisions conducive to preserving and strengthening combat readiness or not, what is their contribution in this regard?

Our position on the matter does not mean that the commanding personnel interfere in the work of the judicial organs and the administration of justice, for we know that they are autonomous and independent. However, it should also be clear that the military judiciary is a very important segment which cannot operate outside the VJ as a whole, because that is why the military judiciary as such exists. It ought to keep abreast of all the developments in the VJ and outside it, to identify on time every detrimental occurrence and activity aimed against the VJ with a view to undermining or hampering its work, as well as against all other assets and values of society.

In this connection, the organs of detection and criminal prosecution are duty bound - each according to its tasks and jurisdiction - to take measures against persons engaged in criminal activities. As professional organs, they should not wait to be

prodded by commands and units, they should act in accordance with the law on time. The possibility of consultation should not be ruled out in this regard. In the initial stage one should not attach undue attention to formalities regarding jurisdiction, as was the case with Filipović, the journalist of the daily *Danas*, or certain retired colonels and generals who are attacking the VJ at every turn. Our organs ought to collect the necessary evidence against them and deliver them to the competent prosecutor along with a criminal complaint.

Regarding these questions - which are not complex from a professional point of view - one should not make any mistakes which would diminish your doubtless positive results. All the organs engaged in detecting criminal offences and their perpetrators must co-ordinate their work, consult and cooperate with each other, and make use of the experience gained. If one acts in this way, I am sure that results will follow and that the number of undetected criminal offences and perpetrators will fall. As you are well aware, our country and Army are under constant pressure and threats. They are being permanently jeopardized and undermined. The terrorism is gaining momentum. We ought to resist all these assaults, each of us from within his province of work.

The judicial authorities ought to employ criminal prosecution and sanctions, the rest of us solders the means at our disposal.

I hope that today's analysis of the work of the judicial organs, whose exceptional importance is testified to by the presence of the commanders of the strategic groups and members of the Ministry and the VJ General Staff, will prove fruitful and useful to all of us, that it will address every area and every question, and that results will not be lacking.

Gen. Geza Farkaš

Mr Minister, General, gentlemen, allow me first of all to express on behalf of the Security Directorate my pleasure at being here and to welcome this distinguished gathering. However, I hasten to add that I only learned of this meeting - that is, of my and the Security Directorate's participation in this debate - yesterday afternoon; I shall therefore be in no position at this moment to present statistical and documented information in the manner Mr Prosecutor did.

But I shall nevertheless try to point out several problems we have been encountering because we believe that that will be of use to this gathering.

To begin with, the general situation need not be discussed at length: the aggression has not been called off; the most odious [method] - terrorism - is now employed to achieve what sanctions, war, psychological-propaganda operations failed to accomplish.

The sanctions and all other psychological-propaganda measures continue in these parts in order to cause maximum insecurity among the citizens and within the VJ, create chaos and, ultimately, provoke civil war.

In order to accomplish this, the foreign intelligence services are employing to the greatest possible extent the internal destructive and aggressive political forces who are trying to subject the youth to horrible manipulation and who have of late been succeeding in this. Many of these youths are our recruits and draft registrees whom we meet in our units. All this gives rise to an exceptionally complex security situation in the

country as a whole and therefore also inside the VJ. A situation like this necessitates maximum cooperation and the highest level of co-ordination between all the subjects in the country - especially in the VJ - engaged in protecting the constitutional order of the country and the VJ.

The emphasis therefore must be placed on preventive work, on the prompt and energetic conclusion of cases subject to criminal proceedings, and on strict punitive measures against all perpetrators of criminal offences. I wish to point out that at this moment perhaps the most important thing of all is the obligation of all of us and of all subjects to exercise an extremely active attitude towards all these manifestations occurring in society which have far-reaching consequences on the VJ. I think that at the present moment we are extremely slow-moving in carrying out such activities, that is, we have great problems here.

At this moment I do not think that anyone questions the enormous danger to society posed by criminal offences such as espionage, seditious conspiracy, inciting and supporting extreme terrorist activities, especially criminal offences against defence of the FRY and the VJ.

In view of our assessment of the threat to society from such criminal offences, there is an imperative need to apply stricter criteria in our punitive policy. I avail myself of this opportunity to stress this need and to insist that we discuss the criteria being applied in rendering judgement on specific criminal offences.

In the present exceptionally complex security and political situation, the task of all of us in the VJ is to remain highly active and protect the organic structure of the VJ by preserving and heightening its combat readiness. We must achieve this to the highest possible extent through quality work.

At this moment people are openly calling for subverting the state and advocating insurgence; they are saying that the President ought to be killed and suspended from this or that lamppost; they are slandering the VJ and uttering the most outrageous lies about crimes allegedly committed by the Army during the war and the operations in Kosovo - the consequences of such manifestations in society are extremely grave for the VJ among others. They are committing treason, support the accusations, and are helping the delivery of members of the VJ and other citizens who took part in the war to the Hague tribunal. We in the VJ must not allow this. We must react resolutely to all such manifestations. I think that the prosecution and our entire judiciary must follow these manifestations in society vigilantly so that we in the security service concerned with investigative proceedings could react promptly and efficiently.

We must wage an uncompromising struggle against corruption. Unfortunately, one sees corruption and indecision in our judiciary organs, which is partly due to the objective situation - as we have heard here, this concerns the personnel policy and problems of status. However, a great many of our colleagues have left our ranks, that is, the ranks of our judiciary; they are still entitled to practice and they do, cooperating with authorities on the ground, with judicial organs, military judicial organs - our most frequent problem being that this is why our charges and arguments fail. Some of our cases do not even survive the investigating stage.

Regarding our cooperation with the military prosecutors, I think that it was exceptionally good during the war and the past period. Our cooperation has been good.

However, there is not enough initiative to investigate further and follow up on the evidence gathered during the pre-investigation procedure.

We are rarely instructed to investigate some additional elements which have come to our notice during the pre-investigation procedure.

At this stage, the investigating judges are mostly satisfied with the material evidence gathered so far and do not invest further creative efforts although we are willing to investigate further.

Judging by what we have heard here, the prosecutors and judges are probably overwhelmed with work; but the present social situation calls for the military investigating authorities manifesting greater initiative to push things through to a conclusion.

The Security Directorate is satisfied with the cooperation during the previous year including the war though I couldn't present any numerical data right now. But there could have been more initiative on the part of the prosecuting and investigating authorities and more feedback from them towards us who are engaged in pre-investigation work.

With your permission, I should like to point out some problems which will be facing us in the future.

We are about to receive recruits who have experienced terrible stress and trauma, family tragedy, war, political torture and manipulation during the past ten years preceding their military service.

We are dealing with growing numbers of mentally unstable, aggressive soldiers. Drugs are found in increasing quantities in our barracks. We have information, for example, that drugs are being distributed among soldiers in Montenegro free of charge. A segment of this population of young men have been thoroughly manipulated. Religious sects are on the offensive, especially the Satanists.

In view of this, we must do all we can in our preventive work, which includes reacting to everything that goes on in society as well.

We in the security service are already busy dealing with these things and will have even more to do in the future, so we should like to have cooperation in our preventive work based on your experience and help from the judiciary. I wish to point out that our next draft will include recruits with problems I have just outlined.

In the present general situation the military and state leaderships are making serious and utmost efforts to stabilize the commanding personnel standards. For all these efforts we are having great problems - personnel wastage and enormous pressure from foreign military and/or intelligence services intending to get the upper hand and infiltrate our families and our armed forces. We must counter and foil such efforts in our preventive work.

In my capacity as head of the Directorate, I wish to assure you of my determination to commit the entire Security Directorate to the defence, which is the role of the VJ Security Directorate. There must be a vigorous cooperation with you from the judicial organs including consulting and educating us in order that we might work better.

I wish to make several suggestions. We must all become more active, creative and effective in our attitude to all social manifestations tending towards the destruction and subversion of the constitutional order and the VJ, and this not only in cases after a deed is done, for then we deal with that by instituting judicial proceedings.

We must give our serious consideration to this political situation because of its impact on the VJ; we must take measures and positions compatible with the existing legal framework with the object of tightening the punitive policy criteria and amending certain rules posing administrative obstacles and slowing down procedural work before the charges are pressed, during the investigation, and at the time of passing the judgement; we should therefore consider amending specific statutory provisions pertaining to the ongoing developments in society. We should also start analyzing characteristic cases jointly with the prosecuting authorities and the organs conducting the pre-investigation proceedings. Although we often do this while proceedings are in progress, we should make a regular practice of it. Although the courts are under no statutory obligation to do so, the Supreme Military Court would do well to transmit the characteristic cases linked to the present situation to the Security Directorate so that we might improve our work and take appropriate measures.

I would appreciate your delivery to the command personnel departments of statistical information on the determined cases especially regarding commanding officers.

People dealing with matters of personnel often lack the necessary information: they don't know whether the proceedings have been completed, whether the man has been indicted, what sanctions have been applied, etc. For this reason they always ask the security organs to provide such information, so we rake about for it and produce it, including perhaps some old data, which has a negative effect on the conduct of personnel policy.

Mr Minister, General, so much for that.

Maj.-Gen. Svetomir Obrenčević

Seeing that Geza has spoken at some length, I shall make my address brief.

Regarding the cooperation between the Supreme Military Prosecutor and the security organs, I fully share the opinion of General Farkaš, that is, that the cooperation has been good. Number one, regarding the information requested, it ought to be available; information on all complex cases - though not in writing - has been available to our colleagues in the security organs; as to the matter of charges, that could be settled and should pose no problem: there is an obligation under the law to make a notification of all dismissed charges and I think that the prosecutors are doing that - or, if they are not, then they are clearly in the wrong. I have had no complaints that they aren't.

I wish to make this clear: there have been no mistakes in the more complex cases where we have reacted properly from the very start and stuck to what had been agreed. Some of the more complex operative procedures have been preceded by such prior consultations, so in none of these cases have there been any slip-ups. There is an occasional breakdown in communications for some reason or other regarding specific cases, e.g. that man Filipović. In brief, that case has several phases. At the request of the Security Directorate, the Supreme Military Prosecutor had a consultation with General Vasiljević, which was the first time I learned that such a man even existed. On the basis of the material placed at my disposal, I formed an opinion which boiled down to the following: in view of what had been established, Filipović was to be taken care of by the civil security service and brought before a civil investigating judge as soon as that was

deemed justifiable from the point of view of the interests of the state. It was evident that the person in question - the mercenary wretch - had committed grave breaches against the state under articles 157 and 218. There was no question about that. There were two more things to establish: first, whether anyone from our ranks was involved and if so, who. General Vasiljević couldn't say that at the time. Second, the nature of the military data they had downloaded from the Internet. According to what I was told, those data are something any one of us in the Army can read about. For instance, General, *Politika* yesterday gave the full name of a brigade and so on. My advice was:

1. To clarify the role of our men urgently, in which case we would certainly have found a way to bring the matter under our jurisdiction;

2. Simultaneously with the action to be taken by the civilian authorities, the competent directorate of the General Staff was to look into those military data, to establish their nature.

Under the arrangement, I was to have been advised of the day and hour of the action. So what happened? I know that the Security Directorate informed its colleagues from State Security in due manner the day before. I was informed by no one. My first bit of information came from Studio B [radio and TV channel], with Studio B commending the Office of Military Prosecutor over what had happened. Did it have to be that way? I don't know what happened, but I hold with Geza that we ought to stick to our agreements, cooperate all the time, and be up to date on developments. After I'd learned what had happened and received my instructions, the man was returned to custody, and we are going to clarify this matter of military information and the role of our men. According to my information, the case is going to be returned to the civil authorities because we cannot change the law. We could only wrangle over the matter of jurisdiction and have it overturned by the Supreme Court because the actual jurisdiction is what matters; let the General Staff decide whether there was any element of military secret in the information downloaded from the Internet; in view of the foreign element involved in the case of that unprincipled renegade, it's got to be decided by the civil authorities. Though we can now try to change something about jurisdiction, the situation is what it is.

I have referred to this matter in support of the necessity of being constantly in touch. I can't understand why the first-instance prosecutor...The first-instance prosecutor failed to do all he could, but that was corrected later. But that can wait, we shall be discussing specific responsibility at some other place; this is meant to show that I can't be expected to know what's going on if the people in charge of things don't tell me that. As a whole, the cooperation with the security organs at the level of the Supreme Military Prosecutor is adequate and, as far as I know, it is the same at the lower levels, but let the first-instance prosecutors deal with that. I share the opinion that the emphasis in the investigative stage ought to be placed more on fact-finding than on fact-processing. This may be no excuse, but the fact is, my prosecutors are second lieutenants, lieutenants and captains, and most of the judges are of the same rank. They're people without experience and overloaded with work; when they open their strongboxes the case documents just pour out on to the floor, that's how tight they are packed together. The things we've heard here are no doubt useful and there should be no more mistakes; if any are made, they are due to lack of information. I wish to point out again that if we are given the right information there will be no mistakes. I had this much to say, General.

Gen. Nebojša Pavković

I'd like to follow up on what Obrenčević said regarding the Filipović case...I'm not sure, but I think that disclosure of military secrets is of secondary importance in this case. Of primary importance is the manner in which he disclosed information which compromises the VJ. He says he made an interview with some persons, commanding officers of the VJ, who told him that members of the Army had killed about 800 Shqipetar [Albanian] children and women in Kosovo, that they allegedly knew that there was no reason for the Army to be in Kosovo, that there were no terrorists there, that the VJ tanks were used to kill civilians. This is what matters. If what he says is incorrect, then he must answer for it; if it is correct, then let him prove it. This is the long and short of it.

As to Vukšić,¹ he says in several domestic and foreign newspapers that the VJ had a plan called Horseshoe [Potkovicica] for ethnically cleansing and killing civilians in Kosovo.

Ought Vukšić to be called upon to prove his allegations and be exonerated or called to account according as his allegations are correct or false? Who ought to take action against Vukšić? Perišić has been saying publicly that 7th Battalion is a paramilitary formation and that the Army is a paramilitary army - the man who was a member of that same Army until only a year ago is calling the state which has given him everything a parastate. Who in the VJ ought to bring charges in this connection, so we can find out whether the things he says are true or false? Let him answer for what he alleges. These are only two or three examples. I fully agree that there might not have been complete co-ordination in the Filipović case, though material was not lacking. We had a hard time persuading the MUP [Ministry of Internal Affairs] and State Security to arrest Filipović; they finally did and referred his case, comprising 150 typewritten pages, to the prosecutor, but he failed to study it within 24 hours and decide whether or not to prosecute. Then the President calls me and asks me questions I can't answer. That's the long and short of it.

Maj.-Gen. Svetomir Obrenčević

Vukšić, Perišić, Filipović...he deserves to be criminally prosecuted for the things he wrote and published. The question is, who is competent to deal with that? If they were military personnel, the military prosecutor would be in charge of these things and the matter would be prosecuted promptly and effectively and there's nothing they could do about it - but, unfortunately, they're not. Vukšić could and ought to be tried for telling lies, but dissemination of false information is a matter for the civil prosecutor. There must be a civil prosecutor down the line, starting from my colleague Dragiša Krsmanović as Republican Prosecutor - according to [Vukšić's] residents, that's the prosecutor of the Belgrade Fourth Municipal Court. This goes for Perišić, too. As to Filipović² and all

¹ Col. Vukšić was retired at his own request because he disagreed with the Milošević regime. Before retiring, he worked in the military diplomatic service as a military attaché. He is one of the most vociferous critics of the sycophancy of the generals which ruined the Army.

² I made the acquaintance of the journalist Miroslav Filipović shortly before my book came out. I asked him to read the book and write an account of the things that happened to him, as well as to give his views

those lies - as I said, the things he wrote leave no doubt that he is a mercenary of the lowest kind and a petty crook - he took advantage of his being established here and wrote and published under his Serbian name and surname things for money that caused great damage to the reputation of the Army, among other things. Unfortunately, we cannot step in to protect the reputation of the Army unless the offender is one of our personnel. Let us press for amending the law and hope for the best, that's all we can do at the moment. This is why I discussed things with Aca Vasiljević to find out whether we could rake up something to make him our responsibility. However, what we had was too flimsy; I wouldn't like to make predictions, but it seems to me that the matter is again going to be referred to the civilians. I look at things in a different light: to begin with, our competent services - I'm not referring to the prosecutors, I'm referring to Geza's³ organs, the information service which is adequately staffed - they should be filing charges for such criminal offences with the competent civil prosecutor. If it would make things easier, they could be sent direct to me and I would have to pass them on to the civil prosecutor because we can't change the law, unfortunately we can't. Now, is criminal prosecution the only way to go about it, I've been wondering why Vukšić and Perišić have not been brought before the Court of Honour. Well, we want and are duty bound to do things as quickly and efficiently as possible, but only things that fall within our jurisdiction, we must suppress unlawful acts in a lawful manner, otherwise we shall lay the Army open to criticism and...

Gen. Nebojša Pavković

We're going to change the law, but it is you who ought to stand up and defend the interests of the Army; if a case must go before a civil court, you as an institution must prepare the documents, so when it comes up before the court it can't be struck down, you must stand behind that court. You're masters at the game; just as a lawyer looks for every loophole in the law to defend his guilty client, so you too ought to do your bit.

Federal Minister of Foreign Affairs, Gen. of the Army Dragoljub Ojdanić

While I appreciate Obrenčević's position, the law cannot pose [an obstacle] to us just because a thing is beyond our competence. Geza's and our men responsible for morale must monitor events on a daily basis and sublimate them, prepare and couch things in proper legal terms, establish liaison with the republican prosecutor and pass the case on to them if it lies within their jurisdiction; but at any rate, a civil court cannot deal with such a menace in the way we soldiers can, because we know what the Army is, what the defence of the country entails, what it means to undermine the reputation of the Army and how it affects the total capability and readiness...such gestures on the part of unfortunately the [former] number one man in the VJ and his spokesman Vukšić, none of them has effectively been indicted so far. As to making a complaint to the Court of Honour, the Court of Honour is a novelty in our legal system, having been initiated by us during the war; there were some doubts as to whether or not we should go on with it, so it

on why the nation was suffering a crisis of morale and identity. His exclusive unedited text is to be found at the end of the book, in Appendix 3.

³ The reference is to Gen. Geza Farkaš, head of the Security Directorate, and his security organs.

was put on hold because of fears they'd grow more popular with the people. What people? As soon as they open their mouths people will realize their worth...I am fully of the opinion that we mustn't violate...we have no right to make a mistake because if we commit an error of procedure we're going to lose the case, so that's why we must come together and make an appointment with the republican prosecutor or, if necessary, the federal, if need be with the Supreme Court of Serbia, with the Federal Court, and so on. The important thing to do is to prosecute, afterwards we'll sort out the question of jurisdiction according to the place of residence.

I'm in favour of doing what follows from this, to urgently present the documents implicating them in specific criminal offences with specific names and make them appear before a court, all the more so because they were what they were. He's maligning all of us. You can imagine what sort of a man can say those things, that the Army did this or that; if you ask me, he mustn't leave prison as long as he lives, let him prove what he says. You are certainly aware of the impact on international public opinion when a citizen of this country, especially a competent man, utters a notorious lie, or when the other one speaks of a 'Horseshoe' until we furnish proof to the contrary.

Gen. Nebojša Pavković

You've got to...you're the experts and therefore you've got to put your shoulders to each case. We've brought an action against Perišić - do you know where the case is and for how many months it has been delayed? Who's keeping it there? Does anyone want that to come out into the open? As commander of the 3rd Army I brought an action against that newspaper in Vranje and we won the case in a court; we've sued Živković but the case is still pending, none of you experts, prosecutors or whatever you're called wants to do a hand's turn. It's your duty to go out and keep an eye on things, to rush around. It's down to Obrenčević to find out where the Perišić case has bogged down, what's the matter, what else we as professionals out to furnish so that Perišić is convicted and the case is not buried away in a drawer and skirted. That's an obstruction, so find out whether it is intentional or unintentional, etc. We've taken stock of the problems and we're going to solve them. The question of flats for judges and prosecutors is not an issue, we're going to sort that out. Let us have a unified position on all these things.

So who's going to take trouble over the cases we've started? No one it seems. I've been in touch with Lazarević every day to find out where the Živković case is. You know what Živković did, we've referred him to a civil court, but you know what civil courts are like. If in spite of all the efforts on our part - the Army, the prosecution, the judges - to expedite things and bring them out into the open there is no headway, then it must be in someone's interests to keep it back. We know that half the judiciary is corrupt and one wonders what sort of games they've been drawn into. Although we've been pointing this out all along, there's no one who can protect the Army against these organs of ours. The President says to me, Why, it's the Military Court. Wasn't it that same Military Court that sentenced that man to only five years?⁴ Why only five years? (See Appendix 1 at the end of the book) We'd spent five years proving that he'd been

⁴ The reference is to the commander of OSA, Lieut. Gajić, who was sentenced by the Military Court to five years in prison for allegedly preparing the assassination of Gen. Pavković. The whole group were amnestied after October 5 and attended a reception given by Pavković.

preparing to assassinate the President of the state and someone else, and he got off with a sentence that a poacher gets when he goes in and kills the prize stag. He says, What kind of court is that? I couldn't answer that, and I tried to explain that to him for a whole week. What is the punishment for such a thing? I...from three to ten years. One ought to have given him ten years and let him appeal, we could later have reduced it to nine years, or even eight, but that would have been an example to others not to dream of doing anything of that sort. As it turns out, you punish him with five, he appeals and has the sentence reduced to three, he serves a year and walks out of prison. This is the kind of logic that we who are outside your profession follow, so it is you who must put your shoulder to the wheel.

Gen.-Maj. Svetomir Obrenčević

First of all, I suggest that charges of that sort be regularly filed by a specific authority. Title a charge - it could be in my name - and I will forward it to the appropriate authority. The problem of the Perišić case was brought to my attention and, on the initiative of General Gojović, I had four talks with the district prosecutor in Belgrade and I think two with the republican. I was given specific promises that they were going to speed up the proceedings. Now I hear again that they haven't. I don't know what their problems are, but you must understand that there's nothing I can do formally to force their hand, I can only inquire as a colleague - if I personally forward the charge I sort of acquire an official capacity to ask my colleague, also in writing, what happened to it, but I can't do more than that. The Military Prosecutor does not act on behalf of the Army in a general sort of way. His jurisdiction is specific and he can only act within his powers. I quite agree that things should be kept under scrutiny. I mean, in cases like these, let the authorities in possession of the information file a complaint through the legal authorities, commands, security organs in order to prolong things a little, but let that be through me or the person who might supersede me. We will forward the case to the competent authority and inquire about it from time to time because it will be legitimate on my part to do so.

I learned of the complaint against Perišić through an informal contact with Gojović, so I immediately contacted Andrija Milutinović who told me he'd get on to the municipal prosecutor, promised to let me have the information, and said they were gathering some additional information. We ought to be aware that we could exert some influence on a collegial basis.

Gen. Nebojša Pavković

All right, you let us know so we give them a ring, they ring up the right place, and we follow this through.

Gen.-Maj. Svetomir Obrenčević

I'll have that wrapped up as a criminal offence under a separate number.

Federal Minister of Defence, Gen. of the Army Dragoljub Ojdanić

You have my assurances that I can bring together all the competent people - the federal prosecutor, the republican prosecutor and, if necessary, those from the city district - so we can sit down and discuss things properly...suppose the federal and Serbian justice ministers are also there so we can ask, Folks, have we done out bit? Do you want this Army and this state protected? Such cases must take priority over irrelevant ones and the Federal Minister of Justice must have authority to set deadlines.

Maj.-Gen. Svetomir Obrenčević

Shall we, by way of conclusion, appoint someone to take stock of the complaints we've filed so far?

Federal Minister of Defence, Gen. of the Army Dragoljub Ojdanić

The Federal Prosecutor...the minister...though he's a Radical...folks, did you see him flay those characters in the Federal Government, he's quite right...the tricksters and double-dealers, trying to circumvent Federal Government decisions and lay their hands on public property.

Gen. Nebojša Pavković

There've been considerable results, I know that because I keep up with things, but people who don't know, they say we only convict privates and petty officers for stealing a tin of food or for running away...those are the results, they've all been put away, but we can't convict people who do the most damage to the Army. They know that - Perišić knows, and Vukšić knows, and all the rest know all the ropes and that's why they do the things they do. We've received official information from Germany that Vukšić said things there about the Army and the state which no local journalist had ever said or could say, but he just did.

Maj.-Gen. Svetomir Obrenčević

Did he reveal any military secrets so we can arrest him at once?

Gen. Nebojša Pavković

Of course he did. We'll let you know what we've done about it.

Lieut.-Gen. Stamenko Nikolić

I've been on to Gojković literally every day instructing him to do the things the Chief of the General Staff wants done, that is, to intervene with the Public Prosecutor to start proceedings and hearings as soon as possible. But, as you've pointed out here, is there any cooperation in this? For instance, the lawyer working for Gojović or someone else's lawyer is not qualified enough to file a criminal complaint with a public

prosecutor; as General Obrenčević observed, being an expert he should have a look at it first to make sure the case is solid and can't be dismissed in the courtroom.

I can't understand that one can't get the public prosecutors to deal with such cases summarily. Regarding the case of that Fascist resistance we dealt with early in the year, they are making good use of these shortcomings, so whatever judgements the courts may make later they'll be of no use to us, so I fully support the proposal made by General Obrenčević, that we adopt it as a conclusion at this meeting, that every request to prosecute, or indictment, or criminal complaint be submitted to him, that the Office of Military Prosecutor be given the task of upgrading personnel, because this just won't do. Otherwise, we in the General Staff will be forced to file criminal complaints ourselves.

Federal Minister of Defence, Gen. of the Army Dragoljub Ojdanić

Paperwork and phone calls alone won't get us anywhere, we've got to deal with each case that's got to be pushed through Government directly - one simply calls on this, that or some other minister and gets the thing done, so that afterward the matter can be put through the Government as a matter of formality. I wish to assure you that the Federal Ministry - I certainly have no doubts about the Federal Prosecutor - will back any resolute request from us to speed up things regarding the criminal complaints against the most compromised men who once were part of this Army. I don't think there would be any actual interference on the part of the Minister of Justice: he makes a request to this effect to the Office of Prosecution; the Office of Prosecution passes it on to the lower-level prosecutor and the court; there's no instruction as to what should be done about the criminal complaint, merely that it should be given priority treatment in view of the damage these people are inflicting on this country and this Army. This is how I look at it. I can take it upon myself - I shan't be here on Monday, I'll be here on Tuesday, Wednesday's out, but Thursday and Friday are fine - I can arrange things on Tuesday afternoon, we can get these people together and tell them the situation we're in.

Maj.-Gen. Svetomir Obrenčević

It shouldn't look like the Army is asking the Public Prosecutor to render account. I suggest we first to take stock of the criminal complaints filed by the Army so far because neither I nor my prosecutors now all of them. After I get a copy of the report, I'll arrange a meeting with the republican prosecutor at my place on behalf of the Army, we'll sit down and discuss things, and we'll then make a proper announcement so there aren't any objections and political connotations in some paper such as *Glas* [the opposition daily *Glas javnosti*] or whatever. Or I can suggest to the Minister of Justice to call a meeting with his prosecutor and invite me or someone else from the Army. As to our future activities, I propose and take upon myself, naturally if practicable...they could also be first-instance prosecutors, as soon as the information is available. My prosecutors have no TV sets, my prosecutors receive no newspapers except *Politika*, their only sources of information are operational reports - let the competent services who have all this - Geza has it, the Information and Morale Directorates has it - let them get all that together and consult with us. I'm always available so we can decide if a thing holds water or not. We can then decide whether to try for misdemeanour proceedings, or disciplinary

proceedings, or a criminal complaint and to which authority. We are ready to help in those kinds of things.

Now, that would be a first step enabling us to approach our civilian colleagues with well-grounded arguments; I wish to make clear that I have no doubts whatever as to the good intentions of the Republican Prosecutor and District Prosecutor Andrija Milutinović - I don't know the people at the lower levels, so there might be someone who's just slow-moving or has different motives - but once we get out act together and put the matter through the prosecutor, then the prosecutor acquires a legitimacy to inquire further; I think we'll get through with this. Regarding this meeting, Mr Minister, I suggest that we first have a look at what we've got; there might be two or three cases that don't call for the use of heavy artillery.

Federal Minister of Defence, Gen. of the Army Dragoljub Ojdanić

I think that the information the prosecutor gets in the form of an operational report is almost of no use to you. Every day the Information and Morale Directorate examines the press and analyses opinions and utterances having to do with defence and the Army; the team goes through every paper the Directorate receives, both opposition and, as it were, real; there're plenty of elements you can lay your finger on and they can be processed even retroactively - I suppose those press clippings are kept because they are very useful to people who haven't an opportunity or time to read them at the time of publication - I therefore suggest that you instruct the Information Directorate to make this available to the Military Court prosecutor or president and to the president of the Supreme Military Court.

Gen. Nebojša Pavković

We'll let you all have newspapers free of charge.

Federal Minister of Defence, Gen. of the Army Dragoljub Ojdanić

The Directorate should now be instructed to go back almost a year and underscore all the negative connotations, the notorious lies, the slanders and calumnies and what not, so it could be looked into it immediately and charges made for this or that. There'd also be material to bring the gentleman in question before that Court of Honour for saying we have no integrity, no brains, etc.

Maj.-Gen. Svetomir Obrenčević

May I suggest - Geza has his own reports of a similar nature - let them be placed at the disposal of the Supreme Prosecutor.

Federal Minister of Defence, Gen. of the Army Dragoljub Ojdanić

I accept this methodological approach to solving these cases, but the job must be done quickly. Anyone else to speak?

Gen. Svetozar Marjanović

It's about the possible solutions you mentioned, and I also wanted to make a proposal, but now that you've just made it yourself there's no need for me to go into that. There's no need for us to discuss the positive things, you talked about them yourself, I think we should not lose any time over that. I want to say something and I hope that it won't be held against me: as far as I'm concerned this meeting has shown in no uncertain terms that there is not enough cooperation and co-ordination between the prosecution, the Security Directorate and all of us on the General Staff and that something must be done about it. For instance, your request that the cases which have already been submitted to the prosecution should now be placed at your disposal testifies to this state of affairs. This means that we don't have the right information in this domain either. Are there any computers in that Prosecutor's Office? The VJ has a surplus of computers and operators, and we can also train personnel with secondary school qualifications in two or three months to perform such simple tasks. Obviously we haven't been keeping in touch, so I think that we must do something about it urgently, we must meet as occasion arises as well as maintain regular contacts.

Second, I think - this is my personal opinion and I'm talking about my own case - it couldn't be said that our prosecutors or their deputies haven't been expeditious in every case. We've been talking only about cases where they haven't been, but I'll give you an example where they have. Acting on an anonymous complaint that I was using military property free of charge, that I wasn't paying the Army for them - although they were placed at my disposal by decision of the Chief of the General Staff - it took you only five days to instruct the prosecutor, the First Army security organs, to establish the facts. A really embarrassing situation for a general. Interestingly, you found no time for any other case, no prosecutor took any action of his own accord. This is only an example, just to show that things can be dealt with promptly in spite of the overwork, but they aren't. I think you...the judiciary...are still bound by the principle...our attitude to all things - and this goes also for making charges, holding trials - must be according to the danger involved...One must set one's priorities according as how seriously society, an individual, is threatened...We have our schedules regarding hearings, work, meetings, but if something crops up that threatens...that poses a greater threat to the organization, then one readjusts one's schedules, one holds off a scheduled trial, one cancels that hearing and tries someone else who must be brought to justice as soon as possible...a failure to indict or convict in such a case can have greater consequences than putting off a scheduled trial...

I think there's room for discussing our treatment of inferiors or men under our command, we must pay more attention to both. I personally think...I've been deputy for a year now...I have no information even about your assignments, I find this personally embarrassing and I take part of the blame for all you've said here, I feel responsible for some of the problems you've pointed out, obviously the conclusion to make is that we must give the matter serious consideration, the sooner the better. Regarding what the Chief of the General Staff said, I don't believe that you who belong to the judiciary, the prosecutor's office, think that you are outside the Army, I'm sure that you consider yourselves part of the Army. This being so, I don't see why you can't ring up the Chief or

his deputy or whoever and say, Well, I've intervened with those people, I worked at it but I'm not getting anywhere, I don't think we can make a go of it, so can you do something about it? I mean we don't have that sort of communication...you were there four times...actually we talked on four occasions, but there's no one here to take up the line suggested by the Minister, General of the Army Dragoljub Ojdanić. I have a number of acquaintances in the civil courts - some people I know - so I happen to know that there are people there who'll never pronounce judgement unless someone this side twists their arm; there's no chance those courts will try Perišić, I can guarantee you that.

Federal Minister of Defence, Gen. of the Army Dragoljub Ojdanić

A cousin of mine was getting married and wanted to have a wedding party in the Hotel Morava in Čačak, so we dispatched professionals over there to check the security arrangements and provide protection; the long and short of it was, the police commander didn't even bother to get up on his feet, and the hotel manager I spoke to simply wanted no security presence on the premises, no food inspection, nothing, and eventually he wanted to cancel the event that had been arranged two days before. It was as if we had arrived in occupied territory. I knew that the opposition was in power in Čačak, I didn't want to spoil the festivity, otherwise I'd have gone...I didn't want to do anything foolish about it, so as far as I was concerned I let them have things their own way. This is how low we've sunk. I'm going to write a report to Mr Minister, to let him know what goes on in his Ministry. We've got people who don't do their job properly in every service. But that's what people are like. They couldn't care less, because there's always the Sixth Directorate in the Federal Ministry of Defence to take care of things...it's not something I like but I have to...such are the orders, the policy, so there's nothing I can do about it...by contrast, the whole thing in Kosijerić was done elegantly, in the best possible way...whereas I couldn't go to my own cousin's wedding, the guy simply says we're calling the thing off, my cousin's invited guests to a wedding party that's being cancelled.

Admiral Milan Zec

General, generals and officers, we're already seeing the positive effects of meetings of this kind, I do think that they should be held more often so that many of the ambiguities posing problems for commands can be solved with less effort. We cooperate with the judiciary organs, we appreciate and of course consider useful and necessary the organization which must contribute to the overall strengthening of combat readiness in the VJ. I don't share the opinion of the Supreme Military Prosecutor regarding the lack of information. I think that that institution must have information on matters with which it deals ex officio, that it cannot exist if it lacks the relevant information.

Now, if I did not have the right kind of information I would be replaced by the Chief of the General Staff because I am not doing my job. This is how I look at it. This is my view of the problem you've outlined. It's your duty as Supreme Military Prosecutor to obtain the information you need. Who is supposed to supply you with it? I don't know, but you've got to have it. I notice that those at lower levels tend to expect action from those at the top when it comes to problems bearing directly on the military and state leaderships and such things. However, the same goes for the lower levels, that

is, our judicial organs. We've got specific problems in that department. Let it be understood that the judicial authorities have done some very good things which, it seems to me, are not the subject of today's meeting, it's not as if commands have only complaints about the work of the judicial organs. There are many things for which the judicial organs deserve praise. However, I shall limit myself only to the complaints. We think that in the investigation state far more weight is attached to the opinion of the military court expert witnesses than to the opinion of commands, that is, that the opinion of commands is not taken into consideration when it comes to taking expert testimony. For instance, if a piece of property is damaged, the expert witness bases his damage assessment on the year of manufacture rather than on that item's usefulness regarding the unit's combat readiness; a damaged special-purpose truck which is invaluable for the unit's combat readiness is thus valued at a few thousand dinars, the result being that this sum, rather than the truck's usefulness in combat, becomes the subject of the proceedings.

We consider that a command's assessment of the diminution of combat readiness is what matters most, not the damage as expressed in money terms. The military prosecutor and the military court must sort out their priorities. I'll be specifically referring to Montenegro. The things that are now going on in the Republic of Serbia have been going on in Montenegro for the past two years. Regarding what General said about that commander, such things are commonplace where we are, we're quite used to there being no cooperation of any sort whatever. We must understand our present situation and be aware of the things that jeopardize the state and the combat readiness of the Army. Some of you may remember the case of Darko Knežić, that was shortly after the war, the military prosecutor and the Military Court had ordered certain steps to be taken...Considering the timing, the whole affair proved damaging to the combat readiness of the VJ and the situation in Montenegro in general; the long and short of it was, the only person who was detained for a month by decision of our judicial organs throughout the war and the post-war period was the person who had been strongly opposed to the slave trade that went on across the sea during the war; for some reason or other the Military Court in Podgorica found against him and in favour of a person with a criminal background...Now, I have respect for that court but we in the Navy don't respect judge Kapnić because we suspect that the man abused his office in this case...I kept telling you people in the highest places that you had no consideration for the position of the command...you believed that the Naval command wanted to seize the vessel for material gain, and you ruled in favour of local criminals, mafiosi...To my mind that was an extremely serious error, had there been any regard for the political and social situation the decision would have been quite different. On the other hand, there are cases of proceedings being postponed without end, consider for instance our action against the five officers from the Navy command who abused their office and caused material damage by alienating seventeen motor vehicles. The case has been played down, it has dragged on for four years, the symbolic sentences imposed in the first-instance proceedings can only encourage criminal and corrupt practices in the Navy. I don't want to go into the details, suffice it to say that seventeen military vehicles were written off as scrap although four of them left under their own propulsion, we made all this clear in the court. We're not satisfied with the treatment the matter received.

Once the military investigating judges and military prosecutors finish their job, repeated requests are made for additional evidence and this goes on and on, our impression is that the proceedings are sometimes prolonged on purpose. Also, the Military Court is in the habit of not paying sufficient attention to the documents accompanying the criminal charges filed by the Military Police security organs, so it often requests additional information although the details are already there.

Since in Montenegro the VJ is unfortunately under various attacks from the republican and other organs, the military judiciary must take into consideration the political implications and the potential danger to society and the Army arising from this context, it must determine its priorities in dealing with cases. Otherwise, I do agree that those authorities in Podgorica are snowed under with work, they've received backlog from military courts comprising thousands of cases and are getting a good many more each day, we should therefore consider the possibility of reinforcing them or stimulating them as General Obrenčević suggested, I'm quite in favour of providing some sort of money incentive.

Lieut.-Gen. Milorad Obradović

General, I completely go along with what Milan Zec has said, so I don't want to dwell on that. We have lots of problems in our practical work: first, there's the question of competence, lots of cases get stuck at the level of judicial organs, legal services and security organs because it's not quite clear who's responsible for what, I think that this state of affairs is being taken advantage of. Another thing we encounter in our work are emergencies and criminal offences, we at headquarters make our reports and say that an investigation is in progress, but the investigation just goes on and on. The command then insists that action be finally taken, but I've received no notification from a prosecutor so far that criminal proceedings are going to be instituted...then we step in and do something that is either necessary or ought not to be done.

Third, concerning the new situation with which we have to deal, the current regulations must have been drafted at a time when one had quite different views of things. I propose we look at the situation in the new light and if necessary supplement the relevant regulations; we must modify them because we cannot defend the state, the state and Army leaderships, the system - all of which are under attack - with inadequate instruments. I go along with what has been said here, the situation on the ground is such that we've got to get the judiciary organization to proceed accordingly and take what measures are needed.

In this context, Mr Minister, we in Second Army zone of responsibility, that is, the prosecution...the workload is so overwhelming that I have no idea how the courts will cope later, there are already cases in their thousands that no one's doing anything about. What I'd like to know is, how are we to solve the problem of all those persons convicted under articles 114 and 117? The matter has a tremendous bearing on what we do in the future...the recruits have simply been ignoring the call-up for a year now, this is not on, it's a deadlock, it shows how inefficient we are...as the Chief of the General Staff has pointed out, we can't afford to be inefficient. We're losing our grip. I had this much to say.

Lieut.-Gen. Vladimir Lazarević

General, I wish to point out that the Army command has made the assessment - which corresponds to the state of affairs on the ground - that criminal activities are on the wane, both those that were notorious after the end of the state or war and the sort going on now...however, the Army effectives are being undermined by political destruction incorporating elements of terrorism. Our assessment is that the centres of political destruction are located throughout the country and not only in the Niš army district...we've found it rather difficult to cope lately, regarding monitoring that political destruction and taking action over those criminal offences. The Army command organs have filed five or six criminal complaints resulting in a number of convictions, I'm referring to the newspapers in Vranje and Niš, the federal deputy and mayor...but generally one wonders who ought to be in charge of dealing with this destruction and criminal offences against the country, the armed forces, the Third Army...what means are to be employed? Is this the work for the intelligence centres, the security organs, the information authorities, am I supposed to detail special groups twice a day to...it's highly destructive, incorporating elements...calls...you are aware of the things they do. Now, we haven't studied this aspect sufficiently, are we also going to bring in the prosecutor, the prosecutor's office or someone else as well? There's so much of that going on...six, seven garrisons daily...the whole of the Third Army is affected.

The members of the Third Army are currently urged to take this or that side. As far as I know, these are criminal offences against the country and the Army. Who is supposed to react to these calls to disobey orders, to obstruct things? The first thing to do is to collect evidence, the newspapers publish some things and don't publish others, there's hearsay, people hear something then it turns out they didn't hear it right, an Army commander is invited to see for himself that there's no terrorism involved. Next thing, they're going to approach me personally, the rest of our officers, the soldiers. They're telling them, Place yourselves at the head of the fifth column, make a choice between the red-black coalition and the fifth column...they're addressing officers and soldiers in the streets...This destruction ought to be considered in a wider context...I already see some additional tasks for myself, the Army command organs, the units...we must simply look at the problem from a wider point of view...I have no specific proposal, the Army expects this meeting to issue specific instructions so that we can defend ourselves as much as possible...regarding the judicial authorities, municipal, district, we are cooperating with them and I think that this cooperation will bear fruit. According to my information, he's been stripped of his immunity under summary proceedings recently, as to the federal deputy, the deputy prime minister of the city government, the police department in Niš are about to file a criminal complaint.

Maj.-Gen. Svetomir Obrenčević

Regarding this problem in the area of responsibility of the Second Army, we - I mean including the prosecutor and the court - have processed a good many of the recruits charged under articles 214 and 217. What are the problems? To begin with, the amnesty law relating to all these persons was passed contrary to the Constitution. I requested the Federal Court to verify the constitutional validity of that law and suggested applying

provisional measures. My suggestion was accepted and the law was put on hold, but the proceedings are still pending. I expect a positive ruling because the thing has no basis in either the Constitution or any enactment. Since criminal sanctions are the responsibility of municipal courts, a military court can do no more than communicate its judgement to the competent municipal court. This is where our hands are tied, I'm aware of the problem, we will...we've actually already initiated federal legislation, perhaps also amending the Law on the Enforcement of Criminal Sanctions, with a view to enabling military courts to enforce their own decisions, I've always been in favour of such a thing regardless of who's the culprit. But we still need someone to carry this through. For instance, a military court may summon a person to serve his prison sentence but someone has to take him there.

Now, this may not concern you, but we have serious problems in our work in the Second Army district because we're mostly ineffective. What's the reason? We are largely ineffective because we only carry out things that fall within our jurisdiction, we can't do anything about something that lies outside it; this problem is evident and ought to be tackled at the federal level, by someone who is far above us and the Army. As to the things we've discussed, my colleague Gojković and I and, if necessary, someone else, someone working for Geza if not Geza himself, we're going work out some sort of rules on how to proceed in matters which profoundly affect the Army and defence arrangements but fall outside the purview of the military prosecutor. Let us lay down the jurisdictions so that each of us can do his own job, because too many cooks spoil the broth. I propose that this should be entered in the conclusions as an obligation.

Federal Minister of Defence, Gen. of the Army Dragoljub Ojdanić

We all know that the workload is too much for the personnel currently employed in the judiciary. It is therefore up to you to request that, if possible, the service be enlarged at the expense of other organizational units, both the Federal Ministry of Defence and the General Staff, or in some other way, I just don't know.

Second, I don't see any reason why members of the military judicial organs should not try to satisfy the conditions entitling them to promotion, for example by becoming specialists or obtaining master's and doctor's degrees. I'm all for such a solution, you'll have to apply to the Ministry's department in charge of systemic and status affairs so we can push the thing through, there could be a regulation providing that an employee who passes the bar examination acquires the status of specialist of whatever you call them, but of course there should be a time limit for this so as not to devalue the standards. Such qualifications of course will be no guarantee that these people will be able to do their work properly - normally qualifications are there to ensure just this - but we're forced to bend the rules in the legal service of all places.

Let the people who are in charge of the judicial service departments find out within a week how many computers are needed - but try to be modest - and we'll have that sorted out in no time. As regards the housing question, we can all take an optimistic view of what's under way, the VJ can look forward to 5,000 flats this year. Second, as regards our priorities, we can't give the judicial organs any other privileges. However, in view of the amount of work our people have to do and the workload in the civil sector I think we can make arrangements, I think that's within my competence, to

have all extra work done by prosecutors, judges, investigators paid. If there's any need to increase the workload of our people relative to that of the civil sector, no one should object to that, you appreciate that we're more efficient and have solved more cases than they have. I hope that you understand this and that we can have things sorted out in this way. It shouldn't prove too great a burden on the state, one of the reasons people are leaving, and good professionals at that, is pay which was abominably low until quite recently; you must admit that now it is quite decent - we're certainly not paid as well as other services are - but we must make an effort to keep our personnel, there must be a way we can legally pay people who take a case home or work overtime at the office, that can rate as overtime, people aren't going to just sit down and do nothing. We'll give the matter our consideration and see that it is approved by the Collegium of Ministers, I'll find out whether it has to go through the federal government.

I found it necessary to make a few points since you raised the question yourself...as to that equipment, we'll see what can be done. You know the situation, it's embarrassing to have your opposite numbers from the civil sector visit you...I'll try to go over the place myself, we're going to work something out. Thank you.

Lieut.-Gen. Vladimir Lazarević

General, there are two questions that concern the Third Army specifically . The matter of dealing with citizens' claims regarding commandeered vehicles and compensation in case of death or wounding. I use the term 'specifically' because over 95 per cent of the fatalities were members of the Third Army. This has a bearing on morale, on the Army as a whole. Regarding the 1,300 commandeered vehicles, the Third Army has filed 680 criminal complaints with the competent military prosecutor in Niš, requesting that the vehicles be seized as offending items and made over to us. Because there is a backlog, because the matter can't be dealt with expeditiously, only four such requests have been granted. We could have 1,000 vehicles at 500 German marks each, that would be five, six, ten flats we're losing, we could do with them or sell them later.

The other problem concerns dealing with the compensation claims of citizens whose relatives were killed or wounded. The Office of Military Attorney in Niš has received 501 death compensation claims of which thirty-five have been settled - the rest were put on hold following oral explanations that they would be dealt with otherwise - and of the 345 wound compensation claims none has been settled. The families of killed and severely wounded soldiers are besieging the Military Court in Niš and the Third Army command every day. We look upon the matter as an exceptionally grave problem for the state and the Army, we'll have to pay eventually...legal actions are underway, we must find a way to settle at least the basic costs of funerals, monuments, and so on.

Admiral Milan Zec

I think that in determining our priorities in matters calling for judicial determination our criteria must take account of the assessment of the military-security situation, or be based on those elements in it which indicate the social, military and security threats to the VJ.

Second, I'd like to say a few words about the Knežić case seeing that the general mentioned it again. I should have been very pleased if you had said, if not in strong terms then certainly by way of an observation, that there was something fishy about that case...but you don't attach weight to what the command says - I have been in command out there for six years - you acknowledge what judge Katić has to say...if you will please have the case reviewed by experts, you'll find out that the case is full of holes. I've nothing more to say.

Gen. Nebojša Pavković

General [sic], the General Staff has made a recommendation to examine the responsibility of that attorney and to make arrangements for him to be moved from that post. We believe that he is causing more damage by what he does not do than by what he does. This is just an example, the thing he's been telling us about, there's a lot of other evidence of the damage he's causing by his failure to act, we've been unable to solve lots of cases started as far back as a year ago.

Federal Minister of Defence, Gen. of the Army Dragoljub Ojdanić

This is why demands are being made of us and you, you are expected to act adequately and, of course, within the law. Our present conditions and circumstances differ from those more peaceful and easy times. The judiciary is expected to assess these conditions correctly, to assess and judge the danger to society that specific criminal acts and, if you will, disciplinary offences pose in each case. In other words, in view of the current social developments and treats to society, a sentence of five to ten years' imprisonment under current regulations ought to be raised to a maximum. As general Pavković was saying, at other times the tendency would probably be to revise downwards. Certainly no one is going to interfere with you in this matters, although this doesn't mean that wrong assessments and decisions will not be pointed out and objections raised. I think this is the duty of all of us. Your work ought to be subject to corrections, you must work fully in conformity with the legal, moral and, I should say, ethical norms of our society, with the place and role military judiciary organs have in every system.

Gen. Nebojša Pavković

General, I propose...today's Saturday, they'll have the minutes on Monday, so let them carry this out by Wednesday.

If you permit, I'd like to make a proposal now. Make your suggestions, we'll support and realize all your requests regarding personnel, promotions, etc...as regards housing, we'll see to that as well. But let there be no doubt that we're going to take measures against those not working in the interests of the VJ. Being short of a lawyer, having a vacancy is better than having a lawyer on our staff who works against the VJ. However, we should aim to elevate personnel in the legal service according to a plan, we need higher standards regarding rank and position.

* * *

Thus ended the collegium meeting attended by officers from the military judiciary. The next collegium meeting was devoted to the upcoming elections in Montenegro and the VJ's preparations for the event. The recurring clashes between the VJ and the Montenegrin Ministry of Internal Affairs (MUP) made it necessary for the VJ to make a thorough assessment of the situation in Montenegro and monitor developments there. The effort required much money, energy and personnel. Milošević regularly took advantage of events such as elections to demonstrate force through 7th Battalion and to serve notice through loyal generals that he would not allow anything to jeopardize the interests of the Belgrade.

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Lieut.-Gen. Branko Krga

The upcoming elections in Montenegro on June 11 have attracted considerable attention in the international community; apparently, their expectations of a certain victory by the ruling party have diminished, which has probably to do with the assassination of that man Žugić.⁵

Gen. Geza Farkaš

The main thing in Montenegro is elections, which they'll be moving forward with in a day or two. The US, or rather their services, has come to certain conclusions in this regard and told the Montenegrin leadership they're not satisfied with the MUP's preparations to block and take over military facilities and deal with emergencies. Work on setting up a Montenegrin Ministry of Defence is under way.

As to Otpor, it continues to expand; other than assisting the opposition parties, they're laying emphasis on Otpor and financing it through various humanitarian organizations.

As regards our efforts to detect their formations within Otpor, we've identified a rather powerful group at the VMA [Military Academy Hospital in Belgrade]. They opened up during interviews, we've already got three or four persons who admitted to being activists, to being active in Otpor, they said openly they did not support the regime and would vote against it at the next election, etc. What's peculiar about the VMA, they have a large or rather certain number of students working there hired through the students' co-operative, and it's these that are spreading the Otpor network about. We've told the people in charge to make dismissals or deal with it in some other way.

Another thing, Otpor have fully established themselves in the Prvi partizan special purpose plant, with the exception of the general director all the rest there are members of the opposition.

Gen. Geza Farkaš

⁵ Goran Žugić, national security adviser to Milo Đukanović, was shot dead outside his flat in Podgorica. The killers were never found.

This information has been forwarded to Ojdanić, the whole thing's spreading, I wish to draw your attention once more to the fact that our service has seen to it that when the new draft arrives such goings-on are detected, I'm looking forward to better cooperation with the MUP and State Security in order to shield these units.

Perišić presented himself at the hearing in the company of his lawyer, and they at once raised an objection about the court president which, so far as I am informed, General Kovačević accepted.

Gen. Nebojša Pavković

We won't accept that. I've read the information, there have been quite a few cases of military personnel being brought in and arrested in Montenegro. Geza, we ought to instruct our security organs to react whenever there's an attack on Army members. Though we certainly aren't going to protect those in the Army involved in treason, a representative of the military police and security must be present whenever any action is taken against a member of the Army. We've got to sort this out. We must again serve notice to the commanders to prevent...if they spot someone exercising troops next to the barracks, they must take the unit out and block the activity on the spot. It won't do to watch people drilling troops to take over the barracks. We're showing our impotence, our irresolution, the commanders are incapable of making such decisions, Obradović has been saying the same on television, so why not do anything? I'm going to have a word with Obradović in particular, I think something's out of line, either he does his job or he ought to be removed from there.

So, if they are seen drilling there's to be a counter-action at once, there won't be any clashes, they're just run away.

Lieut.-Gen. Stamenko Nikolić

General, allow me to present a couple of minor points falling within my jurisdiction: the public has already been informed that reserve general Perišić has been stripped of his rank by the first-instance decision of the Collegium, but there might be a revision, in all probability he's going to appeal, I've just no information for now; as to Čanak, he's been charged by the Military Court for evading the draft and for slandering the VJ under article 28 or 29, whereas the Vukšić case is before the Court of Honour.

Gen. Nebojša Pavković

That's got to be based not on the explanation we supplied, that he violated the rules...why, there's a connection between those things man, he ought to be told that he collaborated with the aggressor, that he gave his support, that he assailed the Army, those kinds of things. The most serious charge against him is that he plotted against the people. That's the thing to bring forth, there must be a serious argument against him after he said those things. He says that now he's been stripped of his rank he's practically no longer military personnel, he's been citing the decision to terminate his service in the Army. We've got to go for him for supporting the aggressor, collaborating with them, having

meetings during the aggression and afterwards with terrorists, he didn't condemn the aggression, he didn't condemn the KFOR forces in Kosovo, he's been attacking the Army, the paramilitaries, and so on. I'm still thinking about the status of his son. I find these two things hard to reconcile. Do you believe that his son is going to conduct himself any better after he comes out the rank of second lieutenant? His son lives with him, he's putting things into his head, it's no good. There must be a way to handle this thing. What can you expect of him? He's going to hatch plots in the unit, to poison the minds of the soldiers. I'm not sure that he isn't under his considerable influence. As to Vukšić, he's quiet at the moment but when the Perišić appeal period is over...he's not getting a general's but an average pension. The matter concerning General Terzić was a blunder on our part, so when next a case crops up sort it out resolutely at once. There oughtn't to have been any uncertainty as to whether he's been retired or not, whether his years of service will be acknowledged or not...we all know that behaved incorrectly. We as good as admitted that we were wrong. We shouldn't have minced matters, he should've been told off right away...the same goes for Perišić, it's the same sort of case...It only goes to show that we as a military organization lack the courage to face the truth and to tell him things to his face...we'd rather beat about the bush, we say we're going to tell him later today, tomorrow, next week. The position we've conveyed to the President, which is the position of the military cabinet, is that those generals who have been promoted to lieutenant-general without a corresponding formational appointment should not have been promoted in the first place. We're the ones who confer rank. The President did not hold with our pointing out that we're turning out generals at a time when we should be reducing, reorganizing, etc. the Army...he observed that the number of newly-promoted generals is still less than the number of those who've been retired. We might appoint some to the General Staff to head strategic groups - the public won't like this at all - but on the other hand no one asks our opinion when a person is made general director of the EPS [Serbian power industry]. However, there ought to be a meeting with these generals to explain the position to them and to work this out. All of them are now coming to see me about one thing or other, Stojković too, they're making all sorts of demands. Someone ought to have told him, Look, you're not entitled to that so please lay off. Having been strung along, kept on a string, he now comes to see me, he fishes out some papers and says, Here, this is the position I held, I didn't claim then what appertained to me, I'm entitled to it, they never gave it to me - and he goes back ten years and demands that we sort out his status, his entitlement to a flat, and all the rest. And that's what we've got to do.

Gen. Nebojša Pavković

Another thing, regarding the trip to be taken by the delegation, I said that we should look into the possibility of enlarging the RV delegation, that someone else from the General Staff should go, I'm thinking about Krga and Petrović. This thing is to be considered. There is a wider issue that ought to...

This is yet another example of our inability to deal with people or rather to sort out the problems that keep cropping up. A fellow comes to me and says, I'm here to be told why I haven't been put in for promotion. I reply to him, It's not for me to do or not do that, and I explain the situation to him, I tell him the things that Pantelić should

have told him. His record says he's a top performer, he's published so many books, he accomplished this and that while holding such and such a post, he was promoted, he did this and that during the war. There's nothing in there you could deny, and his grades are good. So he comes to me and wants to know why I don't want to promote him either. If I told him that he's collaborating with so-and-so, he'd deny it. Now that Geza's here, I want you to collect, I told him openly: 'We've got information that you've been having contacts with generals who don't follow the Army line. They're your former comrades Grahovac, So-and-so, and So-and-so. I have no objection to your cooperating with them, but you're cooperating in matters.' I tell him I've informed his boss, I tell him he was at such-and-such a place and he doesn't deny, he says that was shortly before the New Year, he says he was expecting to be retired, he was waiting for his retirement order, he had been in touch with Grahovac and had had to erase data from his computer. I've nothing else to go on, but we'll have to look into it now, to find out if any blame attaches to him, didn't you all vote against his promotion at the Collegium meeting? We voted to have him removed from the Army, didn't we?, but we can't come up with any reasons why. I can't back such a proposal. Don't you think I'm having an easy time of it, he's been accusing me of things, I ask him, Why didn't you sort that out yourself while you were Chief of the General Staff, why didn't you have him pensioned off then? I'm told that we must pension off this man and that...wait a minute, I say, you can't treat people like that, on principle I'm against playing around with people in that way. We must treat people correctly, if there's something the matter we must tell them so straight away, that is, if we have evidence. If someone's not doing his job properly, that ought to be entered in his record...we've recommended people for this, that and the other, the matter goes before their boss, he looks at the grades and sees they're excellent, everything's OK but still...well, that won't do. Now, all of you here are in charge of people, so you must keep meticulous records when it comes to marking their work and so on. Well, I don't want you to take this as bragging on my part, but I had my own criteria in marking a man's work, I was always able to tell him exactly why he'd been given such and such a mark. I simply take out my notebook and tell him, Well, mate, this mark's for this, that and the other.

It used to be a practice for superior officers to justify both positive and negative marks. I suggest that we have a second look at the Rules.

Gen. Nebojša Pavković

We've got to straighten this out. There, to be honest, I don't know what to do about Borović. I'm telling you this quite seriously. He's written books, he's worked hard and got things done, his war record's beyond reproach, he was all over the battlefield visiting units and helping whenever he could. What am I to tell him now?

Gen. Miodrag Simić

General, I think we're unduly preoccupied with the Borojević problem because none of us is entirely free from blame. I'm referring above all to the person who was and still is his immediate superior. When you had me transferred from one post to another, couldn't you have given me your reasons in writing? That's my first question. My second

point, whatever the merits and demerits of the Rules, I beg your pardon, but if we all of us have...how can I tell a superior that the marks I'm giving him are based on true merit and not meant to serve some specific purpose? These Rules are of no use to us. Third, General, what can one say about the morals of someone who insists on a rank although there's nothing in the law that says he must get it, isn't that flying in the face of the military? He's aware that he has no case but continues to argue, says he'd run off the rails in a moment of depression, crisis...wants to be told if being retired means being hostile towards the state and vice versa. We just don't want to get to the bottom of such things. If I'd been consulted I wouldn't have received him in the first place, I'd have forced Mr Pantelić to explain everything to him, then he could have come to see me in Pantelić's presence. Let's not shirk and let others pull the chestnuts out of the fire. We have our powers, we're doing our job, we can come face to face with out subordinates.

Gen. Nebojša Pavković

I haven't had any problems in my relationships with others. Nikolić, we must make sure that the military organization operates according to the rules that are currently in force, not according to what Pavković thinks. We don't want to talk about him any more, let's not waste our energies, let's be concrete and get done with the matter, he sent that letter to the Military Cabinet, the Military Cabinet will be asking us for information, to let them have what we've got and all the rest of it, to give that to the President, so if he decides to receive him, let him do so and let him tell him himself. The President has also information of his own which he gets from other quarters. If there's no problem, he may be given till the end of next year to prove his worth, otherwise we'll be asked why we didn't remove him from the post he does not deserve. Things could be done in that way too.

Gen. Vidoje Pantelić

He arrived from ŠONID [Schooling, Education and Textbook-publishing Department] without a rating, he was indignant, he said they'd been listening in to your conversations too, General, but didn't use that against you.

Gen. Geza Farkaš

General, we've been highly active recently from the General Staff down to the outlying units, we've had meetings involving extreme security risks, but everything went smoothly for the most part. All these activities were keenly monitored by the foreign factor located in Kosovo. Most attacks are coming from those non-governmental organizations which are gaining a foothold in all institutions, even in our residential buildings and blocks, more and more of them are renting flats where our generals live, they're watching every move we make. I wish to point out the problem with Otpor, they are spreading enormously and it is only now that we're discovering the real proportions and dimensions of that organization and who is behind it. There's also the problem of the 7,400 newly-arrived recruits, we've got to arrange the swearing-in ceremonies, the Morale Directorate is processing the counter-intelligence materials and getting things

done, but a good many problems have already been identified that may later pose security risks and problems concerning the combat readiness. Given the amount of propaganda materials in circulation, the swearing-in ceremonies carry an element of high risk. I therefore propose that an explanation be circulated by the Morale Directorate or down the line of command of what Otpor really is and what its dimensions are, so that it could be processed at lower levels and appropriate steps taken. As to what is going on in Montenegro, we have teams on the ground out there, I wouldn't want to enlarge on that now. We are analyzing the situation and taking security measures. One of our teams is with the Third Army with the object of ensuring our return to Kosovo and making necessary arrangements on the ground.

Gen. Nebojša Pavković

As to this thing concerning Perišić, I'd rather the General Staff Information Service didn't come out with a statement; let Tanjug do a commentary citing a journalist writing it all up and making no bones about it.

I connection with this last question, we have...

Gen. Nebojša Pavković

To fill you in, we set a precedent after the aggression when we decorated a number of units which in our opinion deserved to be decorated. This practice, which was discontinued after the Second World War, has now been revived. There were in our war-time...our units used to be awarded decorations based on merits earned during the Second World War, it was a tradition we have now revived and think it ought to be continued, it should be made a practice of given that such decorations continued to be awarded for quite some time after the Second World War. Thus the Order of People's Hero was conferred on individuals and units for ten years after the war, but let's not make snap judgements right now. We reached what conclusions we could during the war and decorated the units concerned. As to some others, we need more distance in time and more information, but this does not mean that we aren't considering the proposals.

Federal Minister of Defence, Gen. of the Army Dragoljub Ojdanić

I didn't understand what legal obstacles there are regarding the Priština Corps in particular. The Third Army effectively bore the brunt, it was in the thick of the battle; the Priština Corps was in a quite different position than the Niš Corps. True, a great many, quite a few of the brigades have been proclaimed People's Heroes. They distinguished themselves not only during the war, but also in fighting the organized terrorist forces for nearly a year before that, I don't see why...could we not amend the law on decorations? I don't see any reason why the Priština Corps should not be awarded the Order of People's Hero, for surely you can't compare...the Niš Corps was in a similar position as the rest except for the one on the Macedonian border in the south, whereas the Priština Corps was engaged non-stop, it should be decorated regardless of what brigades have got. I think that we should not go lower than brigade level, battalions would be inappropriate. Now, in view of the fact that we have battalions operating as independent units, the Military

Police battalion is not part of a higher formational unit, shouldn't it be ranked as a regiment-brigade of sorts?

I'm inclined to believe that the President would be prepared to make a gesture of recognition towards the Priština Corps - serving in the Niš Corps and the Priština Corps wasn't the same thing - the latter being engaged long before the aggression, during the aggression and even after the end of the aggression, in the operation involving the evacuation of forces from Kosovo and Metohija. Mind you, a number of divisions were decorated with the Order of People's Hero during the Second World War.

Lieut.-Gen. Branko Krga

General, given that some brigades have already been decorated, is there any possibility of the Užice Corps command being...

Gen. Vidoje Pantelić

I'm in favour because even towns have been awarded the Order of People's Hero although there's no provision in the law to that effect. I've raised this question again, I don't see why we won't confer the Order of People's Hero on individuals, why are we so modest?

Federal Minister of Defence, Gen. of the Army Dragoljub Ojdanić

Who's going to put forward our President?

Gen. Vidoje Pantelić

You, general.

Gen. Nebojša Pavković

We've already presented a proposal to decorate the President with the Order of People's Hero, we're not the only ones, I'm told there are a thousand such proposals and initiatives. I propose we put this matter to a vote, that the Priština Corps be awarded the Order of People's Hero, that we make a recommendation to the President to change...so that we can effectively take this thing off the agenda.

Gen. Nebojša Pavković

Regarding this matter and the other, write out another order to our institutions, the VMA and the various institutes. No one's to go abroad unless given permission from this place. This applies to any gathering abroad. You can never be sure what can happen over there...

Gen. Geza Farkaš

The last item of information - we have already submitted it to you, General, in writing - the opposition is making very serious preparations for the coming elections and is being organized from abroad. Among the disunited opposition parties, Otpor is coming to the fore as the principal bearer of these activities, it has attracted a large number prominent intellectuals including, according to our information, Mr Perišić; they have set up an association of free independent Serbian trades unions, and they have been instructed to form emergency centres whose chief task is to assemble as soon as possible for the purpose exerting specific pressure as soon as they receive orders from abroad.

* * *

When Milošević decided to amend the FRY Constitution in order to prolong his grip on power, he had no idea that the move signified the beginning of his end. In order to make sure that the amendment is approved by the Federal Assembly, there had been secret negotiations in Podgorica with a number of deputies of Milo Đukanović's Democratic Party of Socialists (DPS). Milošević wanted the Constitution amended because he considered that in order to win he must be elected by direct ballot. All he needed was one additional vote in the Federal Assembly to have the amendment approved. The price that was paid for winning over that deputy remains a secret. Two days before the ballot, he dispatched his plane to Podgorica to fetch the deputy whose vote would tip the scales. The person in question was Milan Gajović from the DPS election ticket. He was given bodyguards and accommodation in Belgrade.

I was told that someone 'important' had been brought in from Podgorica by Dragan Leštarić, then a member of the State Security Service (SDB). I relayed this information to Buda, and he asked me to try and find out who the person was. At the same time Montenegrin SDB operatives were trying to establish the same. I rang up Buda a little later and told him who it was. Buda did not seem surprised at all, he merely said: 'So he's going to have the Constitution amended!'

The amendment meant only one thing, that is, the calling of elections. Although Milošević had his way in the Federal Assembly, Gajović could not bring him luck at the elections that followed. The daily *Blic* wrote the following at the time:

'Amendments to the federal Constitution were promulgated yesterday at a joint session of the Chamber of Republics and the Chamber of Citizens of the Federal Assembly. The amendments to the federal Constitution, under which the president of the FRY and deputies of the Chamber of Republics will be elected by direct suffrage, as well as the Constitutional Law on the Enforcement of the Amendments, had been adopted at previous sessions of the Chamber of Republics and the Chamber of Citizens. The mode of appointing and recalling members of the federal government was also altered, so from now on they will be appointed and recalled by Parliament rather than the prime minister. In the Chamber of Citizens the motion was carried by a vote of 95 to 7, while in the Chamber of Republics it was approved by all the 27 deputies present without prior debate. Among the SPS, SNP [Socialist People's Party] of Montenegro, SRS [Serbian Radical Party] and JUL [Yugoslav Left] deputies in the Chamber of Republic voting in

favour was Milan Gajović, who had been elected to the Chamber following the Montenegrin parliamentary elections as a candidate of the DPS.

‘Under the Law on the Enforcement of the Amendments, a law on the election and termination of mandates of deputies to the Chamber of Republics and a law on the election and recall of the president of the Republic will be passed within 60 days following the date on which the amendments are adopted. The Federal Assembly Chambers will continue to work until the mandates of the Chamber of Citizens deputies expire, after which there will be elections for deputies to both Chambers.’

GORAN MATIĆ AND HIS BRIGANDS

We probably still remember the times when we were unable to watch the prime-time news broadcasts of Studio B and other TV stations at 7 p.m. because they were heavily jammed and the uninitiated wondered what was going on. They did not know that the political monsters had decided to destroy the few remaining media outlets that were still speaking the truth rather than what Milošević and his wife ensconced in their Dedinje mansion wanted heard. The military leaders and the SDB were well aware that any true report was a nail in the coffin of the Milošević empire, so they worked hard to suppress the free flow of information. The Law on Public Information was but one means of starving the ordinary citizen and voter of the right kind of news and thus preventing him from making the right decision on the polling day. The ‘military experts’ played a major role in this: their lawsuits against independent media led to extortionate fines resulting in bankruptcy. Another method was to ban local media outright or to force them to close down by revoking their frequency permits. The third, subtlest and most widespread practice consisted in jamming the frequencies. It was also the most effective because the results were instantaneous. This was a convenient way of protecting the dictator in Dedinje because one did not have to take trouble over court orders. A task force was set up and put in charge of such activities, comprising hand-picked generals, SDB bosses and the indispensable Goran Matić, someone Joseph Goebbels would have been proud to have had on his team. The task of jamming independent media broadcasts was entrusted to the electronic surveillance and electronic countermeasures unit (EIPED) located mostly at the ‘13. maj’ barracks in Batajnica. The VJ employed, inter alia, narrow-band jamming devices paid for by the very people who had their sons serving in the Army at no small cost to themselves. Grujica Uskoković, the obsequious general, buckled down to his task as if he were defending his homeland against the onslaughts of traitors and mercenaries. A section of the EIPED was relocated to Bubanj potok near Belgrade where it began jamming selected frequencies under the guise of ‘military secret’, as the Kosovo hero put it. The independent media complained to the competent authorities and individuals that ‘someone’ was interfering with their broadcasts, but the complaints fell on deaf ears. Ivica Dačić and Co occasionally deigned to reply, attributing the problem to ‘rainwater in the coaxial cable’ or some such nonsense. There were, however, some jobs the jamming devices were not designed to do, so Milošević unleashed his thugs to plunder equipment from customs warehouses as well as demolish transmitters and beat up the people guarding them. Dragan Filipović was at the head of the SDB special operations unit and was therefore party to every crime it committed at the behest of the Dedinje monsters. Filipović’s jamming equipment installed on the roof of the Ineks

building in Belgrade worked non-stop. It remains to be seen whether the Office of Special Prosecutor will react to these sorts of crimes.

18 July 2000

Gen. Nebojša Pavković

I wish to avail myself of this opportunity to welcome you all. On behalf of those from the General Staff who are present today, we have set up a team: apart from myself, there's Geza - General Farkaš, General Stanković, General Simić, head of the Information Directorate, General Grujica Uskoković, head of the Communications, Electronics and Electronic Countermeasures Sector, Radovanović, head of the Electronic Surveillance, Jamming and Electronic Measures Directorate, and Colonel Janićijević, deputy head of the Communications Directorate.

So, I welcome you and hope that we can deal with this business promptly and effectively. This is a preliminary meeting, we're here to reach agreement on how to organize ourselves and what technical facilities we can use to accomplish the task I'm going to outline to you. Rade, would you like to inform the gentlemen what this is all about?

Head of the Serbian State Security Service (SDB) Rade Marković

No, no, you're doing just fine.

Gen. Nebojša Pavković

All right then, this is what it's about. We want to set up a team and make a plan to counter these psychological-propaganda activities, these attacks on us, it's to do with everything that's going on in the media and other fields in these regions. The thing is, as you all know, a lot of radio and TV stations are broadcasting programmes of a substantially hostile nature, so we believe we ought to capitalize on the know-how and equipment at our disposal in order to eliminate some and jam others; a third segment of our plan would be make arrangements to oppose hostile information by psychological and propaganda methods. We in the Army have already had a look at the situation in terms of what can be done and how, and we've come to the conclusion that in addition to these measures we must take other steps to protect military communications and jam electronic traffic hostile towards the Yugoslav Army throughout the Yugoslav territory. Well, I propose that we first hear the head of the electronics, communications sector, let him give us a brief introductory report on the information, equipment and capability at our disposal. I wish to point out that we were on a joint mission fighting the terrorist forces in Kosovo in 1998, we're experienced in those things; this time, however, we'll be doing both what we did out there - listening in, intercepting communications, jamming - as well as joining in the game in order that we may put across the information that's to our liking. Well, Uskoković, let's hear briefly what you and your aides have to say regarding these arrangements of ours.

Maj.-Gen. Grujica Uskoković

General, gentlemen, the units belonging to the Communications, Electronics and Electronic Countermeasures Sector are mostly organized and engaged in electronic surveillance, electronic countermeasures and information support. As to monitoring communications in the territory of the Republic of Montenegro, especially those of the MUP, we have the resources to do that, but regarding jamming, it's our view that in the present situation it wouldn't be a good thing to do, and anyway we have no special personnel and resources to speak of for jamming work of that kind.

Col. Nebojša Pavković

Don't confine yourself only to the MUP, to Montenegro, to Montenegrin space. We want to interfere with, say, specific radio stations, including local ones, stations such as Radio Europe, we know their broadcasting frequencies, therefore...

Maj.-Gen. Grujica Uskoković

The Minister of Information, Goran Matić, should be able to explain such possibilities best, he's got the resources to broadcast on those frequencies as well as jam, though it might be more practical to transmit various information and so on those frequencies than to jam broadcasts. As to our capacity to jam broadcasts - I'm referring to the Communications, Electronics and Electronic Countermeasures Sector - we're rather limited by the resources at our disposal, otherwise we can do surveillance and tapping jobs without problem. This goes for the space around us too.

Radovanović

General, gentlemen, I've only a few words to say about surveillance, that is, the communications around and inside the country pose no problem, we can listen in to everything that's unprotected and only partially protected, though there are a good many systems that can't be monitored, I trust that all of us here are well aware of the fact that the Montenegrin MUP is using several mobile radio communications encryption systems. As to the pressing question of providing protection against this information nuisance, I mean, the matter hinges above all on material resources which the Army lacks and on measures which are beyond its ambit, I mean this is about both television and radio, so it's hard to say, we're talking jamming broadcasts...if it were a question of protecting our space, such measures could be carried out successfully, we'd have to use more powerful transmitters operating on the same frequencies as the radio stations in the neighbourhood whether they are in Republika Srpska, on Mount Belje, or in the Carpathians...we're all of us aware what TV and radio facilities we have at our disposal, I mean there's RTS, the local stations, Radio Yugoslavia, all those radio stations...if that's not enough, we've got to find equipment of adequate or greater power, then the job can be done very successfully. What could we broadcast? We could broadcast psychological-political programmes or something else on the same frequencies, the worst option being transmitting a pure signal for strictly jamming purposes. There are certain reserves that I

know of...I believe that Federal Minister Matić is aware of this, I mean if we can't procure what we need we can perhaps shut down RTS Channel 3 - RTS don't have to have a spare transmitter at every transmitter station as they do at present - we can use their spare capacity or have things procured. The same goes for radio programmes regardless of whether they come from Republika Srpska, Bosnia, Croatia, Vojvodina or Hungary, Romania, etc. This, in short, is what I wanted to say, I mean, concerning our jurisdiction, we can do any intercepting job we're assigned. So much for now.

* * *

We are acquainted with the media situation in Yugoslavia and its neighbourhood and I think that at present the public media situation in Montenegro is our biggest problem. There are actually several problems, one of them being the editorial policy of the state media in Montenegro, namely Radio-televizija Crne Gore and the daily *Pobjeda*. They are notorious for extolling the successes of the present government and supporting its popular campaign for secession, that is, for an independent Montenegro; they also support the domestic collaborationist forces including those from Serbian territory and help carry out Western propaganda activities. I mean, they're fully committed to these ends. According to an analysis of the Morale Directorate, the President of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia is by far the prime target of their negative messages, then come the Yugoslav Army, then the JUL [Yugoslav United Left], then the whole government structure in Serbia, and finally the opposition coalition in Montenegro. They're powerful, they've got the whole of Montenegro covered, they have satellite broadcasts which are getting longer, which I think is the chief problem. Though there's certainly nothing we can do about the editorial policy of those media, there are newspapers and electronic media which have access to Montenegro and whose editors heed the advice of Mr Minister, so we can gradually expose the aims and methods of those outlets, we can muster the resources to enable at least RTS to cover the northern parts of Montenegro - which is now not the case - I think that moderate investments would suffice to enable RTS to broadcast to northern Montenegro, our priority is to find technical means of improving the reception of YU INFO programmes; according to our estimates they can be picked up in 60 per cent of Montenegrin territory but the signal is poor and unstable, so we could get the VJ on the ground to do something about this. The next thing we can do is help our opposition coalition partners in Montenegro to put up a fight and build up an information network of their own. I'm sure you know that the daily *Dan* alone remains to carry on the uneven struggle, the radio station *Dan* having been put out of operation in no time - I don't see any headway right now in setting up an alternative information network - the Army could have its own radio and TV station but that would call for a reciprocal gesture, our resources are sufficient to interfere with local stations, above all radio and TV stations. There are at present nineteen local radio stations, six TV stations and thirty-eight daily and periodical newspapers in Montenegro. Although all of them are reputed to be independent, most are under the control of the ruling set. So much for the government-controlled state media. There is also the question of the editorial policy of the local so-called independent media: formally most of them are in private hands - some also having been established by private individuals - and controlled by the municipal assemblies, but actually they're under the complete control of the authorities and the

MUP. They are financed from abroad and therefore under various influence but their dirty messages are the same, their main target is the President and then the other structures. The local radio stations mostly rebroadcast programmes of Voice of America, Radio Free Europe and neighbouring countries; since we can't do much by way of influencing their editorial policy, I believe we can solve the problem by using our resources to interfere with the rebroadcasts. I think we can attain this objective. Our third problem is, the information resources at the disposal of the pro-Yugoslavia forces are small, they're left to their own devices and, I think, deprived of any co-ordination. If I'm wrong here I apologize. As regards keeping the Army informed about matters that concern it specifically, we're coping with the problem through our internal system of information and we also supply our units in Montenegro with enough copies of *Vojaska* and *Politika*. I had this much to say.

Gen. Nebojša Pavković

We must now go back and consider the technical points, we must find out what jobs can be done by the Army, the service, the Federal Ministry before we can set up teams and make plans. Now, we've got jamming work to do, intercepting work for the needs of the Army, this psychological-propaganda work. Rade, if you agree...

Rade Marković

As you've already pointed out, gentlemen, we are experienced in these things, we were forced to learn them the hard way, but it could safely be said that we've got some 70 per cent of things under control. To be sure, it wouldn't do to keep everyone and everything covered, there's got to be some breathing space, as it were, to make things look democratic...regarding this chaos created by the private radio stations - they can't help treading on each other's toes - our argument is that they lack legal and legitimate permits from the Ministry and are making everybody's life miserable. We used to have a team...we've actually got it now, this security service of ours, they're our collaborators, experts, engineers, enthusiasts and so on who this time too will place themselves at our disposal...only, we must define our goals precisely, we can't be jacks-of-all-trades, we must set our priorities right and take stock of the equipment we have...as the general said, our wishes are one thing and our resources quite another. However, we've got to decide to use everything our society has at its disposal, we've got to make a list of the things we're going to need, we have the means but we can't do this thing overnight. Now, I'd like my assistant, Mr Filipović, to outline what we as a service could do to fill the bill.

Head of the Special Operations Department Dragan Filipović

As a first assignment, in line with our instructions to interfere with Radio Free Europe and Voice of America broadcasts, we must cover 60 per cent of Serbia by the end of the week. I can't cover only the wider area of Subotica and we don't have the means to cover the south of Serbia, that is, from Niš due south. However, RTS has the resources to account for that area from Mount Jastrebac, so there'd be only the district of

Vranje and Subotica to take care of. RTS are already getting ready to operate from Mount Jastrebac.

Rade Marković

Well, in that case, General, our best bet might be to get together the people who are going to be charged with this so they can tell us, We can do this much, you can do that much, the RTS resources are such and such, the Ministry resources are such and such, in order that we may decide what else we can do that's currently beyond our reach...as far as I know, there's mostly Montenegro for you to deal with, we wouldn't want to mix in that for a number of reasons. But as to those parts bordering on Bosnia, Hungary, Romania, we're quite capable of meeting the requirements...I gather that the task the two of us have been assigned is a sort of combat mission, we're not being asked to see what we can do about it, we're being told to just do it, so all that remains for us to do is find out how. This is why we are here, this is a very exclusive group of people and I hope that we'll keep all this information to ourselves as if it were a state secret. The Minister of Information is also present here but I hope that the public will not be told. So, you made the task clear and I hear there are resources in Montenegro in addition to what we have here in Serbia, which means we have something to work with. We can set up a team which can continue to discuss these matters today or we can fix a meeting for tomorrow. They are to report to you and me what conclusions they've reached, what could be undertaken right now and what needs to be put off and what special equipment we must obtain in order to do our task 100 per cent right.

Federal Minister of Information Goran Matić

I'd like to explain certain things regarding the public broadcasting spectrum, that is, that part of the radio-frequency spectrum which can be used for radio and television transmissions. We had our main problem during the war when over...was destroyed with the object of...our space with radio and television signals from neighbouring countries putting across NATO interests to our citizens in a poor Serbo-Croatian language. Following the aggression our system's principal task was to make good those destroyed communications facilities and to resume state information services first in Serbia and as far as possible in Montenegro in keeping with the requirements over there. At the moment, we're putting the finishing touches to this work though RTS continues to have problems in the areas of Bosilevgrad and Dimitrovgrad, that's a very problematic area because their transmitters keep cutting out, something they still haven't managed to sort out. RTS have nearly finished the network in Serbia and are about to move into positions from which they can cover northern Montenegro, a job that should be completed within a month. This is what they are working on at present and it should all take them less than a month. However, parallel with this and prior to the aggression we and the Federal Ministry of Telecommunications had jointly worked out a strategy for covering the whole of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia with telecommunications, paying special attention to the outlying areas under express orders to prevent penetration by foreign frequencies. Therefore, I propose that we again base our concept and our strategy on the experiences of a people defending itself. What does this mean? It means that we should use the

services of patriotically-minded individuals and structures in possession of telecommunications equipment who are interested in media work and are located in the border areas - they should be assigned frequencies by the state in return for which they would have to rebroadcast certain state programmes. This has been our practice so far: in Vojvodina, for instance, the affiliated radio stations are under the obligation to rebroadcast the news [Dnevnik] at six, at three in the afternoon and at six in the evening as well as RTS radio programmes or prime-time Dnevnik at half past seven in the evening. Although these arrangements are already in operation, we must work out another task for these radio stations though much traffic in the UHF range has been blocked. We're going to continue building up our UHF resources in the border areas and beef up those facing Romania, Bulgaria, Bosnia and Croatia in particular. We're already doing this, that's in progress. However, the problems we've been encountering with the short-wave stations can be overcome quite easily by merely amending the decree on the assignment of TV broadcasting frequencies under temporary lease - the owners of radio stations in respect of whom we have guarantees that they are patriotically-minded would be given only one condition: if they acquire a short-wave transmitter, they will have to complement their UHF broadcasts with simultaneous short-wave programmes on frequencies which, in our estimation, are causing us the most problems such as those of Radio Free Europe, Voice of America, etc. In other words, we wouldn't ask them to pay for using the frequencies because we want to stimulate them to do what the state should be doing in an organized manner, it would be some kind of a deal under which they would have to broadcast on short waves in addition to UHF which are commercially most important to them. Only, broadcasting on short waves is a little more complicated and not suited to their commercial needs, but on the other hand the state would be spared the trouble of setting up short-wave transmitters in the outlying regions. The advantage of such an arrangement is that we wouldn't have to use our transmitters and resources for jamming purposes, we'd concentrate instead on producing and broadcasting programmes with the object of creating congestion in those parts, in Romania and neighbouring countries. In this way we would effectively go on the offensive in the build-up of our telecommunications resources in the border areas. This is about the long and the short of our plans in this regard. We can make a go of it - we've got Ivan Marković and a team from Telecommunications - these arrangements can be regulated by a decree which could be adopted in a few days and which would remain a state secret - this, I think, would be quite correct on our part. So, our terms to the patriotic stations in the border areas would be to complement their UHF broadcasts with short-wave rebroadcasts of Radio Belgrade programmes and other things, and we could provide them with more power for this purpose. As to YU INFO and Montenegro, it is practically our only electronic media outlet broadcasting to Montenegro, I have to admit that our work in Nikšić, Kolašin and part of Pljevlja is financially unfinished, we're having colossal problems with the Federal Government regarding funding our potentials, I know that the Army too has similar problems, we've been haggling for weeks over funds which are so small as to be of no practical value to us. I want you to understand that I simply can't realize our projected capacity. If I had 100,000 German marks at this moment we could finish the complete job in Nikšić and the area in no time, but I can't get any because the money is currently going for flats, I could quote you names in the SNP and so on, the Federal Government is shelling money out to modest and honest Radicals to buy flats with, the Minister of

Justice has been given four million, with those four million I could have matters of strategic importance sorted out in Montenegro but I just can't get them. We've got some political things going on right now and money's being reallocated to places where it's doing no good. I think we ought to agree here to apply extra pressure on the Federal Government where I play the part of a Don Quixote forever chasing money needed to solve problems of the state. This is the crux of the matter. So, if we get the ten or fifteen million dinars to which we are entitled, we can ensure that Montenegro is covered 90 per cent as well as broadcast twenty-hours a day including news throughout the day. That way we would have Montenegro covered electronically. Second, I feel I ought to elaborate on what General Simić pointed out so aptly. We have set up four radio stations in Montenegro for the SNP to use, including two in Pljevlja and Andrijevica, the municipalities where they are in power. They have the radio stations controlled by their municipalities plus the four we made for them. So they've got stations in Podgorica and so on. They're using those four stations to play music rather than broadcast information and we just can't get them to start doing the latter. You might be interested to know that the local policy-makers use every opportunity to criticize Milo [Đukanović] in no uncertain terms when they speak on Palma Plus in Jagodina, but when they appear on Yugoslav Television that's quite another story because they know that 60-70 per cent of Montenegrin citizens are watching them. I just don't know what to make of it. We've got to make them realize that neither YU INFO nor the Army can make policy in Montenegro - politics is their business and we're here to help them get their message across to the citizens. The SNP, the people who are for Yugoslavia and like forces are the ones that are the chief policy-makers there, not - as they like to say - Belgrade; so they must run the show in their own yard themselves. Regarding the media coverage of Montenegro, other than what we decide at this meeting we must make certain political arrangements which are not our concern here... We must bear in mind General Simić's apt remark that we're not making the best use of our potential to strengthen and defend Yugoslavia, its institutions, and other things. I think this is yet another problem, those four plus two stations should be broadcasting an appropriate information programme but they're not doing that, so it looks as if we in Belgrade and the Army ought to be promoting Yugoslav interests in Montenegro. Regarding the telecommunications resources in Montenegro, completion of that TV station depends on the rate at which we receive the money to which we are entitled in the budget and on the decisions of the Federal Government - they're obstructing them all the time and that's why the station hasn't made faster progress, I'm aware of the snags, there's not enough money but there are obviously other reasons too. I'd therefore appreciate it if we would make another joint effort to see this thing through. The exact cost has been worked out, there's nothing fictitious about it, the whole thing has been reckoned out by experts so there's no swindle involved. Therefore, in order to cover Nikšić, Kolašin and a part of northern Montenegro - your experts know this too - we're working together with the Army because there's no other way and we know what we need, we've already got the transmitters but need to sort out some things involving links. Another thing, it was only a few days ago that we solved the question of links on Mount Jadovnik through which most signals used to enter Montenegro. Whereas before programmes used to be broadcast from Mount Jadovnik they're now going through the links so there won't be any more problems at this point of entry and we're doing other things via Mount Rudnik. I think we've got another problem

regarding media, namely the media coverage of the main opposition towns such as Kragujevac, Niš, Čačak and others, these towns are not adequately covered by media because we are not fully using the resources at our disposal. The local TV stations there are interested in the commercial side of things rather than in helping us promote some of our interests. Niš is a case in point, our TV studios there are not putting their shoulders to the wheel and promoting our interests. This is another matter we must discuss because we're not using our facilities adequately in order to put our policy and information across.

Now, I propose that we complete the development of telecommunications facilities in the border areas; we can also try to get the decree amended so that the patriotic users of frequencies, that is those who are favourably disposed towards us, are either given short-wave transmitters or helped to get them themselves on condition that they operate additional services as requested or on the most useful frequencies; and that we complete the network in Montenegro. Just another matter: regarding the stations which are not helping this state, we can always shut down those that step over the line, there'll be no mercy for them. If we could have silenced Studio B and stopped the *Blic* rotary presses without any outcry and commotion, then we can do the same to the radio station SOKO in Sokobanja or any other station in Serbia, we'll show no mercy, we ought to go on gradually closing down and strangulating anti-state stations promoting anti-Yugoslav policies, we will continue doing that.

Gen. Nebojša Pavković

That'll be one of the tasks under that plan, we should know what RTS capacity we can use in order to be able to plan and organize things with the object of completing the system we want to create. Now, Geza may now let you know what we're got, what the Security Directorate possessed in the way of those...

Rade Marković

The first consideration is jamming and the equipment needed for direct jamming. Second, developing local area networks and covering territories with legitimate lawful...To my mind, ensuring Channel One can be watched in Montenegro is not jamming. If the Montenegrin people can watch state television, that's not jamming, that's information. Third, this concerns our activities, our information activities in those parts from the point of view of what we want to pass as information, that calls for a quite different approach, meaning we should turn to Mr Gerlos [sic] for help and employ the things he invented because they're using such methods against us and we should pay them back in their own coin. This is the task for the Ministry of Information. To make it possible to produce programmes in the territory of Montenegro, the Yugoslav Army is called upon. Regarding what you said, that those parts will be covered with TV programmes in a month's time, that we shall grant them frequencies on condition that they rebroadcast certain programmes and so on, that's the direct responsibility of you and Belgrade Television. As to direct jamming, intrusion into their frequency preserve, it's our joint responsibility and we're going to pool the resources we have. We can jam programmes over 60 per cent of Serbia and should consider what we can do about the

remaining 40 per cent. Let us work out one project, you work out another...what we must do jointly in the media sphere is to get this political thing going through you, that'd be a third project, but let's see what we've got right now. I'd appreciate it if you let me know in writing who...

Gen. Nebojša Pavković

Let's hear what Geza has to say since he's in charge of some of the resources that ought to be topped off before being incorporated into the system.

Gen. Geza Farkaš

Rade knows that we have certain resources at our disposal that are partly in our and partly in your care. I'm talking about using satellite communications to enter their transmission systems and jam them with satellite programmes, there's one complete set that was captured during the war, at the moment its kept in two different places, we ought to get together one of these days to have it put together. We have a most up-to-date outfit in the field of mobile television and satellite transmission of television and other signals, making it possible to interfere with satellite programmes via links or I don't know how, you can interfere with them or do some other things and make it look as if they're doing them themselves, but we can decide later what tactics and equipment we're going to use in our information war to counter those activities of theirs. Well, this is what we've got in the matter of equipment. Rade, we can make it work very quickly, it'll only be a matter of days. That stationary piece is in our possession, we all know how this thing came about, how it was done, we told them where to get off, the English now want the thing back - anyway, we've nearly finished it, that's the system we can use. Second, as to jamming, we can get another thing going on, it's to do with the functioning of their reporting from the ground, the transmission of signals from reporters on the ground and so on. There are systems that we can...by using the systems we've developed to some extent...I mean we can interfere with their concentrations in crisis areas so they cannot communicate via satellite and report from the ground - that's what we can additionally do in all the frequency spectrums in which we operate.

Gen. Nebojša Pavković

This means the emphasis is to be on interfering with this programme, with all the programmes coming into our space or broadcast from here, I mean we ought to set up a team with Geza in charge of the hardware and General Radovanović of jamming, Filipović and Slavko, this means two.

Rade Marković

But whatever initial results we may achieve we certainly won't be able to finish the job because the enemy knows what we're doing, he adapts himself and changes the technology, he keeps refining his technique.

Gen. Nebojša Pavković

So we have Filipović, Slavko, Geza, Radovanović, we'd also need to bring in somebody from RTS regarding...Topalović, it's you who now ought to work out how to put the system together and accordingly to lay down your tasks as part of that general plan of what we ought to do. So much for that. Regarding this other task of eavesdropping on communications, again we must form a joint team, that's actually the same team, it's not...Radovanović, you're to get in touch with them so we can work out things as we did in Kosovo, Milotić knows how it was, let's make sure we define the tasks and take appropriate measures because we know that the MUP's listening to us in Montenegro, it's listening to part of our military communications and part of our civilian communications, that is, to everything that goes through their post offices and their exchanges, so we're working on providing protection for those things as well as considering taking counter-measures, Radovanović has already been given an assignment but he's yet to liaise with your men. Also we ought to try to listen in to mobile phone traffic - this should also be made part of the plan and we're already doing something about it. As to the third question, this psychological-propaganda thing, I think that it ought to be the responsibility of the Federal Ministry, someone from there who does these things - and, of course, the Army too, there's General Simić who's done work of this kind, so let's see what it was. A good many tasks will stem from what Matić talked about, including - well, I'm not sure whether we're to bring in ham radio operators. Please understand that we haven't much time to work out that plan, to study it and then to verify it at some later meeting, we have the next five or six days at our disposal and no more. But even that's too long.

* * *

In our jamming work we're likely to find ourselves in situations similar to the ones we've already been in, we'll be encountering more and more sophisticated devices which will be difficult to interfere with, so we must prepare ourselves for cases where we can't jam such programmes, so we can try to jam mobile phone communications in the countries from which these problem signals are coming to us. We've got to go on the offensive in real earnest.

Gen. Nebojša Pavković

Živanović, you're to co-ordinate the work of these teams. Will you please gentlemen appoint a place and date as soon as you can - now, tomorrow - I think today's the 18th, we'd have to finally come forward with this plan on the 25th at the latest, but meanwhile start the material-technical preparations to realize the plan the moment it's accepted, start to realize these measures as soon as possible. Next thing, we're going to take the plan to the President so he can see what we're doing. I'd like once again to draw your attention to the fact that this is a closed meeting, these things are state secrets, so please let's don't behave foolishly and discuss these things in front of unauthorized persons and people who are to be kept out of this. Well, Rade, if there's nothing more, I'm declaring this meeting closed.

THE ROLE OF THE MILITARY LEADERSHIP IN ELECTORAL FRAUD

'Honour can only be lost, never taken away'
Chekhov

Lieut.-Gen. Milorad Obradović

General, Sir, just a few words...the preparation of materiel needed to reinforce the 3rd special-purpose unit is going according to plan and the problem of paint has been solved - it arose because the original paint did not match the tactical-technical requirements set by the Military Technical Institute and there was trouble with the prime coat. But we're getting a supply from Zorka [chemical plant in Šabac] today and are starting to spray the vehicles at once, we'll be getting ready some fifty vehicles. The Mile Dagić company has already delivered all the special-purpose equipment so it is being distributed. I have an itemized list of the things that were delivered: 6,000 helmets, helmets, vests, jackets, covers...covers for ballistic...

Lieut.-Gen. Branko Krga

The situation in Montenegro remains the focus of interest of the international community where a thesis prevails that Montenegro is allegedly threatened by the VJ. Interestingly, the visits we have paid there recently haven't given rise to any special reactions, any analyses, although speculation that the alleged threat to Montenegro from the VJ is about to be put into operation persists and multiplies. There have already been ideas to impose a no-fly zone or let in observers, so there may be others in the days to come.

Regarding the activities of the foreign forces in the neighbourhood, there's nothing out of the ordinary, no exercises that are unusual for this time of year.

Gen. Milan Đaković

Let me brief the Collegium on the matter of these foreigners, the four [foreign] nationals against whom proceedings have been instituted.⁶ We're now in the process of...General Pavković is informed, we're currently in touch with the Minister of Information, Mr Matić, we'll see how this thing pans out because we have no evidence of a criminal offence of espionage, nothing to prosecute on...This general - I'm referring to Gojović - he kept insisting although I had warned him at the very beginning that we didn't have enough material evidence. Now we've got to find a way out of this, we've got to see this thing through in a manner which would not harm our relations with these countries, that is with Canada and western countries. It mustn't look as though we first arrest people and then fail to come up with evidence. In these matters we must take care and heed the advice of experts, we must look at them from angles other than legal, we

⁶ He is referring to the four Canadian citizens arrested by the Military Police. The arrest was announced by Goran Matić.

can't afford to blunder into a situation from which we can't extricate ourselves later. Or if we do, it'll be to our cost. Fortunately we've received a document from the Montenegrin MUP in which they insist that the group did not make their entry over Mount Čakor - something which works in our favour at the moment because it suggests that they came in from another directions. Or it could be that the Montenegrin MUP doesn't know or is feeding us false information. Whatever the truth, it does not interest us in the final analysis; now we're going to stick to the thesis that they came in at a place other than Čakor, thereby violating the statehood and sovereignty of the FRY. It remains to be seen whether this gesture had anything to do with the conversation we had with Duško Marković and Vuk Bošković that we should try to defuse the situation and cooperate in all matters.

Regarding this criminal complaint against Nataša Kabić [sic] for giving false information, for making false statements in the daily *Danas* - not all the officers may know this - she made certain general allegations of crimes having been committed in Kosovo and other things, well, General Pavković ordered that a criminal complaint be made. I did some things for General Simić, I gave certain information about Nataša Kandić which I'll also place at your disposal, it might be useful to have it published in the media because she is a proven enemy of the FRY, a journalist who's a member of the Humanitarian Law Centre backed by the Soros Foundations. We should therefore make sure that all contacts by journalists in the future must be under some sort of control or at least subject to the approval of General Simić and the Security Directorate, for we don't want people making contacts...but this has mostly been good.

There, we have another case of a journalist portraying himself as a Serb friend. According to our records, last year he said such things in Čuprija and Kragujevac that he ought to have been criminally prosecuted. But now he projects himself as a friend of the Serbs in order to attain his objectives. We're currently checking up on the information we'd given the prosecutor to find out if he's actually the journalist in question, there's a similarity of first name and surname, but I suppose he's that journalist. He's bent on achieving his ends and establishing contact with that journalist probably in order to tell them something while at the same time portraying himself to us as a friend. Therefore whatever is done ought to be done in agreement with the Directorate. If there's any ground for suspicion, I think it wouldn't be too much of a problem to ring me, or General Nikolić up there, or General Simić in order that we may get together and look into the matter.

There, I had this much to say. I'll always give...you see we're ready at all times to provide information which may be of use to those in command. This is all.

Lieut.-Gen. Milen Simić

There's been a meeting with the assistant commanders in charge of morale on the topic 'Current issues of morale and responsibilities in the conduct of elections'. Everything concerning the elections has been agreed upon with the Federal Election Commission. The preparation of the orders of the Chief of the General Staff, the Instructions, the information schedule and the treatise 'Information' are about to be completed. The problem was, all the documents necessary for the election of the President and the federal deputies...

Gen. Svetozar Marjanović

Please tell him not to show it - I don't know who's actually in charge of this - tell him we've seen enough of *Kozara*, we're merely irritating the people with *Kozara*, *Kadinjača* [the films glorifying the battles Tito's partisans fought on these mountains] and stuff like that. I'm speaking about YU INFO. You've been showing nothing else on it.

Podgorica is now covered but you can't watch even YU INFO in the barracks.

This is the problem of us soldiers.

I've told you what our programme problems are. All these people are showing is these old domestic productions and a bit of news. If TV Belgrade can't scrape together fifteen people capable of taking charge of things, they shouldn't have ventured upon this in the first place. What made them appoint some senior sergeant editor-in-chief, managing editor, director.

We've been displeased with these things ever since the programme was launched, this thing has been going on for two or three months. Anything goes.

...ought to have been distributed by the Federal Election Commission. After that, they appointed their representatives in the electoral districts etc. and let us know where they are and to whom we are to make our requests. So that thing's done.

A working meeting has been held with the Federal Minister of Information, Goran Matic, regarding the matter of equipment for YU INFO. The equipment has been provided and paid for, so there's no need for us to intervene in any way. The whole of Montenegro and practically all of Serbia will have been covered with this programme by August 30.

We also discussed ways of promoting the Army and introducing a special Army programme on YU INFO and Radio Montenegro. At the moment YU INFO are rerunning the programme *Permission to address you, Sir*. And we also discussed co-ordinating certain propaganda activities.

As to the Kosmet unit...

Lieut.-Gen. Stamenko Nikolić

Regarding the things General Đaković said about the criminal complaint over that border affair, should the complaint be submitted to the military prosecutor and the matter dealt with as an offence regulated by law? There's an order to do it this way as well as involve the misdemeanour judge. Is there to be a parallel process?

Gen. Milan Đaković

It's going through the district court, it's within the competence of the district court, they're going to do it. However, if he doesn't do it - we've given him a copy of it, but in all probability he hasn't even looked at it, he isn't much interested although it's his duty to read it and initiate proceedings. The MUP too has launched an initiative to this effect. If the district prosecutor fails to file a criminal complaint, we're going to get the

military prosecutor to do it. So, whoever is charged with doing this - the best thing is to entrust the matter to the military prosecutor, it ought to be put through him - let him hand it in to the district people, that's within their competence.

Gen. Stamenko Nikolić

That's the conclusion the Collegium here reached at that meeting with the Office of Military Prosecutor - you weren't here then - it was said that before these criminal complaints are dispatched to the courts they must...through the military prosecutor.

I'm going to find out from Živadinović who did that, I'll get him to look at it and see if...

As to these measures regarding personnel, we've done that and it only remains to see if there's anything, anything we've...

Well, regarding personnel, the things that were said regarding the territory of Montenegro, all that's done. I'm not giving you what was decided, I'm only telling you that it's done.

Gen. Svetozar Marjanović

I wish to point out that, in my opinion, we don't give sufficient consideration to certain things. We either dismiss things or lay them at the wrong door. Take for instance our free and easy attitude to the question of money in Montenegro and the general effect on people. A man who is struggling to make the ends meet, who is having a hard time of it and has a family to feed, he takes money from however offers it to him. Don't let's pretend it's not so. I told Gavro Perazić when I was there to visit him: 'Gavro, this is your Zeta where I watched you deliver your speech before the elections in Podgorica, Milo Đukanović got 531 or 536 votes more than Momir Bulatović in your Zeta, in Serb Zeta as you call it.' 'Well, yes, but they paid the money!' You've got to think something up, you've got to do something. That's how matters stand, we mustn't deceive ourselves into thinking otherwise. This probably also has to do with that question, that is the money motives of the officers who engage in espionage. Why, money has always been used to pay for such services. Every bit of information has been paid for in money. The secret agent who pays less for information is more skilled than the one who pays more. Consequently, we must become aware of the fact that our officers are now more susceptible to these things than before when they were comfortably off. They have succumbed. This means that we must all work harder, especially the commanding structures which include the organs in charge of security and morale. I have in mind above all the organs concerned with morale.

I think, Simić, regardless of your high opinion which I appreciate, I think that we can now differentiate between a minority who are with us but not entirely because they are undecided and a large majority who are with us.

Now, all these things considered, the percentage is very high indeed though some of the statements are highly indicative. They give one such a headache. The individuals who fill out those forms. These things ought to be looked at on the ground. I'm talking about the things I saw in the 2nd Army and the Navy, there's no work with people, Simić. I'm referring to the platoon commander, the company commander, all the

commanding officers, the battalion commanders, I'm referring to the organs in charge of morale, etc. Information is imparted in a routine manner, like television said this and that. That's not the way to keep people informed, especially not in the present situation. At this moment I regard information and work with people as two different things. There must be someone who can find the time in the afternoon to sit down and talk with people not for an hour but for three hours, people need talking to. I don't see any need for the morale organs to work only in the mornings. I think that a good many, that most people in charge of morale must work from 10 or 12 o'clock, to work with people in the afternoons and evenings. They ought to work with the people in the barracks because if they don't, I wish to assure, we're bound to discover later that most of them have gone astray for lack of the right kind of information. Because the officers do not make a point of keeping their families informed, we've got a situation where the son thinks and does one thing, the wife another and the husband just doesn't know what to do. I think that there's a lot of work to be done in this regard, this matter must be looked into and seen to.

Now, as to the question of prosecutor, I think we understand each other, it was decided to refer the matter to the Office of District Prosecutor, but in case he chooses not to go through with it, as Nikola put it, I think it's functional, though you ought to be aware, the other course of action may not be bad either, let the Office of Prosecutor have a go at it first, that prosecutor is an institution after all, it's one thing if you give him work to do and then you back down and quite another if he does that, let it be this way this time, he's got to do it. But I must let you know that the Interior Minister has called - it's unconnected with this case - it concerns certain articles in *Monitor* critical of President Milošević and Đorđević - actually it was an interview by Clark and so on - so the Minister calls the prosecutor but, as far as I could see, the prosecutor doesn't appear willing to commit himself.

Thank you for your attention.

Gen. Stamenko Nikolić

I wouldn't like to dwell on the nature of this new thing and what it means. The Chief of the General Staff has ordered that the provisions of these Rules should be implemented forthwith, so I'd appreciate when the officers who are present here get the questionnaire - there's been a change taking into consideration the structure of the flat - it's only a paper that you are requested to fill out and hand in - we've done away with all those housing records that were more comprehensive than the personal files. Will you please do this as soon as possible because we must publish in the journal *Vojska* a list of persons who have been given flats - we must make this thing public and state who got a flat and where, whether the flat is finished or not, and if not when the owner will be able to move in. Also, General, I wish to let you know that the Minister of Defence has accepted our suggestion - or rather the suggestion of General Žika Vujičić - who proposed a 50 per cent increase in allowances for those serving in Montenegro, so this thing has been approved. For your information, I have prepared an overview to let you see the approximate salaries of individual categories of officers on particular duty in Montenegro relative to the professional members serving in Serbia.

Col. Stamenko Nikolić

General, I'd like to add that the 50 per cent increase is paid to personnel who have families in the territory of the FRY and have been seconded to units outside Serbia. I'm referring to the 400 or so officers who've been posted to Montenegro. I had this much to say on the subject, General. Another thing, which is even more advantageous - it was announced in the media - a decision was taken on Friday to make the Serbian Development Directorate take part in the programme to build 3,000 flats for Army personnel in garrisons on the territory of Montenegro. This is a welcome news indeed. They're starting right away, we and the Building and Town Planning Sector have already given them the sites, the Navy will get more than we have here, the Podgorica Corps too because the Užice Corps will effectively have been taken care of under the Serbia development plan. These 3,000 flats for Army personnel means that if things keep going this way, if the present government continues, we can have these problems solved next year, that is 2001. We should now employ the media, I've suggested to the Chief of the General Staff that this thing be publicized by the information and morale services in order to make personnel realize what's being done on this score because we've already started to receive requests from people serving in Montenegro to be transferred to Serbia. Next thing, General, it looks like we're going to have quite a problem - yesterday I talked with the Chief of the General Staff and General Đaković, there've been warnings from General Simić, the Chief of Staff of the Republika Srpska Army, was going to send students to the National Defence College and the General Staff School regardless of our decisions, so there might be incidents. I found it necessary to prepare a telegram on behalf the Chief of the General Staff where he warned him again against doing that, the competent services ought to take adequate measures in this connection, the chief reason given in the telegram was capacity and so on, and also the Yugoslav Army's increased need for personnel consequent on our fight against the NATO aggression. So each of us should have a general idea what to expect within his respective jurisdiction in case there's a different decision, the Chief of the General Staff will certainly take a position.

Furthermore, as to the military attorney, this is the fourth warning we have prepared for the Chief of the General Staff, the Minister regarding the dismissal of the attorney and the procedure. Second, they have prepared detailed information, at the end of the day we got information as to how - the thing gave me quite a headache - how the police settled the payment of compensation claims out of court, not to mention those other things. Whether or not it is legal, they've got it all squared away. I've prepared this for the Chief of the General Staff to have a look at, and we'll also give it to the Minister. People should see that the police were able to sort everything out without a problem and without going to law, whereas thanks to the attorney our people have to appear in courts because we can't, we have no control of the Office of Military Attorney, it's broken away from us and the Ministry, he acts independently, in spite of our warnings he hasn't been removed and no action is being taken to improve these matters, therefore...this was the third warning by the Chief of the General Staff. Here, I've got it here with me, there's no need for me to make any special explanations.

General, I have a proposal to make, yesterday we completed an analysis regarding the rational use of drivers using vehicles, their security and their assignment to formations. One Charisma car costs 60,000 German marks, which is equal to what a civilian person earns in forty years. I propose to replace professional members of the VJ

with civilian persons or to detail persons on active service as full-time drivers. This would be no problem and it could take care of the security, safety, economy and other aspects. I'd appreciate your support of this proposal of mine because it would enable us to make considerable savings on personnel, we could move at once to alter the structure of formations and make such posts integral parts of the existing formations. That is, if you consider that such a move would be appropriate. General, I had this much to say about our tasks. I just want to add, since we have put off until this Collegium meeting discussing the appointment of personnel with colonel rank and pensioning off staff under Articles 107 and 147, I wish to propose that we employ the same method of work as before in order to gain time. Except for Admiral Ninković who has additional material concerning two persons - he'll give you his specific reasons himself - we have submitted our materials on time, so can we please proceed to this as soon as possible in order not to lose time.

Maj.-Gen. Milan Đoković

General, the focus of activities of the foreign factor is more noticeable now than in the previous period, especially from the territory of Kosovo and Metohija and Bosnia-Herzegovina and through the humanitarian organizations in the territory of Serbia and Montenegro. The foreign factor is assisted in these activities also by former VJ officers and retired personnel, and there's also General Boško Đuričković who openly supports the Montenegrin government and criticizes the VJ. He has made a number of scathing attacks in the Montenegrin media and I think we ought to do something about that. He lives in Montenegro. He calls us occupiers, the President, the Army, Serbia, says we want to dominate - here, there's a whole page of it - he says the Army has betrayed the people and has no business in Montenegro, that politicians are in charge of the Army. He was ambushed by two criminals - most probably reserve members of the MUP - who beat him up and caused him serious injury. I consider that the 2nd Army and the Navy must take more resolute action especially when Army members are directly assaulted, they must protect them and establish the facts. There have been a number of such incidents lately, I think that these things have escalated since our meetings with the MUP.

Gen. Nebojša Pavković

Ought we to intervene in case the Navy and those on the ground take no action? Should we go in and catch the persons responsible? I've given you freedom of action.

Or should one give the police a free hand? As I told Marković, am I to order him to move in and prey nobody gets killed? They are going to offer resistance. They've got on their side Raspopović⁷ and the other criminals in charge of such things, we're aware of that.

Let Raspopović et al. consider whether it pays to tangle with the Army. What we ought to do, you are to get in touch with Maraš, Marković. We have had a meeting and discussed things, these incidents are getting more and more frequent.

⁷ Raspopović, who commanded the Montenegrin MUP special units, was shot dead in Ivana Milutinovića Square in the very heart of Podgorica. The assassin was never identified.

As to those four, that group has quite a different background. It ought to, I think Nikolić has investigated that. They were infiltrated, they're criminals, our citizens used by a foreign intelligence service, France's (9), to commit crimes on their behalf in order to lay the blame on Serbs. Before they were They were infiltrated here they committed the massacre at Srebrenica, it was filmed, there is evidence, a cassette. There's a detailed report on the things they did in 125 Brigade over there. Word is that it was me who signed them on, that I did this, that and the other. Nothing could be further from the truth. And now we see appearing as chief witnesses the colonel who was head of security in the Priština Corps and a graduate from the National Defence School, Đurović who's current head of security of the Priština Corps, the fellow's receiving this PVO brigade, Savović of 125th Mechanized Brigade, they're kissing the cheeks of the criminals who came here to kill the President, saying we don't regard them as accused persons, we regard them as our brothers in arms.

Gen. Nebojša Pavković

You know who took him out there. After all, that head of French Intelligence wasn't removed for nothing when they got caught. Colonel Stojanović's sore because he wasn't released from Security and also because he didn't get what he wanted.

Kuzmanović brought a pile of documents to me, plonked it down on the table and left it there. Here, he says, these are the reports Stojanović (10) [sic] has been sending to you in Priština, care of myself. He'd been telling me all along that none of that was true. He comes to me and swears that he has sent no reports. You know my attitude towards him. You can't say he didn't apply himself out there but he also played all kinds of trick. He'd no sooner left the post than the Priština Corps security people raised a hue and cry against him. They simply don't want to see him. If he comes here we'd better all pack up. This thing has to be sorted out. Now, Laza told me last night that he's not quite right in the head. The fellow's flipped his lid. We were neighbours while he served as colonel over there. I'm not going to appoint him commander. I just don't want any headache, he may order the brigade out into the streets for all I know. The man's sick with ambition.

Lieut.-Gen. Milen Simić

Regarding the state of morale, in connection with this case, this PAUK group, I'd prefer to linger over the judicial and informative proceedings until the elections are over in order not to make waves. As to the state of morale at the present moment, the situation is stable. Reports from the units say there've been no special problems in the commands and units since this morning. I wish to point out, signs are that morale is high in this particular unit whatever variances there are regarding others. Second, the public has been kept duly informed all this week. Of the 74 items published 49 carried positive or neutral messages and 25 negative, the increase in the number of the last reflecting the increase of negative messages being put across by the media in Montenegro. Eleven items were published abroad, dealing mostly with the relationship between the Army and Montenegro, the misuse of the Army, etc. The psychological-propaganda activities against the FRY and the Army in particular have been stepped up. At present the threats

against the two as target groups are about equally divided. As Đaković has pointed out - and this is especially in evidence in Montenegro - there are teams, many of them, in charge of propaganda activities in all the countries in the neighbourhood. They're attached to these centres and bodies set up ostensibly to help the democratic forces. Other than General Đurković - he's eighty-six years old [sic] - who confirms everything Đaković says, General Martinović has come forward again and said, his main thesis is that Montenegro is going to put up resistance in case it is threatened by Milošević. We've taken concrete steps in Montenegro, the morale organs have been beefed up and two television reporting teams, RTS and YU INFO, are operating.

As to the 2nd Army Command, *Dan* is being gradually converted to our use, we've put RT Elmag on the air again and undertaken a number of specific activities. We're currently placing emphasis on the assistance provided by the Army and responding to certain things in the border area and the arrest of journalists. At the moment the commands and units in charge of morale are concentrating on preparations to deal with the inflow of the September class recruits, judging by reports and indications there's no reason why the September class recruits should not turn up in large numbers as their predecessors did, I wish to point out that 92 per cent of the soldiers are highly satisfied with their reception. Furthermore, training activities are going according to plan and the plans for officers to impart information are being implemented according to the instructions you gave at the expanded Collegium meeting. A number of flats are about to be completed and we're awaiting the first batch of decisions so we can share them out. As agreed, this ought to be published in the journal *Vojska* to let people know who got the flats, we must be careful because we don't want no hue and cry from the others, I'm referring above all to the MUP. As to those flats in Montenegro, I still don't know anything about that, nothing seems to be going on, we've got to wait and see. But that's got to be done. Regarding this Kandić woman, we must file charges, we're within our rights to seek protection from regular courts in a regular manner. So he thinks the law's only on their side. As to that iron, I looked at that report to find out whether it's too much or too little. We have a definite list of the people who're leaving the General Staff and who aren't, and so on. This matter has to be seen to. Živadin Jovanović isn't coming but his deputy is, I think also a man named Zoran Novaković.

September 2000

Gen. Svetozar Marjanović

Are we ready to begin? Before we proceed to the business at hand, General Simić needs a couple of minutes of our time to announce this order and deal with a couple of other things. Any of you wishing to inform us of anything other than the matters we're about to discuss?

Lieut.-Gen. Milan Đaković

I think we ought to work out the question of the elections today. I wonder whether General Simić...is he here? Seeing that he isn't back from his tour of the armies yet, my guess is that the materials will either come late or at the eleventh hour. We must look into

this immediately and find out what happened. So, the armies ought to have received the materials and returned to us the things we need so we can pass them around. This is a major issue that's got to be solved after we've dealt with our present business. There should be two documents from Podgorica I guess, from the military districts, the draft offices, the materials should have been received by the armies, all the armies had to do is give us a call so we can collect them, picking them up ourselves would be no problem. So, we're waiting for materials from the whole of Vojvodina, the 1st Army, also from Montenegro, we're likely to have problems there, that's going to be our biggest problem. There's no time to waste and all that, I wish to remind you that I raised these concerns at two Collegium meetings already. We're running behind schedule, all the materials have been dispatched out there, we're having problems there, the schedule's too tight. We should consider sending out our vehicles, if need be to Niš, to Podgorica, if things aren't moving along I think we ought to rally everybody - the military district, the draft offices - to get it done today.

Gen. Svetozar Marjanović

Will you please run down to the office and have a look, get someone in the Directorate to give Simić a ring and find out where the materials are right now, they haven't been distributed to the troops, they haven't reached the units.

Lieut.-Gen. Miodrag Simić

There's no deadline, the municipal election commissions distribute the materials among the units, that's how we have done it so far.

Gen. Svetozar Marjanović

We know the procedure, provided the units have submitted the documents to the military districts. Well, the military districts ought to have submitted these to all the election districts so they should know where each soldier is serving. Now, they are to send these documents by post, but if the election districts, that is the commissions haven't done this by post they should have found people to deliver them. I'm not sure that the officers themselves, the Army, should be organizing these things. If nothing's been done so far then we should forget it.

Lieut.-Gen. Milan Đaković

General, the delay may be due simply to lack of time, or that ballot papers are being withheld in some places because the opposition, Otpor and others have a finger in the pie.

Gen. Svetozar Marjanović

In that case, that's obstruction, but we shouldn't expect, there's nothing we can do about it.

Lieut.-Gen. Milan Đaković

We can, yes we can, the military districts ought to dispatch security officers to make them hand over the materials they are expected to deliver, they ought to be pushed, that would be no problem. We have no demands regarding the vote itself, we only want those people to deliver what they have to under the law. Those who don't do their duty must face the consequences.

Gen. Svetozar Marjanović

But the commissions aren't composed only of government officials, the election commissions are made up of representatives of all parties.

Lieut.-Gen. Milan Đaković

You get your instructions, you tuck them away in your drawer and nobody knows.

Gen. Svetozar Marjanović

I know, but the election commission is not a one-man or one-party affair...I'm not saying this without proof.

Gen. Svetozar Marjanović [sic]

I know you aren't, but I can't meet the deadline if nobody does anything, so let's find out what the snags are.

Lieut.-Gen. Milan Đaković

...I still haven't received the materials pertaining to my men, that's why I'm telling you these things, I know what it's all about.

Col. Svetozar Marjanović

All right, the colonel is going to find out what's wrong. All right, let's move on Simić.

Lieut.-Gen. Miodrag Simić

Before I proceed to deal with the things that were wrapped up and dispatched last night, I wish to say that I understand what Đaković has been telling us, we may have made a false step along the way. We might have known that in some of the opposition-held municipalities and towns there would be difficulties in getting these materials to our units. But it's not too late, there's Simić to put things to rights, so let's put our thinking caps on. Perhaps we could lump together the materials for the soldiers from all the

military districts and let a centre distribute them to the polling stations, so if a soldier doesn't get his voting slip a duplicate is issued and sent. This is what we could do now to make a go of it, but there are other possibilities too. Now, there are two orders that were dispatched to the unit commands last night: one has to do with raising the combat readiness and the other with the elections in Montenegro. I'm now reading you the order to ensure normal conditions for holding the Montenegrin elections. I'm reading you the original order - you'll be getting your copies later today - I think you had better be told at once. 'We are in possession of information that the MUP forces of the Republic of Montenegro will use various methods to discourage the citizens from going to the polling stations. They will also try to interfere with the casting of ballots and are making preparations to steal the election materials both at the polling stations and during their transport to the election commission. In order to prevent such unconstitutional actions, and with a view to creating normal conditions for the exercise of civic duties by all the citizens on the territory of the Republic of Montenegro, forestalling possible incidents at the polling stations and ensuring the safe transport of the election materials, the Federal Election Commission has appealed to the Yugoslav Army to provide what assistance is required and help create normal conditions for the conduct of the elections. I therefore order the following: first, for the purpose of continuous monitoring of the elections, identifying problems and taking appropriate action, the General Staff shall form a team comprising the Deputy Chief of the General Staff of the VJ and the Assistant Chief of the General Staff as per the attachment. Second, the armies shall form teams comprising the chiefs of staff and assistant commanders. The Navy shall have a team of the same composition. Communication between the teams shall be maintained by using the existing system of communications. The course of the elections shall be reported on regularly every two hours or whenever necessary. The teams shall be ready at 0700 hours on 24 September. Second, the Command of the 2nd Army and the Navy shall make an evaluation of each polling station and provide sufficient forces from 3rd Military Police Battalion, 7th Military Police Special Operations Battalion and 127th Military Police Battalion to secure it adequately with a view to preventing incident situations at the polling stations themselves or theft of election materials. A system of checkpoints and patrols shall be provided on all the communications on the territory of the Republic of Montenegro to ensure that the election materials reach their destinations. Should the MUP forces attempt to disrupt the regular conduct of the elections and delivery of the election materials, they shall first be warned and then prevented from doing so by the use of force. Contacts shall be established with the election commission to find out where the election materials are to be collected and to communicate our intention to render necessary assistance to make sure the elections are conducted in regular conditions. The election materials collected shall be transported in aeroplanes and helicopters in an organized and safe manner. Third, the commander of the 2nd Army will convey to the Prime Minister and the Minister of Internal Affairs of the Republic of Montenegro by direct contact or notification the determination of the State leadership and the VJ to ensure at all costs that the citizens of the Republic of Montenegro can cast their ballots in regular conditions, and that in the event of an incident situation they will take resolute steps against the persons responsible. The Government and the MUP of the Republic of Montenegro shall bear sole blame in the event of incident situations. Fourth, the command of the RV and PVO shall provide two T-70 aircraft and two HT-40 helicopters

to carry the election materials both from the polling stations to headquarters and from Golubovci airfield to Batajnica airfield. Aircraft and helicopters may be used subject to the decision of the commander of the 2nd Army in agreement with the commander of the RV and PVO. The helicopters shall be ready at 0800 hours on 24 September. Fifth, the commanders of the 2nd Army and the Navy shall decide which officers may be allowed to vote in their places of residence without thereby compromising the prescribed level of combat readiness. The command of the RV and PVO shall on 23 September provide two T-70 aircraft to carry 2nd Army and Navy officers between Golubovci and Batajnica airfields. The commander of the 2nd Army and the Navy shall determine the times at which the officers shall leave for and return from the polling stations.' Signed by the Chief. The order went out last night and has already been received by them, they've already reacted to it. You'll be informed of their requests later.

Rear Adm. Vlade Nonković

Could I make a brief point? As far as I remember, the Chief ordered yesterday that the Army provide security at the polling stations within a 100-metre perimeter. I didn't hear any mention of that.

Lieut.-Gen. Miodrag Simić

There is indeed such an order though we didn't say exactly 100 metres. That was my understand, but he explained to them in a meeting that the troops need not be present at the polling stations themselves but stand at some distance from them and keep an eye on things. That's what he told them, he told me he'd explained this to them and that I should put that down, that they should stand at a distance of 50 metres and watch what goes on. But I couldn't...perhaps we could have another conversation with them and then...I thought that their assistants too...

Lieut.-Gen. Milan Đaković

There'll be many observers, official and incognito, so shall we say 100 metres and more?

Lieut.-Gen. Miodrag Simić

Second, the order regarding the measures to heighten the combat readiness. We have information that extreme opposition parties are preparing to proclaim an election victory before the results are officially announced and that they have already publicly announced celebrations of their "victory" in the evening hours of 24 September 2000. This indicates that there is a scenario to provoke incidents and disturbances and reject the official election results. For the purpose of maintaining the prescribed level of combat readiness and forestalling surprises of all kinds, I order the following: First, the Military Police reconnaissance and reconnaissance-demolitionist units and the Special Operations battalion-companies of 72 Special Brigade, 63 Airborne Brigade and 56 Combined Mechanized-Armoured Brigade shall be kept in readiness to be deployed within 30

minutes. 63 Airborne Brigade shall be deployed subject to the decision of the Chief of the General Staff - as he said, it is to be placed outside the jurisdiction of the 3rd Army - The units shall be ready for deployment at 1800 hours on 23 September 2000. Second, by decision of the commanders of the strategic groups, command shall be organized by setting up command teams including at operative levels. Third, in accordance with the order on special measures of permanent combat readiness, the six-hour alert period shall be reduced to one hour in respect of A-class units by 1800 hours on 23 September 2000. Fourth, points 1, 2 and 3 of the strictly confidential order number so-and-so of the Chief of the General Staff are rendered of no force, revoking a previous arrangement to place 72 Brigade under the command of the 3rd Army. Fifth, the commanders of the strategic groups of the organizational units of the General Staff shall regulate all the other matters falling within their competence as they see fit. Sixth, reports on the execution of orders are to be submitted as part of the daily operative reports or whenever necessary. In this connection, the Chief of the General Staff ordered last night that we as a team this morning organize and inspect all the units stationed in and around Belgrade which have been put on an one-hour or 30-minute alert. Colonel Lukić has drawn up a summary of out tasks under the order on special measures of permanent combat readiness, so it only remains for us to organize ourselves quickly and make the inspection. The simplest way is for each of us to inspect his own unit. For instance, the KoV [Land Forces] units should be inspected by KoV officers from the directorates. Let's say Branko checks where his scouts are and Đaković makes a tour of his Military Police units, there's not other way to get the job done on time. He wants a report on the situation of the units on his table by 1700 hours. Before Lukić briefs us on what we've got and where, I suggest we read the requests of the 2nd Army and Navy commanders in connection with the order. Now, the office of the Navy commander says: 'in view of the need to carry out successfully the tasks of monitoring the course of the elections, preventing efforts to keep the citizens away from the polling stations, and preventing theft of election materials, will you please put under our command No. 6 Company of 7th Military Police Battalion between 1800 hours on the 23rd and 0800 hours on the 26th, that is until the election materials are dispatched to the airfield at Golubovci.' Well, since Đaković is with us we can decide on that request now. Second, the Navy is citing its telegrams regarding its reinforcement requests: we wish to bring to your immediate attention our request for urgent reinforcement with the specified structure of professional and trained soldiers. Well, we've got Nonković and Nikolić here, what is it we failed to do?, we've got to react to this quickly. Seeing as we've got two flights scheduled for today to carry those officers, we could come up with a quick solution. Another one from the Navy: 'in our assessment the forces detailed under the order are insufficient fully and adequately to carry out the tasks in the Navy's zone of responsibility. We therefore propose that in addition to the forces specified we deploy a Military Police platoon from 83 Motorized Brigade, a reconnaissance-demolitionist platoon from 81 Motorized Brigade, reservists from Herceg Novi and part of the 82nd Naval Centre. We request permission to deploy, subject to the decision of the Navy commander, other Navy commands and units according as developments necessitate. Under no deployment schedule can we possibly spare troops for deployment in the territory of the municipality of Cetinje, which lies within the zone of responsibility of the 2nd Army. We therefore propose that forces from the 2nd Army be deployed to carry out these tasks in the territory of the municipality of

Cetinje.' That's all regarding that, so I'd like to propose that Admiral Ninković and Đaković, or Nikolić, look into the matter and suggest what we are to do. This is all I had to say on the matter, General.

...regarding all these requests we've been receiving over the past two or three months. We said here - and you said it too, General - that we've done what we could, there'd be no more reinforcements, all it came to was those forty-eight soldiers plus eight officers plus eight tank drivers. I wonder whether it would be wise to saddle units with specially trained troops right now. I really don't know what to think, would it be possible, though we've said over and over against it's impossible regardless of what the needs of those out there are. This thing should have been done in June at the latest, we oughtn't to be making plans two hours before the elections are set to start. As regards these we'll do that later, as regards these units, I mean, Đaković and the scouts and Krga and the police, let them work that out.

...a new element, of interest to the Navy, there've been reports that the Croats might try to do something near Prevlaka in concert with the Americans in case it came to...to take possession over there and some such thing. Now, I'm going to dispatch a report, it'll require additional efforts.

...if you ask me, this is the biggest issue of all...gave away the Cetinje area during the NATO aggression, so it would only be natural for the 2nd Army to secure the area with its own forces during the elections, even though that unit of 85 Brigade belongs to Zec, but knowing that it consists of twenty men what can it do? I think the 2nd Army should take charge, that's its territory, it should provide security during the elections.

Gen. Svetozar Marjanović

...let me put it this way, his first telegram is about No. 6 Company, that's the company that's stationed at Ulcinj, Kumbor, Tivat, those three platoons, so those platoons are in his zone, that's what I've been telling you about. I mean, when we write down the orders and assign the tasks we reckon with that battalion, we never take into consideration the fact that a company of that battalion is within the Navy's zone. So, as far as I am concerned, they have two choices now. Either we grant his request and issue an order to transfer the unit for this particular task or we charge the 2nd Army with carrying out this task on behalf of the Navy. What do you suggest, let's hear your proposals.

Lieut.-Gen. Milan Đaković

...General, I suggest we entrust this matter to the commander of the Navy, let the commander of the Navy communicate his proposal directly to the army commander, the simplest way is to give him the powers. After all, it'll have to be deployed anyway.

Lieut.-Gen. Miodrag Simić

I think, Milan, that would take too much time. But if we agree on that, we let the 2nd Army commander know...the Navy commander...our proposal is accepted, No. 5

Company of 7th Battalion is placed under his command and that's that. Let him work it out.

...and one platoon from those forces in Podgorica forces goes to Cetinje.

Lieut.-Gen. Miodrag Simić

So this means No. 6 Company, the 2nd Army takes over Cetinje.

Gen. Svetozar Marjanović

...what's there for him to undertake, isn't Cetinje in the 2nd Army zone? What is he on about, what's all that fuss about Cetinje? His brigade, the light brigade, those thirty men are in the 2nd Army zone, it's as if Smiljanić were to give us a call and demand that the 2nd Army secure the airport. We've got the 2nd Army commander in his zone, so let him do whatever needs to be done. What is he talking about, what has he got to do with Cetinje? Wasn't it during the war, the bombing, that we transferred Cetinje from his zone to that of the 2nd Army? The fact that the brigade is stationed there doesn't mean a thing, it's only there on peace-time duty. I don't see any special need... Now, regarding this telegram requesting reinforcements. One dated 24 August and the other 17 September. We can reply to him, you got what you got and there's no more.

Lieut.-Col. Miodrag Simić

But they must go through it again to find out whether they've got what they were...

Gen. Svetozar Marjanović

All they should do is check out whether it's arrived or not. If it's there, then we reply to his telegram and say, there's no more.

...could we please be more explicit about the 2nd Army regarding Cetinje. Those people out there, with all the units on the move, they see, they suspect their unit in Cetinje is compromised and that, in their view, this fellow didn't do the things he was supposed to. This is why they're reacting, this is why I think we should be more specific about the 2nd Army.

Lieut.-Gen. Miodrag Simić

That's quite clear, according to the territorial jurisdiction the 2nd Army commander is responsible for everything inside the 2nd Army zone.

...why, General, if you're in favour, why not subordinate 83 Light and its zone to the 2nd Army in the present situation?

...the unit has not been reattached.

Lieut.-Gen. Ninoslav Krstić

...he can direct 83 Brigade from the 2nd Army command post, reinforce it is necessary, and everything will be all right.

Lieut.-Gen. Miodrag Simić

Krle [Krstić], we just can't do that, Krle, that would mean we're subordinating all the Air Force units in the 2nd Army zone to its commander. It's just not on. He'll be responsible for mobilization later on, among other things. So let us stick to the territorial principle, that way we don't violate the subordination principle, we don't violate anything, he'll be responsible...

...so let's have a look at this thing now. 'I propose that, in addition to the forces named in the order, we deploy a Military Police platoon of 73 Motorized Brigade,...a platoon of 83...81, the reservists from Herceg Novi and part of the 82nd Naval Centre.' Is he referring to reserves or to what he has. I don't know what he's on about. Here too he puts it in parenthesis...and here, 'part of the 82nd Naval Centre'.

...I guess this includes reconnaissance and Military Police units, in view of the 14 September order of the Chief of the General Staff which lays down that these units are to be used strictly according to their purpose. You see, he didn't deny him his right to deploy them, he only says they aren't to be used for fishing but only for hunting. Got it? So, he still has the authority, what's bothering him is this question of reserves, the question is whether...

...he's to act according as the situation dictates, that's what he ought to be told, he's to make his own judgements, those are his forces...

...the Chief forbade the calling up of reserves until the elections, that's why he's inquiring, he need them now, he wants them right away.

Lieut.-Gen. Miodrag Simić

He wants to know, he probably didn't reckon with us placing No. 6 Company under his command. We've given him No. 6 Company, so we're now dealing with that problem, he can have that until further notice, until after the elections the situation permitting. That all he can have.

...but he should be told he can use all the forces, all the peacetime forces at his discretion.

Lieut.-Gen. Miodrag Simić

I understand, General, I understand everything, it only remains for the Admiral to sort out this matter of reinforcements, if that's ready...

Gen. Svetozar Marjanović

We must make sure it is, Simić, and we also must consult the Chief.

Lieut.-Gen. Miodrag Simić

Good, the Chief will be here around 10 o'clock. But I have a feeling this thing's going to be made public, so, as Krga pointed out, it's as well that we should do it before they do.

...that we have information that the situation is so-and-so and that certain measures will have to be taken to keep things in hand.

Lieut.-Gen. Miodrag Simić

As to whether we've received the request of the Federal Election Commission...

...I've checked on that, the Information Directorate says all the materials have been delivered, the strategic groups have got them and the 2nd Army received them yesterday.

Gen. Svetozar Marjanović

But the Office hasn't got this Federal Election Commission request for Army assistance, that the Army provide security in addition to the vehicles, it ought to have arrived last night, the Chief rang me up about it around 10 o'clock.

Lieut.-Gen. Stamenko Nikolić

...this telegram too was got off last night, the Chief agrees that everybody ought to know, the telegram was sent to the strategic units commands to let them know that the National Defence College and the General Staff School students won't be back on the 24th as originally announced but by 2400 hours on the 1st in order to be able attend classes on the 2nd on the subject of combat readiness. Next, I want you to know that if anything happens making it necessary to close the Academy down, to assign the officers and the rest to the units, you'll be given the exact numbers per unit as well as the total. We've got 127 Academy graduates...and 325 last-year students. They constitute that reserve, the golden reserve, there'll be some 350 of them from the ŠONID, including the instructors, over the next four years, some 800 of them were engaged last year. Everything's ready to throw in if the need arises.

Gen. Svetozar Marjanović

Well, now we shall proceed to the task that was given us yesterday. I now give the floor to the General, one of the 129 paid [sic] ones.

THE FEAR OF A REGIME CHANGE

“Fear soils the face of an honourable man”
Njegoš

28.09.2000

Thus passed the 24 September 2000, the day about which both the position and the opposition were so nervous, every party for their own reasons. The results were contradictory. I think that the truth will never be known. At that time everything was chaotic. The situation was very tense. It was impossible, in such circumstances, to conduct a normal pre-election campaign. Immediately before the elections the former president of Serbia, Ivan Stambolić was assassinated, there was an assassination attempt on one of the opposition leaders, Vuk Drašković. Bearing in mind who were the members of the Federal Electoral Commission, and events taking place after the elections, there undoubtedly was an attempt of electoral theft. After all, for Slobodan it would not be for the first time. At that time I often traveled to Podgorica. All of us agreed that the “D day” was nearing, and Pavković had already announced it. At my last meeting with Mr Maraš before 5 October the main topic of conversation was close monitoring of the military leadership plans in case Mr Koštunica did not accept the second round of elections. The situation was getting more tense, so the need for documentation revealing plans of the Army was getting ever greater. Mr Maraš asked me to constantly keep in touch with Buda. Diskettes with details and assessments were coded and sent to the Montenegrin government.

Laki, who was carrying the data, was performing his job with excellence. He never lacked ideas how to transfer the diskettes to Podgorica in the safest way. Sometimes he would stick a diskette in a jar of jam or into a sandwich. In Montenegro, he would buy some worthless stuff and bring it back with him so that no one would become suspicious about his regular weekly visits to Montenegro. On one of those days, on his way back from Podgorica, at the airport, he was approached by two civilians who showed their official ID's and out of a hundred of passengers chose no one else but him to follow them with his luggage.

- Please come with us – they said waving to show him the way.
- All right – he answered and followed them. He thought our channel must

have

been undermined.

Actually he was on his way back from Podgorica and really had nothing compromising on him, but he thought they must had found out about his role. He was very worried, even more so as the policemen did not speak to him. When they came to an office, one of them looking at his ID said:

- Open your bag. What do you have in it?
- I have five cartons of cigarettes and some clothing – Laki answered.
- I can see that you travel often, what do you do?
- A bit of everything to help me live through.
- All right, you can go, but don't take any cigarettes any more.

After the inspection they let him go out the airport building. Perhaps it was our worst faux pas all through this activity of ours. I thought we should not make any changes as we were not truly endangered and need and necessity requested action without delay regardless on any risks.

At the beginning of our “comradeship” Budimir Šćepanović, counselor to the Minister of Interior of Montenegro, flew into Belgrade unaccompanied. At the airport, he was literary strip-searched. When an official driver drove him off the airport, they were followed by a party of the Serbian State Security Service. They raced through the city to

rid themselves of the undesired escorts. There were “unexpected” obstacles on the road, so Buda left the official vehicle and caught the first cab, which took him to his destination. Before Laki, diskettes with information on the plans of the regime for the Montenegrin government was carried by an official of their government. But it was changed, as I did not want to have anyone in our “chain” who could appear suspicious to Milosevic’s spies.

On 28.09.2000 a meeting of the VJ General Staff was held to discuss the situation the state was in after the “surprising” election results.

Gen. Branko Krga

Mr. General Sir, in the post electoral period they have been coordinating their political and military positions vs. FRY with a clear aim of offering support to the Democratic opposition. In expectation of official results of the elections, which, in accordance with what we heard this morning, were announced, there have been many speculations, however, also a lot of restraint in judgments of officials, in the first place of those of the European Union, and although the West openly supports the opposition, there are indications that a second round of elections will take place.

The United States insist [on the opposition] not to accept the second round, but to persist on winning over members of the Police and the Army on the side of the Democratic opposition, or otherwise, they suggest to organize mass protests, which, as we heard last night, Djindjić already announced.

At the same time the forces of the KFOR and SFOR in the neighbouring countries would, according to this scenario, undertake demonstrating actions at the border of FRY in order to keep at bay VJ from possible reactions. Considering that the outcome could result in favour of the opposition and could affect a change in relationship between the West and Montenegro regarding affairs of the two republics, Montenegro is speeding up completion of its legal status and in this connection continues to spread rumors about unconstitutional actions by the Army in order to obtain guarantees of the West for its security. An initiative has been instigated for bringing Montenegro closer to the Euro Atlantic structures by signing of an agreement of association with the European Union.

On the military plan, in essence, former threats are still present at this moment the international community is in no mood for a possible military action against FRY unless auspicious conditions were created defined in three cases: In case FRY acted against KFOR and SFOR, secondly, in case of a conflict between the Police and the Army in Montenegro and thirdly, in case the Army arbitrated in a conflict in Serbia. The option of an unilateral action of the US is still open with a possible assistance of Great Britain and some sources talk about the Iraqi scenario being applied against our country too but only in one of the above three cases.

We consider it completely clear that there are some centers of power who wish a bloody scenario to take place in our country too and not only that they wish so, but they make efforts to provoke it in advance. So far there are no indications of any direct threats to FRY, however, unreserved activities in the surroundings and the power of the foreign factor indicate that it may become actual very soon if within the country there appeared an adverse development of events. As the official results were announced this morning, I think that everything is clear now and in essence it comes down to two options: first that

the democratic opposition accept the second round of elections and then the reactions of the army would be simple and the second option is that they do not accept and do what they already made public last night, commence with mass protests all through the country, which would make the situation complicated, so I suggest that we focus our discussion in this direction in the meeting of the General Staff .

Gen. Nebojša Pavković

All right we will conduct the discussion, but I think that what you have just said, from what information we had at our disposal, from what we were talking about, the scenario took place just like that. Why nobody in the state institutions took any notice and why they did not take appropriate measures, I do not know, but it is obvious that everything develops in that direction. We now have here a clear situation and the Federal Electoral Commission declared their results, on no grounds the opposition has any reason to be dissatisfied, they won on the local level, the situation about the President of Yugoslavia is completely clear, the results are clear. It means that regularity of the elections and regularity of the results have been accepted, therefore there are no reasons not to accept all that comes from this context, it would not be in the spirit of either the democratic changes or their incentives to end all this in an amicable way.

Eh, now, what is the meaning of those protests? It means to step away from the rules and to accept something that was not achieved. Naturally we must fully obey the decision of the Federal Electoral Commission and I think that it is favorable for the position in this regard, as they will obviously attempt to what they already know very well, what machinations to employ, and it is a question whether they could succeed in the second round or maybe people will sober, maybe they will maybe they wont, but if they are so confident, there is no reason not to enter the second round. The only thing that may complicate the situation is their refusal to enter the second round.

I think that we should make an assessment, brief of course, when we have heard what Djaković has to say, and form a team headed by Marjanović to make a brief assessment of how the situation may further develop and in this sense what we, the Army, may expect. Certainly, we will not take part in any conflicts unless we were attacked, we or our state institutions. I think that after that, we the General Staff should meet, go to see the president and present our assessments as it is obvious that somebody did not take any consideration of what we were sending there. Regardless on the source of information, the situation develops in accordance with that scenario.⁸

Gen. Milan Djaković

Mr General Sir, a few hints regarding activities of foreign intelligence services and the state of affairs on our territory. In relation to the former period there are no significant changes. Those are, so to, say well known facts.

⁸ The meeting in question was held with president Milosevic at the White Palace on the eve of 5 October and general Milen Simic talked about it for the "Svedok" newspaper of 07.10.2003 of which I will say more on consequent pages of this book.

It is characteristic that the leadership considers they have made a lapse by making public the elections results too early, which allowed the Federal Electoral Commission to manipulate. They are now looking for causes why with 49% they did not win in the first round and are looking for the causes elsewhere.

With regard to further developments, we may say that on the grounds of the available data, they are resolute not to enter into the second round of elections and on the grounds of our assessments further destabilization can be expected together with pressure on the Army and the MUP mainly because they are not quite clear about the situation in there, about how the Army and MUP would react in certain circumstances. They claim that, allegedly, they have some people within the military leadership itself and for the time being we assess that they have expressed a certain degree of interest in some individuals, members of the VJ, Federal Ministry of Defense on all levels etc. but for the time being we are closely monitoring the situation and will see how that interest develops. We know that some individuals belonging to certain circles are interested in those persons too and in that direction measures should be taken to protect all of them including commanders, before all generals, from any possible terrorist actions.

With regard to the state of security within the Army, if we compare the number of counteractions in relation to the former period there is no increase. We expect to receive today reports from security institutions, assessments indicate that a certain number of members of the Army have voted for the Democratic opposition of Serbia, that there have been some individual offenses, but units are still compact enough so that it makes no significant impact on the combat readiness.

We assess that the days to come may affect the conduct of certain members and I think that it is very important to react very quickly regarding the system of information currently taking place, to prevent individual cases through a system of information and I would suggest, given the fact that there have been various approaches by commanders with regard to dissemination of information and that some of them irritate lower rank officers, it would be wise to prepare an information framework.

officers, army and corps commanders and they should not step out of the framework, they should not make profound assessments of what may happen in one months time, instead they should say that the Army will carry out its duties and responsibilities and should not allow to be taken in to provocative questions of their units. It is particularly distinctive in Montenegro where among civilians there is a great number of individuals inclined to the Montenegrin leadership.

This fits with figures obtained during drafting from military departments, districts etc. the number of civilians who are practically worried about their future in case Montenegro splits off and they say I do not want them to burn down my house etc. Those persons born in Montenegro are obviously worried. I would like to warn you about a possible problematic situation within the reserve formation, people who are called up for training and activities, we have to pay more attention because among those people counteractions are possible, more then among professional soldiers.

Gen. Nebojša Pavković

Despite all that, the Army remained compact a propos those matters, surely there are individual cases of devastating dissatisfaction, who knows since when it has been

dragging on, however, those cases should not make us worry but they should still be noted down and we should undertake to seriously work with those people. The reason lies in the fact that all of them were not properly informed about the situation and such reactions in my opinion are up to the commanders, they must sort out their units and I fully agree with the conclusion that our orders, how to disseminate information to the troops and how to arrange elections within the units, were not carried out by commands on all levels. That layer which we are talking about, the pensioners, although they are connected with us they are not under our jurisdiction. I said the same to the president yesterday, that we have a small number of pensioners, maybe 5,000 or 6,000 organized within an Association of Pensioners who we have some contact with in all towns and all centers. We have seen their response, but it is only 6,000 of them and there are 50,000 more, finally 50 or 60 or 100,000 is not a remarkable electoral mass that could have endangered anything, this should be born in mind. I think that they have already pointed out a few candidates, one of them is Blagoje, the second is Grahovac, who had been already launched at one of their gatherings, and Dimitrijević Aca. I think that Grahovac is the most serious candidate. From that whole matter you can see what will happen when Grahovac comes and what sort of revenge they will exercise, as we have indicators from some companies how they treat their opponents, they do not keep it secret. We think all this occurred under the scenario of the West and this scenario is about how Yugoslavia should be torn apart, completely destabilized etc.

Gen. Milen Simić

Obviously, during the pre election campaign, and still, a classic military operation of psychological propaganda was implemented under the jurisdiction of the West with the main goal to set out warfare objectives and that is the essence, that it was a classic military operation is proved by the fact that there was a center formed by the NATO, that all those centers with different titles employ military experts, that military forces for a psychological war are engaged, that there are classic military forces for keeping pressure and that enormous amounts of money have been pouring in. Regretfully they got very close to achieving their warfare objectives. Regretfully we were the only ones to notice that and the only ones to give it the proper name and the only ones who acted and engaged themselves in protecting our units, all other relevant subjects acted as if in peacetime.

This here what Djaković has pointed out is of no consequence, that, which side the members of the Army took. Finally the members of the Army form too a small electoral body to be of a decisive nature and if the political subjects keep occupying themselves with speculations about which side Army members took they will achieve nothing. To some extent, we too behaved as if in peacetime. Again, we have one day, one ultimate chance to achieve our goals, we have some routine where we keep considering some questions of no consequence.

I suggest with regard to information, we offered theses for information and there are no new items to freshen up those theses, as it happened some of our personnel took it seriously they seriously went into their formations, more seriously then so far. All of us are of the opinion that it was all about warfare objectives, a certain body should be

formed on the state level which would counter these warfare objectives and they should pay more attention to both our assessments and our suggestions.

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On the grounds of the exposed suggestions a special team was formed which was monitoring the development of the situation and was offering suggestions to the state leadership of what should be done to prevent “the domestic traitors and foreign mercenaries” from coming into power.

This period is marked by a so far unrevealed analysis presented to president Milosevic by the military leadership headed by Pavković on 04.10.2000, that is on the eve of the revolutionary changes. At the meeting, which was held at the White Palace and which was attended by quite a number of VJ generals, an assessment was presented requesting engagement of the military leadership in preventing followers of the DOS from coming to the capital of FRY. It would be interesting if general Simić were frank enough to tell his fellow citizens about the VJ’s proposal by the military leadership to Milošević to block all roads leading to Belgrade and exits from all major cities in Serbia. It would also be very interesting if he explained about the refusal of the Police leadership to accept the suggestion of VJ and which of the two options was adopted by Milošević. Three years after 5 October, general Simić told the *Svedok* weekly that the meeting with Milošević had actually been held but he did not say what were the focus and the objective of the meeting. The text published in October 2003, along other lines reads:

“In the meeting at the White Palace on 4 October 2000, Milosevic chose to confide in the assessments of the Minister of Police, Vljako Stojiljković rather than the correct appraisal of the Head of VJ General Staff, .”

“We reported to him very thoroughly with contents and schemes standard for this type of activities. The most important conclusions were that the situation in the country was very difficult due to paralysis of all major systems and possible domestic conflicts, that there was a real threat from external intervention, that the state of combat readiness was solid and that all necessary measures were taken. We reported on our assessment that tomorrow, on 5 October, a critical mass would gather in Belgrade, that it was likely that the buildings of the Federal Parliament and Serbian Radio and TV and some other state institutions would be targets in the most radical form, that there was a possibility of conflicts between armed groups and that the Police would not be able to prevent them. He listened quietly without comments or additional questions.

When we finished the reporting he surprised us with his statement that he would remain the president of the country right through the end of his mandate regardless on the results of the second round of the presidential elections....

... With regard to our predictions for 5 October, he said that he did not have any such information from the relevant service, apparently reflecting on the Police, and asked us to wait for about ten minutes. Minister Vljako Stojiljković arrived very soon after with a few assistants. Milošević repeated to him in brief on what we had reported. Stojiljković reacted very sharply and accused us of putting the problem out of proportion on the grounds of incorrect facts and of interfering with matters within the jurisdiction of the Police, he said that the situation within the Police was good and that actually the

situation in VJ was strange. He was persuading Milošević that the Police would prevent massive arrival of citizens into Belgrade by means of three circles and would protect all institutions from possible attacks.”

Gen. Nebojša Pavković

Now, they with those gatherings which they have commenced, well it is a certain pressure exerted on the entire public opinion in Yugoslavia. It is becoming present every day among the people. There are no counter measures. It is a matter which we have to put to assessment and make it out. Only the results of the Federal Electoral Commission are important and we should keep in mind that there are seats for all of them in the Federal Electoral Commission. Meaning that he cannot say he was not present if members of the DOS and members of other parties were present there.

Let us continue.

The Command of the Navy suggested that ships and fleets be shifted from hourly combat readiness to two-hourly combat readiness in order to make savings in the resources of the navy. Namely, owing to extremely short time of combat readiness they have to start engines every half hour, to activate ships, in order to be prepared to provide the one-hourly combat readiness, they suggest to be changed to two-hourly readiness so that they do not have to start engines every half hour.

Gen. Nebojša Pavković

I would change it to six-hourly readiness.

Gen. Djordje Čurčin

On Saturday, the 30th all units will be taking oath. Your former order forbade leave in town for all soldiers, I suggest this order be amended so that on Saturday and Sunday young soldiers are allowed organized leave in town.

Mr general Sir with the taken measures including outdoor training, boosting up of measures for combat readiness and raising combat readiness for some units, we secured anticipation of surprise and endangering of FRY's security. We must not allow our units to be provoked so as to respond excessively. If you accept the suggestions, we will prepare today and we have already prepared some commands.

Gen. Nebojša Pavković

We can accept the suggestions. Let me go back to what does it mean when the Electoral Commission says first 7, 800 and later 7, 200, where and what is the catch? I do not think we should meddle in that.

Gen. Ljubiša Stojimirović

Tonight Mr general Sir at 9 p.m. this system F65 will be transferred to 3.A. The filling in of vacancies in the 38th brigade with regular soldiers has been secured so that in

future officers and reserve troops will go independently from this system and if they are reliable men that is good and if they are not, in this situation they could cause us some problems.

Gen. Nebojša Pavković

This must be immediately communicated to Laza, and I will tell him, and you should stop calling up. We have no indicators for Kosovo. This means that the suggestions have been accepted as said and with the Navy we will go for six, it is just about starting the systems and engines there is no need to start them every now and then.

Gen. Gruzica Uskoković

Mr general Sir with regard to rear security troops all measures ordered by you have been taken concerning securing of continuity in commanding. The troops were well informed about all that was necessary, we are working in line with the plan, there are no negative exceptions with regard to the elections but allow me to highlight that after this information all members of the sector and their juniors feel some relief because there will be the second round, they look forward to a positive solution. Otherwise, the rear security operates successfully, with extreme difficulty and basically we have no financial means but the problem is well known.

THE FIFTH OF OCTOBER

“That who does not want when he can, will not be able when he wants”
Rabelais

On account of sensitivity of material processed by the VJ Intelligence Administration, I will publish only parts of the intelligence appraisal of the 4th and the 5th October, on the eve of the change, in order to evoke the attitude of the “international factor” in relation to us. This kind of appraisals would reach Slobodan and on the grounds of them, he would bring consequent decisions.

COMMUNICATION NO. 190 OF 04.10.2000

1. Attitudes and activities in relation to the situation in FRY

Electoral crises in FRY, caused by the denial of official results on the part of the DOS, together with all possible implications, is still a major matter among relevant international factors and states. US make every effort (as we have anticipated) to use the period after the elections to accomplish their original goal, i.e. to change the current regime in FRY. On that account they support the opposition in FRY, accept their candidate as a winner in the first round of the elections and request other western countries to support their position. On the other hand, Russia, without powerful instruments of political-military influence, wishes to achieve the following goals: (1) to

keep the position of a significant factor in the region and (2) use the FRY crises for its own economic-political interests in the West.

US president B. Clinton, on the grounds of his advisers' suggestions (first of all S. Berger's), has given his administration instructions for further approach concerning the FRY electoral crises. The core of the US position is in accepting the victory of the opposition candidate (V. Koštunica) in the first round of elections and in that sense to continue supporting the opposition. In this connection, the State Secretary (M. Albright) was assigned to, during her visit, coordinate the US position and approach concerning the elections with those of the Western European countries.

The leadership of the Russian Federation has so far made no firm statements regarding the election results in FRY. In communications issued by the Russian government there is obvious support for: (1) preservation of peace and stability in Yugoslavia, (2) election of a legitimate president who would be admitted by the international community and his own nationals and (3) bringing closer of the positions of the conflicting parties. Russia supports FRY's entirety and opposes any interference and pressure from abroad. However, with regard to constant contacts and frequent visit by Western officials, it is unpredictable to what extent Russian administration coordinates its position concerning the electoral crises in Yugoslavia with the West. A Russian analysts claims that the leadership of his country does not officially support or admit any one of the parties as a winner in the first round of the elections as it desires good relations and cooperation with the state itself rather than with parties or coalitions. With regard to that, Russian leadership stress their readiness to mediate in resolving the situation after the first round of elections. Representatives of the parliament and the Russian public have different positions and depending on their political orientation they are in the scope from a judgment that the second round is legitimate, to standing by the Western accusations that the election results were manipulated in order to damage the opposition.

An analyst of a Western intelligence service estimates that in the current situation there is no chance of a foreign military intervention in connection with the events following the FRY elections, regardless on the fact that there are various interests involved bringing about additional risks of provocations and incidents.

The military-political attaché of Great Britain considers that the West (US and Europe) apart from open verbal support to the opposition and admitting of their candidate's victory in the first round by their officials, hitherto do not have a clear conception and a common approach with regard to their possible reaction if the internal situation within FRY slips out of control. In this connection, he states that the political and military lapses concerning FRY, force the West to take a more careful approach concerning the current situation.

Further to the data obtained by the intelligence, the only compromise that West would accept concerning the electoral crises in FRY is to count the votes of the first round again in the presence of their delegation. If the FRY leadership rejects this suggestion, the Western countries will intensify their diplomatic, political, economic and other pressures aiming at a complete isolation of FRY.

Activities of land, air and naval forces of the neighbouring countries and international forces in the region are of a regular intensity and so far do not manifest any direct military threats for FRY's security.

COMMUNICATION NO. 191 OF 05.20.2000

1. Approach and activities concerning the situation in FRY

The Japanese military-diplomatic representative considers that at this point there are no indications of another military intervention by the NATO in FRY and statements about it are being intentionally placed for political reasons. Regardless on all “unclear matters” concerning the final results of the presidential elections, the opposition candidate’s advantage in the first round “has knocked out all aces from the hands of even the most extreme opponents of FRY who are advocating use of force in the resolving of the post electoral crises in FRY”. With regard to the situation in KIM, US already stresses that they are not interested in the final resolution of the crises and slowly distance themselves from the problem. America finds the current situation suitable, i.e. the presence of a crises region as a test ground for international peace forces, and they will attempt to keep a status quo. However, more noticeable are US interests in Montenegro because of their need for strategic military control of that space. Taking control over Montenegro could be the final step for US presence in the Balkans.

Quite a number of foreign diplomatic-military representatives criticize interference by the Western countries with the electoral process in FRY with the intention to use the change of the regime as an excuse for their anti-Serbian policy and aggression on FRY. Furthermore, they are worried that “the events in FRY could evolve just like the events during the revolution in Romania in 1989”. Therefore, they suggest that VJ should not yield to provocations as the situation could further deteriorate causing enormous atrocities.

By the data obtained from the security service, “the leadership of the DOS expects first conflicts between the security forces and fans of this political group to occur on 05.10 on the Ibar Highway, where the members of the MUP will intervene, i.e. attempt to prevent organized arrival of the opposition’s fans from the provinces into Belgrade. In this city the opposition “intentionally instigates low intensity riots saving strength for later” which result in certain “disputes” with the more radical members of the DOS from the provinces. On the other hand, the West/US request the Macedonian leadership to offer open support to “the democratic changes in FRY” and express expectations that it would present a contribution to better relations between the two states in all areas and particularly in the economic sphere.

Activities of land, air and naval forces in the neighbouring countries as well as of the international forces in the region do not display any direct military threat to FRY's security.

SECTION HEAD
Gen. Branko Krga.

The “D day” eventually dawned. Pavkovic had been announcing it for a long time. It depended on many factors how it would end. From the information at my disposal and from my discussions with my contacts in Montenegro, it was clear that it

was a turning point and a road sign for Serbia and Montenegro's future direction and whether or not they would remain on the map of Europe.

Lines of citizens progressed towards Belgrade. Everything was perfectly organized. It had to be carried on to the end. The goal was to change the regime without bloodshed. However, they had to be ready not to give in to force. Crowds of people were pouring into the capital from all five directions. Strikes erupted. Graphite and slogans were stuck everywhere. "Gedo fool" roared about. Even the Romanian scenario was possible. Serbia had to pull out of the darkness and chaos at any cost. I came to Belgrade with Dragan Lestarić, my best man, at that time he did not know about my role with the Montenegrins, but had some assumptions. I begged him to try to find out about plans of the "red berets". We parked the car at the Railway Station as it was impossible to come closer to the center. When we reached the Parliament, I saw people taking furniture out of the building. One of the demonstrators was carrying a nice, carved chair. Suddenly he put it down on the grass in front of us and filled with joy he said:

- Take a seat, brother. Lilić used to sit in it and now you....

- No, thanks – I laughed and passed him on the way to the Tašmajdan pools.

Lestarić entered the post office building in the 27 Mart Street where his office was situated and the seat of SDB, to check on their plans and intentions. He returned in an hour and told me:

-There is chaos. Half of the heads have hidden away. I think it is the end.

-Let us pay a visit to the JSO base in the Lipovička Šuma, anything can be expected from them.

On the way, we saw hundreds of cars with flags of the opposition parties coming by the Ibar Highway. In Lipovička Šuma forest, everything seemed peaceful, so we turned the car around and returned to the center of Belgrade. I constantly kept in touch with junior VJ officers, so I was perfectly informed of what was going on. I expected a counter attack by the VJ and the Police special units. A MUP helicopter was flying over the city center. As it was confirmed later, Goran Radosavljević Guri, the current head of the Gendarmerie, was in it. He refused Milosevic's order to pour gas from the helicopter over the city. Milorad Luković Legija, when he saw the mass of people in the streets, decided not to intervene. Failure of a serious intervention by the "red berets" and VJ units was only due to their fear from huge crowds of people rushing into the city center. Therefore, one cannot say that the military leadership could not wait for Milošević's regime to fall. For such conclusion, there are at least two good reasons. The first, they enjoyed all privileges available in an army of such size and purpose, and the second, they were involved in numerous illegal activities and they could not expect this to be tolerated, as it actually did happen after 5 October. Both parties, in agreement with their personalities, lined up for a ticket for a "new age". They had only one goal – to hide bloody tracks and find a livelihood in the new system. Immediately after 5 October, they started giving interviews in the media saying that it was they who contributed to the opposition's victory. It turned out that all those people who had suffered beating, persecution and murders were only plain bystanders, and that the main players were a range of Pavković and Simic characters and alike.... I am very grateful to them for not killing or slaughtering all of us, and, if the "patriotic block" comes back in power, they will not have to replace the generals and other government officials as they are still there where they have left them after 5th October.

But, let me return to the events of 5 October 2000. Legija lined a number of semi-armored "Hammer" vehicles around the new VJ General Staff Headquarters to prevent parts of VJ Special units from coming out into the streets of Belgrade. The Army strengthened the General Staff security with the 72nd special brigade and armored transporters. Fear ruled over everybody. It was good while Legija was occupied with Pavkovic and vice versa. There was more time left for the demonstrators.

It should be added that in the morning groups of VJ and the 72nd air-landing brigade occupied the TV building and all equipment in there intending to prevent the demonstrators from entering it. The groups were under the command of major Dragan Delibašić. In front of the television, VJ tarpaulin Puch vehicles were parked.

So far, unseen pressure was put on this honorable man to remain within the television building at any cost.

After a brief discussion and urging by the MUP to remain within the RTS building, major Delibašić brought a right decision. He withdrew his units and removed the equipment so that it is not destroyed in a raid by the demonstrators. He reported on the event to the commander of the 72nd brigade, colonel Cvetković. Although the army later claimed that they did not take part in the 5th October events, i.e. general Pavković many a time pointed out that allegedly he was impartial, I was convinced from what I saw with my own eyes that it was quite opposite. After his failure to pacify Kolubara miners, on account of his war authority, and talk them into returning to their jobs, this was his second attempt to recover the impossible. The third was the movement of tanks towards Banjica. The above mentioned major played a key role in preventing conflicts between the military and the demonstrators.

The General Staff was overcome by a mixture of fear and chaos. Some fanatical generals requested tanks to take over the TV studio in Košutnjak. They will recognize themselves in this text and they are still in important positions in VJ. Some security officers were pacing along lengthy corridors in the General Staff building saying that no Kostunica would rule over them. They will recognize themselves too. I regret for being unable to play a recording of their discussion, so I cannot publish their names. Now they are officers with firm democratic opinions. Probably just until the next chance.

Many a time I discussed with Buda Šćepanović what we should do when the "D day" comes. We agreed that the information we had would be more important for the opposition in Serbia than for the Montenegrins.

As we were preparing ourselves for the day, we agreed that it would be the best to pass on the information we had directly to the Serbian opposition. We agreed that general should be the man who the data should be delivered to. There were many reasons for that. From the records of the General Staff meetings, it was clear that the military leadership regarded general their No. 1 enemy. For me it was a clear mark that he does not cooperate with Milošević. He used to be the Chief of the General Staff and was familiar with such documents as well as with a state secret. Therefore, he possessed a tradition in security work, which I considered very important. He knew the army and its generals and he used to be their superior. He knew about their weak points. Eventually, the DOS appointed him as their front man toward VJ.

We possessed a test proved information of an intention and later even a decision of the Military Court to arrest Messrs Košunica and Svilanović. was the person who had passed on the information. Night was falling over Belgrade. An agreement not

to attack the police was reached. Everything was calm. Exactly what we were worrying about. There was a possibility for consolidation of Milošević's units and their attack on the City Hall, where the headquarters of the opposition was situated. I had a revolver on me. I decided to enter the building and look for Mr . On the steps, there was a crowd of people instructed to physically prevent any access into the City Hall.

- Where are you going? – a strong young man asked.
- I need to see general - I said but was not sure if he had heard me.
- Wait - answered he.

Several minutes later, pushing through the crowd, Darko Milanovic body guard, appeared on the staircase. I told him that I was sent by Buda Scepanovic.

- Come quickly – he said and took me inside.

After some time when he was convinced that I was not a provocateur put in by

Milosevic's regime, and I agreed that I should provide a telephone directory with the numbers of all generals so that he could call them and ask them to put themselves on the side of the people and not the regime. We spent some more time together, I told him what I knew about VJ plans, and he listened carefully. I warned him that they should improve their security measures, as, if I could enter with a revolver, then certainly others could too. He called Darko and ordered him sharply to take good care who enters the building and what they are taking inside.

On the first floor gallery Milan St. Protić was giving an interview to a French journalist. Everything was in motion and very dynamic.

In half an hour, I returned with the telephone directory with all phone numbers, office, home, mobile and special. The directory contained the names of Pavković, Milošević, Stojiljkovic and others of any influence in the country. was glad to receive the directory. He went into the next office and started making phone calls. I asked him later who the calls were to. When I started writing this book, he asked me not to reveal the names of those generals. Neither of them accepted cooperation i.e. did not confirm that the army would not interfere. It was necessary for some leaders of the DOS to meet with the officers I used to have contact with and who were ready to prevent bloodshed. We decided to meet at my place in Čukarica. In my apartment, there were four officers while I was waiting for general at the front of the building. I took him inside. The discussion was direct and very constructive. The officers understood what was their role and place in the events. Everything was done to prevent conflicts between the army and the people. The officers advised of the situation within the army. sincerely begged them to remain united and to undertake everything in their power to prevent bloodshed and conflicts with the army. The discussion was going on for about one and a half hours. We left each in a different direction. I spent all night visiting my contacts and taking messages and evaluations back and forth to and other leaders of the DOS. We had only one goal, to prevent a counter attack and conflicts with VJ and MUP units. I believe that there were many other people offering their assistance to the DOS.

In one of the corridors of the City Hall I met two men from Obrenovac one of them knew me well. One of them was Vladan Batić who I knew, but I don't know if he knew me and the second was Joca Šubatović current secretary of sports in Belgrade. I was not happy to meet them there, but we said hello to each other.

From the balcony overlooking the Pioneer Park, leaders were delivering speeches one after the other. But the crowd of people was reduced to one third only. Everything possible was done to keep the attention of the citizens and vigilance of the guards, as they were the only barrier that could divert a counter attack.. The morning of 6 October was ideal for it. The people were exhausted. The demonstrators were sleeping in the park. Dawn was breaking over Belgrade. All of us hoped that dawn will bring something new and it will never again be as it used to be.

At crack of dawn, I was in an office of the City Hall with all other leaders of the DOS. I wanted to be there. We assumed that if there were going to be an attack, it would happen at dawn. The people I was in touch with, members of the service did not have any news on any radical moves. On the contrary, all of them advised that the situation was calm.

Everything else belongs to history.

A REVOLUTION UNFINISHED

‘Some people find work terribly simple,
others find it simply terrible’

Fisher

The first victory over Milošević did not mean that the war had been won. I must admit that few people in the country were aware of this, including unfortunately those in the ruling coalition. Being placed at the source of information, I knew only too well that we could not say we have finished Milošević if we have not dismantled the regime which had brought the nation to the brink of ruin. With the passage of time it became increasingly obvious that the sixth of October was the triumph of the forces of destruction. Too few charges had been brought against the people who had been the pillars of the regime and who were objectively to blame, but most of these were never even processed. The enormous financial power the former regime had not earned but plundered and still possessed threatened to boomerang on the DOS (Democratic Opposition of Serbia) because a number of Milošević stalwarts had been allowed to keep their former positions under the new government. The most influential of these by far were the head of Serbian State Security (SDB), Rade Marković, and the Chief of the General Staff, General Nebojša Pavković. They employed the same tactics, which consisted in singing praises of patriotism and reform in order to insinuate themselves into Koštunica’s favour. First, they overawed the Koštunica office with their information and their prophecy that the two important institutions at whose head they stood would ground to a halt in case they were sacked; then, having satisfied themselves that Koštunica had fallen for their story hook, line and sinker, they offered to resign. Under the influence of his advisers, and also owing to his own indecision, Koštunica as a rule turned these offers down. The coalition partners and the conflicts of interest within the DOS also played into their hands. There is written evidence that Rade Marković tendered his resignation to Koštunica, and Nebojša Pavković told a Collegium meeting after Milošević’s arrest that he had offered his resignation to Koštunica on fifteen occasions but that Koštunica had turned them down all. Marković saw to it that his Sixth Directorate, which provides

security for important persons, looked after the head of Koštunica's office, Ljiljana Nedeljković, so that he could influence the President's decision through her.

For his part, Pavković played the game of 'divide and rule' with unusual brilliance, his office becoming the meeting place of people who until recently had been bitter opponents of the regime. Thanks to his frequent calls on Pavković, for instance, Vuk Obradović succeeded in getting his brother, an Air Force and Air Defence colonel who had been under a cloud prior to October 5, installed as director of the Federal Air Traffic Authority. But nothing surprised me more than learning that Velimir Ilić was among those who were seeing Pavković: whereas before October 5 he had claimed - and I believed him - that he had been persecuted by the Army, afterwards he began entering into pacts and deals with the very people who had been doing this to him. The tale Pavković was putting over on Ilić culminated in the assertion that Pavković had seen documents in the General Staff bearing out plans to carry out a state coup. According to Ilić, Perišić had been planning to pull this off before being sacked and kill off the leaders of the then opposition into the bargain! Whoever changes government by murdering the opposition? Who was supposed to have taken over with the entire opposition dead?

After October 5 General Milan Đaković and General Aca Vasiljević interrogated Colonel Sekulić, accused as Perišić's second in command, demanding that he tell them what he knew about the alleged documents and threatening him with prison. All this was taking place shortly after October 5. All they found were some documents pertaining to a proposal to impose a state of emergency in Kosovo and Metohija and nothing on a classic state coup. I had opportunity to study the whole plan and I know that it bears no resemblance to the version that was made public. Pavković knew how to play the good host, and he presented his guest from Čačak with a pistol and placed an armoured Cherokee jeep at his disposal. To this day I am at a loss to understand what made Ilić, who had rendered inestimable service in the October 5 overthrow, seek the company of Pavković. Soon afterwards Pavković set up an anti-Montenegro lobby; he knew his way about the morass of politics better than most and he always kept his head above the water.

The need to keep abreast of developments in the Army and its various services continued, so General Perišić was appointed Serbian Deputy Prime Minister and elected President of the Federal Assembly Security Committee. The Serbian government also put him in charge of national security and, as far as I was concerned, he was sufficiently competent to deal with information of that kind. After all, it was the Serbian government that appointed and the Federal Assembly that elected him to the post.

At that time the public was keenly interested to learn more about the fate of Milošević's generals. Roksanda Ninčić provided much information in the following analysis that she wrote:

Why Nebojša Pavković Was not Replaced

PLAYING IT SAFE

With eager circles in DOS considering it impermissible that the compromised military leadership should have remained intact after the collapse of the Milošević oligarchy, the favourite maxim of those close to Vojislav Koštunica is, 'all in good time'.

Meanwhile, General Nebojša Pavković, the former regime's eminent standard-bearer, keeps his post as Chief of the General Staff of the Yugoslav Army.

The ruling family is gone and its ideological-police-propaganda-financial oligarchy is in disarray. Although individuals, groups and whole sets have been made to leave these departments - even Minister of Internal Affairs Vljako Stojiljković has been removed - the tarnished military leadership alone remains complete. Why?

This question is being increasingly asked by the DOS and its supporters, and especially by former officers.

To this question, the circles close to the President of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Vojislav Koštunica, keep replying, 'all in good time'.

THE METAMORPHOSIS: The attitude of the VJ before and after the elections was such as to provide both camps with rather valid arguments. In this short period of time, the VJ passed through three phases, namely: up to the polling day on September 24 it solicited votes for Milošević and his wife as if the two were paying them out of their own pockets and would go on doing so indefinitely; then they fell silent between September 24 and October 5; and, finally, from October 6 on they began swearing by the Constitution, the law and Koštunica on a daily basis.

But let us recall some details from the run-up to the election.

A month or so before the polls were due the General Staff drew up a plan of electioneering support with the chief object of persuading the officers, pensioners and citizens to vote for Milošević.

As part of the project, the General Staff's Morale Directorate wrote 'theses for the information of the members of the VJ' signed by Lieutenant-General Milan Simić. It was in this way that the VJ members were informed about 'the conditions in which the election is taking place, the aims of the patriotic forces in the country, the aims of the enemy forces and the collaborationists...' A sentence began: 'The patriotic forces with the President of the FRY at their head...' - so let there be no mistake!

The Army leaders then put their shoulders to the wheel, and if they did not succeed in everything it was not because they did not try. Intelligence circles say that about 10 generals stood above the rest in trying to protect the former regime; among them is the former Minister of Defence, General Dragoljub Ojdanić, who is busy these days trying to prove that none of his villas was equipped with a Jacuzzi bath and that he had no idea whatever what Pavković was doing. The group includes the commanders of strategic formations: General Srboljub Trajković, who was often seen in the company of Mira Marković, Lieutenant-General Vladimir Lazarević, General Milorad Obradović, notably General Spasoje Smiljanić, General Milan Zec...

D-DAY: On September 18 Nebojša Pavković declared September 24 'D-day' on which the Army would prevent any attempt to 'take power by force in the streets'.

Meanwhile the DOS pressed ahead with the preparations and former VJ members made their invaluable contribution. At panel discussions and in the media, they kept telling the citizens that the interests of the regime of Slobodan Milošević were not those of the state and nation, that serving the regime did not mean serving the state and nation - quite the contrary. Second, they stressed their firm conviction that the members of the VJ and the police understood this difference and would know for whom to vote at

the 'fateful elections'. Third, they kept warning that the person who ordered the Army to train the weapons on the people would be the first to go, that one could never be sure that the weapons would not be used first against the person who have the order.

The DOS leaders had come to believe that the Army and the lower-ranking officers were in no mood to defend the regime by force. They had been receiving information about discord in the units, in most of which only one or two officers backed Milošević and the rest were against. The regime certainly could not count on such units to defend it with the force of arms. Nonetheless, few doubted that Milošević would not issue the order to use the Army, and that Pavković would not try to carry it out.

In the evening of D-day, September 24, the notorious Federal Election Commission adjourned and went to ground just as election returns began coming in from the Army, the police and the prisons, that is, when it saw that all three services had voted overwhelmingly in support of Koštunica.

AN OMINOUS SILENCE: After this, the Army suddenly ceased making statements. That it did not react to the opposition's allegations of vote rigging was to be expected; but, significantly, it did not publicly support Milošević's ruse of proclaiming a run-off vote. True, Pavković paid a late-night visit to the Kolubara mines in order to talk the miners into ending their strike, but when he failed, he appeared quite unruffled.

DOS sources say that the Collegium (comprising Pavković and his closest associates including his deputy and assistants and heads of independent directorates - some 12 to 15 men in all) held several dramatic meetings after September 24. Differences of opinion were heard that further widened the cracks in the edifice whose foundations had already been shaken at the elections.

While it is highly unlikely that any of the generals became a supporter of the democratic opposition overnight in those days, one detected in some of them a weakening of their 'fighting spirit and morale' and a growing determination to keep their senior posts even under a president whom until very recently they saw as a traitor surrounded by even worse mercenaries and spies. As the popular disenchantment with Milošević grew, so did their survival instinct.

It was in those days that the Army actually turned its back on Milošević. 'By remaining ominously silent after the election the generals let it be known that they had no intention of carrying out the order that hung in the air but was never given,' says Dragan Vukšić, former senior VJ officer and current adviser in Momčilo Perišić's Movement for Democratic Serbia.

THE PRESSURES: Speaking about October 5 on New RTS, Pavković said later, no doubt untruthfully, that as far as the Army was concerned it was a 'normal' day. 'Our assessment was that the demonstrations would be peaceful and that there would be no provocations of the VJ. We took no special measures.' What about the tanks and armoured vehicles that rolled out from Banjica in the direction of the city during the afternoon? 'Part of the forces were brought out to monitor the situation...They were not intended to intervene.'

'Does anyone in this state believe that I am the kind of person who would use the Army to defend something which cannot be defended?' Pavković exclaimed.

The general had obviously realized that some things could not be defended before the man whom he was then addressing as 'Supreme Commander' did. On October 5 Milošević reassured his panic-stricken media bosses that 'Pavković's coming' and kept ringing his Chief of the General Staff to ask him, 'Pavković, have you started yet?' The hawkish generals around Pavković too were straining at the leash to fall upon the hundreds of thousands of 'spies, collaborationists, lackeys, mercenaries and traitors' from all over Serbia who had flooded into downtown Belgrade.

But Pavković chose not to move, a decision for which he ought to be given credit because that way he prevented bloodshed.

A top Army official must have been in touch with the DOS leaders, for on the evening of October 5 Studio B, which had just been liberated, kept running a text message urging the citizens not to disperse because word was that a counter-strike would be attempted at dawn. The information was later confirmed but no intervention took place.

'HE' TAKES OVER: The news that the Army leadership had met was announced the next morning, and the citizens were left wondering why no statement on the military's position had been made. Somewhat later it became clear why.

It was learned that on that occasion and in consequent meetings the generals had debated how to convince the new President (to whom they referred as Koštunica or 'he') that any change at the Army top would be a disaster and that the Army would have none of that. When on the morning of October 6 Pavković turned up at the Presidency building in New Belgrade - Koštunica had entered it a little while before for the first time in his life - he acknowledged the hitherto opposition leader as the new lawful President and Army commander in war and peace. Pavković also added that while he was prepared to accept any decision regarding his own status, he advised Koštunica to put off any personnel changes until the lawful organs of government had been constituted. Then he took Koštunica to see Milošević. The military had decided that its fortune hinged on Milošević resigning, so Milošević bowed out that same evening.

This business having been got over with, the General Staff resumed issuing statements reaffirming its loyalty to Koštunica: 'The Army has taken the side of its people and upheld the lawfully elected President of the FRY and President of the Supreme Council of Defence' or 'the election of Vojislav Koštunica as head of state has solved the question of supreme command' or 'the situation in the Army is such as to guarantee that every task set by the President of the FRY will be carried out..'

THE RATIONALE: The assurances that the Army was loyal to the legitimate President was a most welcome news in the politically unstable situation in which the country had found itself. But - as Vukšić observed - was it now proper for Pavković to claim payment for his decision not to order the Army to open up on the people?

People began to speculate under their breath that Pavković and Koštunica may have made some prior arrangements, a possibility the circles close to the new President vehemently denied. The only thing they granted was that some civilians around Pavković who knew Koštunica may have persuaded him that Koštunica was not a spy and an adventurer but a sensible person who does not hold with revanchism.

After all - we were asked - what else ought Koštunica to have done? Ought he to have told Pavković, in those critical days, You get me the loyalty of the Army and then I'll settle with you easily? Apart from Pavković's decision not to bow to the hawks on October 5, the Army did provide a factor of stability in the short period under the new authorities and was expected to continue supporting them in the future. There was much speculation at the time about the wayward paramilitary and quasi-police formations about whom very few people had reliable information and even fewer could guess what damage they could do. So who if not the Army - the next argument ran - can protect the citizens and the new government from that lot? Who if not the Army is capable of thwarting someone's adventurous ambitions to turn the tables and usurp the Presidency while Koštunica is, say, on one of his frequent necessary trips?

THE COMPETENCE: The final argument of the supporters of Koštunica's cautious attitude towards the military was that whatever objections one may have against Pavković's erstwhile unpardonable political affiliation and his love of realty, one could not deny that he was a competent officer who had saved many soldiers' lives and salvaged much materiel during the NATO bombing.

Vukšić brushed off this thesis with indignation: 'A man cannot be a good soldier if he has placed himself at the service of a wrong policy and strategy, if he failed, among other things, to point out that we must never go to that war. Ought he to be commended for successfully prosecuting a disastrous warlike policy? It is equally untrue that he saved all those soldiers and materiel in Kosovo. I know for a fact that the Army knew exactly which targets were going to be bombed. Why, on the second day of the air raids Wesley Clark phoned Ojdanić (then Chief of the VJ General Staff) to inquire whether we had come to our senses; having got the reply, he warned that the raids were going to be progressive, systematic and devastating. The meaning of this was quite clear.' Vukšić stressed that he was saying these things for the sake of the truth, not because he wanted to go back to the Army. 'Because the officer's honour and pride have been trampled on, I intend never to put on the uniform again,' he said.

Whatever the pros and cons of each argument, those who predict that Pavković will not remain in the position of Chief of the General Staff indefinitely are most probably right. His turn will come when the new government and parliament begin to function and the DOS consolidates its grip on power. However, one can only wait so much.

On the one hand, the Army would have to be placed under the command of other men before questions of its future orientation within the framework of the new pro-European policy reach the agenda. This includes revival of bilateral military cooperation, possible accession to the Partnership for Peace (which has already welcomed the FRY), and sorting out the particularly bad relationship with NATO, with almost the entire Army leadership barred entry into Western states. On the other hand, one notices that the public is somewhat impatient to see the first indictments of those in the Army and others who abused their office, stole, intimidated...

Roksanda Ninčić

KOŠTUNICA ADDRESSES MILOŠEVIĆ'S GENERALS

“The difference between love and a sinful love affair is in that the latter one lasts longer.”

Grossberger

The old head of the General Staff gladly embraced his new boss. Their discussions at the General Staff meeting on 11.10.2000 proceeded as follows:

MEETING OF THE VJ GENERAL STAFF

Convened at 08.15, concluded at 10.30

Attendance:

Reg.No.	VJ General Staff Organizational Unit	Rank, Name and Family Name
26.	FRY President	Mr Vojislav Koštunica
27.	Federal Minister of Defense	Gen. Dragoljub Ojdanić
28.	Chief of the General Staff	Gen. Nebojša Pavković
29.	Deputy Chief of the General Staff	Gen. Svetozar Marjanović
30.	Adviser to the Chief of the General Staff for Operational Staff Affairs	Gen. Miodrag Simić
31.	Assistant Chief of the General Staff for Land Forces	Gen. Ljubiša Simić
32.	Assistant Chief of the General Staff for Air Force and Air Defence	Gen. Branislav Petković
33.	Assistant Chief of the General Staff for the Navy	Gen. Vlade Nonković
34.	Assistant Chief of the General Staff for Mobilization and Status Questions	Gen. Stamenko Nikolić
35.	Assistant Chief of the General Staff for Schooling, Education and Textbook-publishing Department (ŠONID)	Gen. Zlatoje Terzić
36.	Assistant Chief of the General Staff for Communications, Reconnaissance and Electronic	Gen. Grujica Uskoković

	Measures	
37.	Assitant Chief of the General Staff for Logistics	Gen. Branislav Obradović
38.	VJ Inspectorate	Gen. Ninoslav Krstić
39.	Security Directorate	Gen. Milan Djaković
40.	Intelligence Directorate	Gen. Branko Krga
41.	Reconnaissance and Morale Directorate of the General Staff	Gen. Milen Simić
42.	1st Directorate	Gen. Djordje Čurčin
43.	Chief of Staff of the Chief of the General Staff	Gen. Dragan Živanović
44.	Head of 5 th Directorate	Gen. Živorad Vujčić
45.	Commander of 1 st Army	Gen. Bogoljub Trajković
46.	Commander of 2 nd Army	Gen. Milorad Obradović
47.	Commander of 3 rd Army	Gen. Vladimir Lazarević
48.	Commander of Airforce and Air Defense	Gen. Spasoje Smiljanić
49.	Commander of the Navy	Adm. Milan Zec
50.	Head of FRY President's Military Office	Gen. Dr. Slavoljub Šubić
51.	Head of FRY President's Office	Mr. Miloš Jevtović

Gen. Nebojša Pavković

Mr President Sir, Messrs generals, allow me to extend to you a cordial welcome on behalf of the General Staff and all members of the Yugoslav Army as well as on my own.

Today, we wish to inform you of the Yugoslav Army combat readiness, as well as about the problems and measures we have undertaken, i.e. that we are taking now.

Mr President, in further course of the session, my assistants will advise you of the condition of the VJ ordnance each in his field of authority. I wish you to feel well among us and that this reporting may complete the picture of the situation in VJ.

Gen. Nebojša Pavković

I believe there must be a contradiction in the preceding paragraph with regard to what you said about a more difficult situation concerning the drafting, it is true, but I think that in his conclusion he made a different assessment. Mr. President, it is about our assessment that in the current situation we judge that there could occur problems in the drafting for some combat units in some regions of the country, where perhaps there was a strong influence exerted by political parties on their members who are at the same time members of our combat units, but we hope that as the situation in our country stabilizes the problem will be reconciled as we form our combat units first of all for the defense of our country, this means on patriotic grounds where high conscience of our fighters would certainly be expressed regardless on their political affiliation. It means it is only a problem. As some believe that now, during this period problems would occur with regard to their response, their attitude when they join our units would be same as it used to be during the nineties. I give the floor to general Milen Simić who will speak about the morale. Please stick to the time schedule.

Gen. Milen Simić

Mr. President, Messrs generals, in the next few minutes I will point out the essential characteristics of the morale within the VJ in the first nine months of 2000. The assessments that I will present are based on the morale of the commanding staff, strategic-operative groups, sections and directorates of VJ as well as of other combat readiness elements. Also, all the assessments are based on indicators obtained by research of basic manifestations of the morale on a qualified sample of nearly 6,200 members of the army and some manifestations on over 30,000. Bearing in mind the achieved level of combat readiness of the commands and VJ institutions, the maturity they expressed, constitutional and professional attitude of the members of the army concerning the presidential and parliamentary elections in our country, we assess that the unity of the army was preserved. Despite the influence of many negative factors in the current situation, good and stable condition of the morale within our army was preserved facilitating execution of its basic constitutional mission. This was complimented by a realistic and timely evaluation of the military-political and security state of affairs in the country and in the region. The resolution of the crises after 24th September, very good military-professional, morale-psychological and psycho-physical training of VJ members for successful completion of their missions, highly expressed patriotic principles and confidence in their superior officers and the command staff of VJ, satisfying rebuilding of VJ facilities destroyed during the aggression, relatively good rear lines security, perfect interpersonal relations and good mood within the units, commands and VJ institutions. By the results of the research in the first nine months of 2000, on the presented representative sample, the following has been concluded, that in average 90% of army members express unreserved readiness to defend the freedom, independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity from any foreign imperil. That 90% of the army firmly believes that it is possible to defend the country from any foreign aggression. That 88% of the army members confides in the military leadership, their direct senior officers, the VJ ordnance available for our units and military institutions. That over 90% are satisfied with the interpersonal relations within the units and institutions and particularly with the care paid to men, their friendship and solidarity. That 85% express a high level of pride

and identification with their units and institutions. Extremely positive influence currently exerted on the members is the peaceful solution of the post electoral crises and returning of all political processes within the constitutional and legal framework, VJ conduct and attitude in compliance with the constitution during the crises, preserved unity and good interpersonal relations in the commands, units and institutions of VJ. This highly professional conduct of the army resulted mostly from the contribution made by our senior officers and their authority, highly expressed maturity and responsibility for the future of the country. A considerable contribution to such state of morale was provided by measures taken on rebuilding of combat readiness as a whole in which participated numerous commands, informative, psychological-propaganda activities undertaken in units on the grounds of the evaluation. At that time, the following factors produced a negative effect on the morale of VJ members. Firstly and as afore mentioned failure to apply the provisions of the UNSC Resolution 1244 and the Military-technical Agreement. The complex political-security and economic situation in the region and within the country. Constant fall of the living standard of the VJ members, although this year some measures were taken to stop the fall by legal measures concerning the salaries and the provision of accommodation for VJ members. A huge number of accommodation problems and low incomes affected about 80% of VJ members. A particular problem for the units in the last nine months of 2000 was increased psycho-physical tensions and exhaustion due to extremely low filling of units and overload of troops and officers with special missions in particular in the units that were engaged in securing the state border and the land security zone. The social-psychological state in the units is currently satisfactory. Troops and officers successfully adapted to the post war conditions of living and working and have no specific difficulties although they survived an attack by the greatest world force.

Mr President, on the grounds of the afore mentioned state of morale, despite all difficulties, we assess that VJ morale is stable and makes possible for VJ to successfully perform its constitutional role in compliance with your directions. This is all, thank you.

Gen. Milan Djaković

Mr President, Messrs. generals and admirals. The state of affairs in the country in the post elections period is burdened by a number of events disturbing public peace and order and threatening to slip out of control of governmental agencies and institutions. Noticeable disunity in performing duties resulted in a slowed reconstruction of agencies and units of the MUP. Attempts by certain political factors to exert influence on certain units of the MUP and win them over for accomplishing of their own goals, makes the situation even more complex. Widespread confusion is manipulated to the advantage of various para-police forces, criminal armed groups and individuals who under alleged auspices of the new regime, and new democratic processes attempt to take on the roles of certain state institutions. Particular threat presents a possibility that these forces may misuse arms to allegedly “pacify the situation” in certain localities. The greatest danger for peace in the country present armed formations formed on a party-political and criminal grounds of 5,000 – 6,000 men and other groups and individuals engaged on various grounds to secure buildings, persons and smuggling channels. Besides, according

to our knowledge, citizens hold tens of thousands of weapons remaining after the conflicts on the territory of former Yugoslavia. We assess that additional imperil for the country present actions and performance of the crises boards taking over industrial, informative, financial and other federal and republican institutions. So far, forceful changeover of directors and managements was carried out in 65 companies, institutions and they are prepared for changeover in about another 20 companies of particular interest for the defense of the country. Those companies produce weapons, military equipment, and dangerous material that could be misused or cause ecological problems. The state of affairs in the land security zone is still complex with tendencies of worsening. Attacks on members of the MUP and on citizens by the Albanian terrorist forces provoke broad insecurity and fear. Propaganda against certain VJ officers is still present aiming at their discrediting among the domestic and international public ranging from invitations to express their political affiliation to open threats to certain senior officers and their families. Generally, the situation in the country is very complex and unpredictable with possible sudden changes, which requires urgent planned involvement by all relevant authorities of the state to consolidate the situation. A special role belongs to agencies and units of the MUP who, by planned actions, must restore the disturbed security system, provide a full control of possible para-police and criminal groups and prevent theft of private and state ownership. If the MUP forciers were not able to fully reinstate the disturbed security system, we suggest the engagement of parts of the military force for that mission with a special stress on safeguarding of federal institutions of a particular significance. The security situation within VJ is, despite the current events, stable and VJ is ready to carry out planned missions. Preventive actions of security forces provide timely detection and effective break off and so far no major negative influence on the state of security. The state of security is endangered to a certain extent by activities within the country and in the wider region by a foreign factor and its constant assaults on professional military staff, commands and units. The state of security is further negatively affected by extremism of individuals belonging to various circles and criminal groups and their assaults on VJ individuals and institutions. Lately, increased threats have been noticed from activities of various sects attempting to penetrate into VJ and their spreading of negative influence among troops, in addition, there is an increased number of individuals who enjoy narcotics. In the pre and the post elections periods members of VJ conduct was in accordance with the VJ laws and its constitutional position. We are of the opinion and propose measure to be taken aiming at political factors to strictly appreciate the VJ's nonpolitical position. On the basis of this report, we consider VJ stable and able to resist any influence by political parties and other influences. However, conditions in VJ and in particular its financial situation will make a considerable impact on the state of security in VJ.

Gen. Milorad Obradović

Mr President, Messrs. generals and admirals. Due to time shortage I will report only on the essential indicators characteristic for the situation of combat readiness of the 2nd Army. We assess that the combat readiness 2nd Army judging by all parameters is stable and good. This stability has been manifested during a longer period and we assume that it will remain so in the days to come. Due to the structure of the army overall, the

area of responsibility of the 2nd Army covers $\frac{3}{4}$ of the territory of Montenegro and about $\frac{1}{4}$ of Serbia and regarding many matters, the situation in the 2nd Army is specific. It is also our assessment that that this military formation is, inter alia, a significant provider of peace and stability as well as a factor of protection throughout its zone of responsibility. In the carrying out of its planned missions in accordance with the law and the Constitution we have confirmed our role.

Mr President, I wish to point out that all 2nd Army units were formed in accordance with the current laws and regulations, directions by relevant commands are carried out accordingly and the seventh battalion I suppose is well known to you. It is a very good unit.

Gen. Nebojša Pavković

As time has run out, Mr. President, I would like to conclude this part of the reporting, I wish to thank you for your attention and for listening to the reports on the basic structural practical problems of the VJ and would like to underline the following: Yugoslav Army is an armed force of our nation and all nationalities and is practically the sole institution on the federal level under the direct command of the FRY President. That is, it is the wand with which you command, conduct, in comparison with all other federal institutions. During the recent events in our country, and in particular during 1998 and 1999, we proved that we were well organized, united, we demonstrated a high level of professionalism and patriotism. At the time, and in earlier years, we were faced with complex circumstances and I think we resisted every pressure, all attempts to inject disunity and discord into the VJ. Events during the post elections period too, as well as of today, proved that we have evaluated the situation in a highly professional way and have brought the right decisions. Naturally, our work included elements of diplomacy as various influences from all sides requested us to do so. Mr. President, Yugoslav Army remained practically untouched by all attempts by some of our former colleges and by other influences, their attempts to bring in, to enter into the military structure and try to act from inside causing its break up and disintegration. We reject all statements including general 's and of all others that I read it in today's press claiming that only thanks to them the army had remained in their barracks etc. Here are the most reliable men who know how incorrect those attempts were and what was actually going on. Yesterday, in a brief discussion with you, I briefly reported to you on the opinion of this staff, we simply think that in the closest consultation with the people present here we should discuss the proposals concerning the VJ staffing matters as we, who know the best about the situation and know one another, by all means will suggest those people who could further act on the preservation of unity and restoration of combat readiness of the army. Of course, all of us here are of the opinion that hasty decisions should not be brought and under pressure by various political leaders, however, some people who simple do not understand the situation in the army, at least until federal institutions have been constituted, i.e. the parliament and the government, both the federal and of the republics, which is about to begin, and until the situation in our country has been made stable, and then, of course, I will be the first one to be prepared, probably my colleges too, to act as you allow. I would like to warn you that surely there are certain attempts to destabilize the army through which act they wish to exert influence on the institution of the President

of FRY, who has just occupied his post. We, of course, cannot accept pressures and with that regard would suggest you to have full confidence in the Yugoslav Army and neither should you expect any surprises nor the army will step over its constitutional limits. The current situation concerning the illegal actions of some crisis boards and certain informal armed groups could have been easily stopped, but it would have resulted in taking the Army beyond its constitutional authority and its regular missions performed without permission by the Supreme Commander, that is you and that would not be good. Therefore, we will further act like this and it is up to you to judge when we will be needed to provide protection of important institutions, to take them back, to prevent them from ending up like some others already have. I thank you for your attention and it is planned for the Minister of Defense to present a brief report.

Federal Minister of Defense, Dragoljub Ojdanić

Mr President, may I be allowed, as a former Head of General Staff and the current Defense Minister, to express my agreement with all on what the General Staff and its Head have reported here, without going into some more or less important details. Concerning the combat readiness situation within the VJ, I will point out only some ... matters concerning the statements made here today.

President of FRY, Vojislav Koštunica

Messrs. Generals and Admirals, this is my second meeting with the General Staff, I hold almost daily meetings with general Pavković, regular consultations and this reflects my attitude toward the Yugoslav Army. I will say now, as circumstances are irregular, difficult, now and then this matter is discussed in what is called in our Serbian language, into which have intruded so many foreign words, the media, the media talk about confidence and no confidence in the VJ, I can repeat what I said in our first meeting and what I frequently publicly declare that I have full confidence in the VJ and its General Staff. In that respect, I think the matter is clear. However, of course, we all have reasons to worry and our worry comes from the current events taking place in our country concerning a matter called the post elections period. The post elections period in the majority of states is a matter that does not attract any attention, after all in the majority of countries the elections themselves, I refer to multiparty elections, do not attract any major attention. It is almost a regular situation, it is almost a matter that in such countries does not attract any major attention, maybe one of the indicators of a country's stability is a high level of electoral abstinance. Thus, a great number of voters do not participate in elections simply because the elections may bring about just a minor change and for that reason there is no major political response. In our country, the situation was different, as you know, there was not a high level of abstinance, the number of voters in the elections was high and the situation after the elections was turbulent. Therefore, all together is atypical for political structures in which multiparty systems exist for a long time, where parties change over in power on a regular basis and without any shocks. In such systems, of course, events following elections have no impact whatsoever on the position of an Army, its responsibilities and what is known as a state security. Just because I am talking about the post elections period and because it is not a

regular post elections period and because of what marks it, and what marks it is a crises, very often in your reporting you keep pointing out a necessity to stabilize the situation in the country. Let me now try to somehow summarize in what aspect the stabilization of the situation is seen. But let me point out again that your assessments concerning activities in the region are satisfactory. Therefore, there are no threats from outside. Even a certain change can be noticed manifesting in a slightly more balanced relations between the world super powers, certain integration, Europe, it seems, has lately had more influence on what marks the world of today and that is American hegemony. So, certain barriers toward the American hegemony are turning up, I think it has been obvious lately, basically it presents a positive fact because the world without a balance is no good world, and the world with any kind of balance or balanced relations between great powers, particularly with what could present a barrier or a counterweight to the American hegemony, is desirable. In that regard, certain positive changes are in view and therefore, I think, we should not expect threats from that side, except, of course, unless it is about the side concerning the situation in Kosovo, activities of the Albanian terrorists, about a specific relationship between the international community forces and the Albanian terrorists only from that side threats may come, from other sides I think there are no threats. On the other hand, your assessments, if I can make such a résumé, concerning the situation in the Yugoslav Army, regardless of all difficulties with which the army has been boasting both in war and peace in the recent years, it is your assessment that the security situation in the army is stable. Regardless of all the problems with filling in of vacancies, financing, problems concerning drafting, old-fashioned armament etc. All together, it means that the problems have occurred after the elections, I wish to outline it schematically. What happens after elections? After elections in normal circumstances and in democratic systems in which democracy has been running for a long time, simply a changeover of a regime occurs. And there it ends. We have here a dominant factor, the electoral crises. It has been provoked by a conflict over the real electoral results and this is what has brought the turmoil and instability in our society. Had it not been so, I must say, I talked about that in our last meeting, had the changeover of power occurred earlier, I think, there would not have been so much tension in our society. But we are now faced with the situation and simply have to keep trying both we, the politicians, and you, the soldiers, to find a proper solution to stabilize the situation. May I say that after the elections we also have a momentum which I think is important and which predicts a better social life and possibly better perspectives for the resolving of the financial situation within the VJ. This alone means the lifting of the EU sanctions and, thus, placing of our country into a more favourable position, without isolation, without pressures from abroad, the lifting of the sanctions, as you know by the meeting in Luxembourg, refers not only to oil and air flights, it offers possibilities to establish relations between our country and the international financial institutions, it offers possibilities for foreign loans, investments regardless whether on a bilateral or a European level, it offers many concrete issues like clearing of the Danube. I think that, you will agree, those are positive facts and a framework for our further steps. I mean that in all our discussions so far, I wish you to note, we have absolutely not gone any further. Apart from attempts to get the international sanctions lifted, no prerequisites were discussed, neither would we have accepted any prerequisites, in the post I am occupying I will certainly not accept any preconditions or even more, blackmail. The partnership for

piece was also mentioned here. To my knowledge, and also in my discussions with a number of foreign delegations, there was no word about it. I am aware that this matter could absolutely not be discussed without prior consultations with VJ. You would remember that a few years ago there were some incentives within the political circles or within the VJ itself, you would remember this idea was initiated, but in my opinion this simply cannot be initiated on an individual basis, it can only be discussed on the grounds of serious consultations within the VJ. This has not been discussed so far.

Let me turn back to the post electoral crises and the social instability. We are aware of the majority of the problems, we have reacted to some of them on an individual basis, some of them presented a real surprise, on one occasion general Pavković called my attention to the incident concerning the Federal Flight Control, I immediately replied that, of course, I was not informed about the matter and that, of course, I do not approve it. But there are some occurrences slipping out of our control, the problem is in that we have not completed our federal institutions, we must speed up consultations concerning constitution of a government, parliament and then the situation will calm down. What I have been trying to do from the very beginning, to an extent within my power, my authority, and my authorities are special in regard to VJ, is actually to install a regular order, therefore the idea to call a meeting of the VSO [Supreme Defense Council]. I mean, it is one of the measures which simply make it possible to put things in order, that the institution which was not functioning in recent years and was not in session for several years, meet and actually today's meeting was supposed to be a VSO meeting, but we were advised by Podgorica that President Djukanović due to a minor injury was not able to travel to Belgrade, as I insisted that the meeting must take place in Belgrade, and it will take place in Belgrade as soon as he recovers. And then again you must be aware that part of the problems with which we are faced with which I am faced in our society and in VJ has been inherited. Look at this session of the VSO, it is something I have inherited like, so to say, a hot potato, but I think that all those problems must be discussed observing legal procedures and if anything marks me as a person and as a politician, then it is absolute support to and, be assured, respect of the Constitution, observing of laws and in that regard I very much appreciate VJ's conduct within its constitutional authorities in those difficult circumstances, we will certainly evaluate how the situation will further develop, we will attempt through discussion with the MUP, to consolidate the MUP, to solve the matter again within the constitutional framework and if it turns, God forbid, in a wrong direction, I think it will not, then we will discuss it further here concerning what was said here, and that it is securing of the facilities of a particular importance for the society, or the facilities for special purposes producing products of a strategic interest for VJ.

And the last thing I have to say, I am trying and I will keep trying to remain within legal procedures and to control instability of this society with all possible means, and be convinced that I will have the same approach toward VJ. Consequently, right now we have to preserve one institution of importance for the security of our state and our people, and this is particularly important now at the beginning of processes for the constitution of new institutions, and that is the Yugoslav Army. Right now, on the federal level, we have a President of Yugoslavia, we have the Yugoslav Army and it has to remain so, to be preserved on this level, and with this level of unity we must overcome the crises in which we have found ourselves. I will repeat again that had the

circumstances been different, had our development so far been different, there would have been changeovers before and everything would have developed in a regular way, but I must say that on the other hand it is difficult to expect something different if the country was, really, the whole country was put in jail, thanks to the last year's NATO aggression, those are simple facts which we have to face and we must overcome this great temptation in which the country was pushed, but were it only up to us, up to the VJ, up to me, as the President of FRY, I am convinced that we shall overcome the crises. Thank you.

THE ARMY ESTABLISHES ITS OWN TV CHANNEL

‘The emulous man is invariably corrupt’
Tchaikovsky

One found it hard to believe that these were the same men who had served under Milošević and even harder that Koštunica talked to them that way. There was no hint whatever of any personnel and functional reforms. Pavković and his team saw their chance in this lack of decision and ignorance. So they went a stage further by deciding to launch a propaganda campaign. Since they no longer enjoyed unrestricted access to RTS and could not use its resources, they decided to establish their own TV channel. The VJ had both equipment, some of which had been seized from ‘undesirable’ journalists in Kosovo, and personnel who could make this work. When there is a will there is a means, so the decision was put into practice. The equipment cost more than 800,000 US dollars and was imported through a firm in Montenegro and another from Čačak which later had problems collecting the money from the VJ. The funds were not arranged for in the budget but this did not matter at the time. The TV channel had high ambitions, it had both money and equipment including the Army transmitters, and it did not take long for an experimental programme to be launched. But the public began to complain and asked Yugoslav attaches abroad to find out whether other armies had their TV channels too and how often foreign generals appeared in public. The reply was negative, the channel stopped broadcasting soon afterwards and, as far as I know, part of its equipment was placed at the disposal of the notorious Army commission under generals Zlatoje Terzić and Geza Farkaš set up to monitor Hague proceedings and cooperate with the Tribunal (actually Milošević). Let those Army members who live in cellars for want of better accommodation work out how many flats could have been bought had not this money been squandered.

* * *

Gen. Nebojša Pavković

Let's stick to the schedule and hear an opinion on what we can do with this television equipment we've got. Simić, where is it? Krga, Đaković and Simić probably know something about it, can we put all that together and organize some sort of internal television network? Given that we've got some gear here in the centre, and what was

confiscated out there, let's see what we need that could be made use of and what good it would do to have such a TV channel. Any ideas what could be done? Simić, do you have any information?

Maj.-Gen. Grujica Uskoković

General, the *** (EI) and *** (PED) units used to have television equipment for TV monitoring and jamming, but that was handed over to Radio Television Serbia as agreed, so we haven't got that any more. I don't know when it was handed over, it must have been earlier on.

Gen. Nebojša Pavković

I know when Oplenac was turned over. We've now got the confiscated equipment, two truckloads from Montenegro.

Lieut.-Gen. Zlatoje Terzić

That was closed-circuit television, General.

Gen. Nebojša Pavković

Where is that equipment? Geza must know.

Gen. Svetozar Marjanović

Geza knows where those vehicles are.

Gen. Nebojša Pavković

Good, let's have a look at that, the VTA⁹ has its experts who can give some thought to what we can do with that. As to the Jutel¹⁰ equipment, I'm not sure, we've got none of that, we only installed it. Bursać, could your people and Uskoković have a quick look at that?

Maj.-Gen. Bursać

General, that's no problem. Just give a little time to find out what we've got in the way of equipment and I'll make my suggestions to you later.

Gen. Nebojša Pavković

Make it as soon as possible. The matter of equipment should be looked at together with the Security Directorate. We ought to give Simić some kind of order.

⁹ He is probably referring to the Military Technical Institute (VTI).

¹⁰ The TV channel established by the SFRY Government in the late 1980s. It was run by Ante Marković.

Lieut.-Gen. Miodrag Simić

For Simić to lay down the objectives, then we draw up an order to cover everything because we don't want to do it piecemeal.

Gen. Svetozar Marjanović

As far as I know, some of that equipment is being used for other purposes and some of it is lying about somewhere. I think some of it is being stored at Zuce but I cannot say for sure.

Gen. Nebojša Pavković

Uskoković, you co-ordinate these things with Bursać. Tell your people to give this thing some thought, why every small town in Serbia has A TV station of sorts, there's certainly something we too can have.

Read Admiral Vlade Nonković

General, this equipment...we and the Customs authorities are closely cooperating to solve the matter of that equipment that was not intended for use by the units. I mean, there's no doubt that the Customs dispatched the equipment to someone or other, I only wish to inform you that there's still a dispute as to that. Montenegro too wants the equipment returned, they are accusing us of things, they also want some boats back, and so on.

Gen. Nebojša Pavković

That equipment's here. Let's deal with the agenda and let us be brief. I suggest we only deal with current matters requiring urgent solution.

Lieut.-Gen. Milan Đaković

As to 7th Battalion, Baltić called on me last night, he'd brought along some document signed by the 2nd Army commander, Obradović, having to do with the future status of 7th Battalion. Baltić¹¹ wanted an interview with you, I think he doesn't have to say anything you already don't know. We must protect those people, they were there when we needed them, it wouldn't do to write them off now we don't need them and provoke dissatisfaction, resentment and so on.

Our assessment is that the Montenegrin government and Milo Đukanović will try to have that battalion eliminated as a military formation before the referendum. We ought to insist that its future be decided as part of the reorganization of the Army, when it comes to reorganizing the Army let the VSO [Supreme Defence Council] decide

¹¹ Colonel Rajko Baltić, commander of the semi-military VJ battalion.

how this matter will be decided and when. I think this should be our position when it comes to that.

All I can say is that this is very interesting, seeing as they are criticizing the Army and the service, insisting above all that the service wrote that act and so on. I think that you ought to know that a member of the Socialist Party was expelled from the Army in Kuršumlja, in Prokuplje, he had to go on account of his political involvement. But no DOS member was punished in this way, a few were only moved from one position to another for openly demanding that the soldiers be allowed to have their say and for urging them to vote for the DOS. For instance, a reservist in Zaječar said, I'm not here to be told who to vote for, I want you to give me some training, I want to learn things. So the officer in question was transferred to another post on account of his specific involvement. I wish to assure all of you here that no one was called to account who wasn't involved in some way or other. I assure you that this was so, we've got information on each of those who were transferred what he did and how he acted. After all, it was quite logical for them to act in that way, given that the DOS was stepping up its activities at the time.

Resistance is currently mounting in a number of towns in Montenegro such as Cetinje, Podgorica, Nikšić, Danilovgrad, Berane and so on. It will continue under the slogan, Milo we've had enough of you. The movement to topple the Montenegrin President is under way and the Montenegrin government and State Security are conducting a campaign to prevent this.

Gen. Nebojša Pavković

As to the matters raised by Đaković concerning 7th Battalion, we're going to see about that, we certainly won't do anything to the detriment of those people. However, I've received information, there's evidence that a small number of them are shady characters, with a criminal background of sorts, we have to sort that out. We've got the means - President Đukanović agrees that we propose how to break up that battalion, so we're going to do that. But we can't do that legally, you can't simply dismiss 800 officers from the Army who are professionals rather than there on a contract basis, you've got to think of the effects on them and the structures in Montenegro in general.

Gen. Nebojša Pavković

Regarding those articles in the press, you'll recall the pressure and the things they wrote immediately after the election, most of it having to do with me. In my later contacts with certain DOS leaders, some of them told me openly, Our intention was to bring you and the Army leadership down with the help of the media. They laid off until the other day, when I didn't agree to some demands as to what we as the Army are supposed to do. I'll be speaking about these demands at some length in due time. What I want you to know is, some of them declared they hadn't been able to penetrate the Army at all, but others said this had been and was being done, the Army leadership and the General Staff had been infiltrated and were regularly supplying them with information.

This fact was established by both the expanded and inner Collegiums, that man told me word for word what information was given, everything that was said and put

down in writing. I know the person involved and I'm going to make this known when the time comes. Such information or rather misinformation is causing those leaders to draw false conclusions about our unity and what goes on in the Army, there's mostly talk that President Koštunica is ignorant of the state of affairs in the Army and is therefore doing nothing to change the system of command, that is to make changes of personnel. If anybody thinks this is true, they will have an opportunity to say so at the joint Collegium on Saturday in the presence of the army commanders.

I let all those leaders I was in contact with know our position of principle on all our members who were either for the then opposition or the authorities. I gave them examples, the two generals who were in the JUL, those who were in Otpor, those who compromised themselves as SPO members, as Radicals, etc. This goes to prove that we had an even-handed approach. In those contacts they accused certain individuals and myself of having been attached to the government, to the regime, to which I replied, Why are you then recruiting people, why are you taking them under your wing if you consider that we oughtn't to ally ourselves with the authorities, that we oughtn't to be politically committed. What about the people who are on your side? Are they doing the right thing by being with you? Of course, there's no answer to that, but never mind.

It's basically a question of pressure. I have personally addressed the public, I'm not sure which newspapers published that, but those that lie the most and write untruth hadn't even the grace to carry the text whole, all they did was quote two or three words they'd got from some news agency or other. I'm saying again what I said then, that my entire property consists of, I'm entitled to one-half of the flat on Molerova Street, I have no car, there's the house under repair near Kruševac that my wife bought. I'm entitled to 60 square metres of that and the other half's hers. I'm not engaged in any business whatever, I have no other sources of income, I have no bank accounts whatever either here or abroad - I declare this under full responsibility. The house built out there, the one under construction on Užička Street¹² is being built by the Serbian Government, the Army is not contributing any funds towards its construction. It's not the only building under construction, there's the one being built for the Minister of Defence at 23 Andre Nikolića Street, it's been allotted to Ojdanić who had it pulled down and is having it rebuilt by the Serbian Government according to his own design. So nothing was given us.

This is the whole truth about that. Regarding my wife to whom I've been married since 1993, I can't say anything about her means because that wouldn't be correct, she acquired everything she's got before we got married. There is no doubt that that the object of all these accusations is to present us in a false light to the public and members of the Army. I paid another visit to President Koštunica yesterday - Žika and Smiljanić were there too - I suggested again that he solve my status by removing me from my present post. I'm going to put this in writing to make sure it stays on record. We set an expanded Collegium meeting for Saturday to review the situation once again in order to be able to draw conclusions about the combat readiness of the Army.

After that, we proposed to convene a session of the Supreme Defence Council that would be attended by members of the Chief of the General Staff Collegium, the strategic group commanders, Government and Ministry representatives, so we could present our assessment of the situation in the country and which way things may develop.

¹² The house started to be built for Pavković while Milošević was in power had over 1,000 square metres of floor space and a swimming-pool.

Both on Saturday and at the Supreme Defence Council session you'll be able to air your views. So let us please be equal to the occasion in a way that befits soldiers, men and generals and say what we have to say, because we don't want it to look like we're telling certain leaders tales in order to ingratiate ourselves. I'd like you to know that not two of the eighteen of them are quite agreed on any issue.

I suggested to President Koštunica that we from the inner Collegium including the group commanders hold a meeting with them to tell them what we think they are doing and how they are doing it and to hear their opinions about the Army. Some people are trying to paint a gloomy picture of the Army in order to score on the cheap. Take these things going on in the prisons - my assessment is that that's no accident, there's a carefully prepared scenario to provoke unrest, to spread a feeling of insecurity throughout Serbia through the Army, through...I fear we could have the same thing that happened in Albania, they want to manipulate the Army in order to break it up into all kinds of groups having their own interests, with parts of the 1st Army going one way, parts of the 3rd another, the Air Force...I am afraid things may turn out that way.

We have no reason...we told President Koštunica in those first two meetings that there's no problem, let everything get constituted, let everything get stabilized, let there be changes of personnel, but we can't have things laid at our door, we can't be blamed for things they themselves are currently advocating for all they're worth. They're seeking to tie some people in the Army to themselves and their parties while at the same time criticizing us for allegedly having been attached to some party or other. I trust you saw in yesterday's *Večernje novosti* how that guy lumped me together with that group, the former SPS bosses, there's this list of names...Milošević, Milutinović, Pavković, Marjanović, etc., first he includes me in that group, then he counts me among the regime people, then he mentions a villa associated with my name. It looks as though anyone can link my name to Beverly Hills and claim I own a villa there.

If people can't see through these games, well it's all right. I certainly shan't find it difficult to look anybody in this Collegium straight in the face at any time, I did that when I came here and I'll do the same before I leave, I always let people know my mind. As to those who are doing these things for some reason or other, well that's a blot on their character. I've been receiving information - I don't know whether the rest of you are aware - that we who are sitting here aren't united and that those who are watching us know.

You see, if you take a good look around you, you notice all kinds of things going on, it makes you wonder what kind of world you live in. We've no idea how much some people have. Why, a jerk who's reputed to be some sort of karate expert has things you can't see even in Beverly Hills - allegedly he does karate for a living - while we bicker over a two-room, one-room flat. On the other hand, people won't accept that we too may have earned some things. Some of us have worked for thirty years, surely we must have earned something too. People complain that we in the Army enjoy privileges and are paid handsomely, if they see your house and your car they want to know where you got it from, they're quick to point out that others haven't got that.

You see, we didn't come here as people without a background and without any means, we've got our relatives, our houses back home, our land. People think that we joined the Army as paupers, that we made a fortune in the Army. This is basically what people accuse us of. Our generals, our colonels, our sergeants...we live from hand to

mouth compared with some people I know. A man who's, say, ten or fifteen years my junior has possessions in this society of ours he couldn't possibly have earned by the work he does.

Why don't we sit down and have this thing out, if this is what we ought to do, let me deal with you one at a time, I'm going to tell each of you what I think and know about him and he can do the same about me. People sitting here think they're saints, that there's no information against them and that they're irreproachable, they think they can criticize others, but the story's quite different and when the time comes it'll come out into the open. It'll bubble up when we realize how double-faced and hypocritical we were, saying one thing and doing quite another. Well, there's no place for such people in the Army, the General Staff, this Collegium. I don't want to give offence to anyone, now is not the right moment, but I'm going to say this anyway. As to the leaking of documents from the other directorates, that speaks volumes for the state of affairs in those directorates, this matter can be sorted out without difficulty, but there's the problem of honour, people have their own interests and expect reward. If you happen to come across the 1966 order regarding the elections, you'll see that it's identical to the present one, it's exactly or almost the same. You see, in those days too there was an order to organize voting in the Army. Therefore, I think that we should go on behaving correctly at least as long as we are together. Of course, I have never done and will never do anything against the interests of the Army and my colleagues. I have tried to help everybody to the best of my ability, of course we have helped and will go on helping, but unless we remain united until the country gets stabilized and the Republican Government gets constituted, the Army may fall upon hard times, very hard times. If that happens, no one will be able to make any capital out of it, no one will have any chance whatever of pulling through.

So, I've let everyone know what I own, it's there for you to check it out. I could also tell you what my wife has but that wouldn't be correct on my part. If anybody wants to know, let them inquire. As to you, no one's hauling you over the coals. You're not interesting at the moment but your turn will come after they've sacked me.

I gave up that house on Užička Street a month ago, I said I didn't need it, I don't want to live there, I want to live somewhere else, but of course you can't fight such decisions. We're trying to solve this another way, we're going to try to solve it, there's already some sort of arrangement regarding Ojdanić, etc.

Lieut.-Gen. Stamenko Nikolić

I'm not going to read this out, let everyone read for himself. General, he's got three houses, a villa at the seaside, he won't say how big, that seaside plot measures a hectare. It's the size of your property that bothers them, not theirs.

Rear Admiral Vlade Nonković

General, I'm rather taken aback by your objection or rather remark that information is leaking. I've sat on this Collegium long enough, I don't want to assume a 12 per cent share of the collective blame because I've never leaked a word in my entire life, not because I don't have friends among journalists, but because I honour the

soldier's code of ethics. I've never ever let my assistant know anything said at the Collegium that does not concern our job, I don't want to share 12 per cent of the blame because if someone leaks something and we're then held guilty collectively, well in that case it doesn't matter anyway. I'd appreciate it if we're simply told the names today, tomorrow, on Saturday. I don't want to bear such a collective burden.

Gen. Nebojša Pavković

All in good time, so let's move on. As I was saying, regarding information, you may write things to let the public know what's true and what is not, but those who write those lies they don't want to publish it, you can't take them to court because the judiciary doesn't function. You may sue them but the case stays locked in a drawer and meanwhile they go on saying what they like.

Lieut.-Gen. Milen Simić

General, generals, I'm going to be very brief regarding the state of morale on the basis of these reports and the information gathered during inspection and assessment of both contingency and regular combat readiness, the state of morale in the VJ is stable after all, partly because, as you General pointed out, we members of the VJ are masochistically moral as compared to the other segments of society. Thanks to the stable state of morale the Army has acted normally, this Collegium has acted accordingly, now they're accusing us of not having...I think I've told this to some of you, some resent the fact that it wasn't otherwise and criticize us for not having done things we could have done.

Regarding the mass media, the Directorate's assessment is that there is a rather well co-ordinated effort directed at you General. This, I think, is not surprising considering that you represent the Army. In Montenegro, the target is 7th Military Police Battalion.

As to the morale, one expects - I'm not talking about those special cases which are on the increase such as drugs and all the rest - one expects that in the period ahead material status and financial considerations will weigh decisively. This matter is causing much concern especially among members of the Navy and the 2nd Army. The Minister and Government know this, General you have drawn their attention to this, the problem must be resolved by the Government.

We're having a working meeting with our assistants tomorrow when we'll be discussing the question of morale in some detail. We're working on our tasks concerning the media, this is the first time we've found ourselves under attack from the mass media. They are attacking their own Army, they want to see us fall apart, I don't think there's been anything like this in any other country before, our complete lack of means is now beginning to tell. We're having payment problems, we're bombarded with requests to pay for this, that and the other, for the journal *Vojaska* which is printed at the Military Printing Office. We're going to look into this jointly with the Fifth Directorate, I wouldn't like to bother you with this now.

Problems with broadcasting are also emerging. For instance, our third programme is coming up but the news editor-in-chief won't release it unless she can

insert a politically coloured item into it. I won't have that, I'm going to have a word with Ristić, I won't let them do it even if they take it off.

Gen. Nebojša Pavković

We'll write to them that we don't want to cooperate with them, they don't have to say anything about the Army any more.

Lieut.-Gen. Milen Simić

I wish to inform you that the casting of ballots on the 23rd has been regulated. There's a law now incorporating our proposal that from now on soldiers cast their ballots at the nearest polling station in order to prevent any manipulation.

Gen. Nebojša Pavković

I think that this is still technically impossible. What can you do to make it work in practice? Let's say materials from all over the country are arriving at one Army Post Office...

Lieut.-Gen. Milen Simić

The law lays down now that the soldiers cast their votes at the nearest polling station at the barracks, the polling station provides the election materials.

Gen. Nebojša Pavković

Who's to supply the lists?

Gen. Nebojša Pavković

Now then, let's see what we can do about that TV channel, whether we can organize anything, what we can do, what kind of channel it is, whether is it what this city needs. I fully agree with you that we mustn't let the programme be politicized at any cost. We ought to write a letter to all the TV stations and news agencies making our position clear - as you pointed out, this information blockade has no parallel anywhere in the world, they're attacking the Army in order to destroy it, if necessary we should simply end our cooperation with them, they've never had a good word for the Army anyway, only lies, slanders, etc. They show you this old fellow with children and grandchildren come to take over *** (SUKL), what business is that of his, the perfidy of it, calculated to stir emotions, to make people believe the Army is rushing forward to seize that on Perišić's orders.

Second, we must find out if there's any chance of continuing to publish this *Vojška* journal at all, whether to alter its contents and editorial policy, to report on current events at home, earmark pages like every daily newspaper does for news, provide information to the units, and if possible sell it. We'll have to examine every legal point in

this connection. Otherwise, if we remain cut off as we are now we shan't be able to say a thing.

When they had that round table on television, discussing former Yugoslavia war crimes, they wouldn't have that pathologist, Stanković, as a guest although that's his speciality, he is fully involved and is a member of that international organization, they didn't want him because he has counter-arguments and can explain things, I don't think they'll let him appear on that Open Channel programme either. On the other hand, others are saying whatever they please about these war crimes, you see all kinds of things in the newspapers. The object is, they don't want the truth to be told. So let's see what we can do about it, we could reduce the number of pages, it doesn't have to be in colour, it could be in the form of a war bulletin, I'm sure it would sell better than the rest, people still think we're the ones who can do something to stabilize the situation in the country.

I think we should skip all these issues and deal with the last, let Žika Vujičić tell us briefly what went on during yesterday's transfer at the Ministry, I want you to know what some former colleagues of ours, our colleagues still, how they wanted this thing to appear. The notice where he sat read 'VJ Minister' and not 'Federal Minister of Defence'.

Gen. Nebojša Pavković

Uskoković, could these things be arranged, an Army radio station here and a radio station per army, I forgot to mention the question of newspapers. We can issue an order for each army to immediately organize publishing its army newspaper, to keep its members informed, we'll do the same through *Vojska*.

PRESERVING THE MILOŠEVIĆ CADRES IN THE VJ

“The life gives us back only what we have given to others”

Ivo Andrić

17.11.2000

The Montenegrins were interested in a changeover of the military leadership and it was one of their basic conditions for any reforms. In my discussions with them, I realized that they were extremely dissatisfied with Koštunica's line and with Milošević's SNP [Socialist National Party in Montenegro] still being active following 5 October. The Head of the General Staff remained. Ruling establishment in Montenegro had no power whatsoever over the Army staff including officers on their territory. All together caused a conflicting situation thus making it possible for the pillars of the Milošević regime to survive all through the assassination of Djindjic and even after. The VJ General Staff was actually creating the staffing policy within the VJ and the Federal Ministry of Defense.

Gen. Nebojša Pavković

There are strong pressures concerning Obradović, Zec, of course he did not mention me, but it probably also refers to me, he is going there today to Montenegro to talk. Eh, now in that regard we have to see in what sequence we have to conduct discussions and prepare corresponding material.

Gen. Stamenko Nikolić

Mr General, Sir, we who are not directly in charge should talk to all junior generals, and you personally should talk with the commanders of the strategic units.

Gen. Nebojša Pavković

We have to start from our standpoint that nothing should be changed now and we must intercede at any rate on behalf of Obradović and Zec to stay down there, as it should be, until the final constitution of institutions and stabilization of the situation and for that I think we will have his support, but the question is if he can bear all the pressure. We will see today following his return from Montenegro.

About all those other matters everybody should within his area of responsibility and we should carry out consultations and prepare possible alternatives. Regarding the Federal Ministry of Defense, he said, as far as I understood, the minister should be a civilian. We told him that there was a possibility to consider Grahovac for that position and that he proposes himself. He said, as far as I understood, that it was out of the question. Regarding Grahovac he said it was out of the question and we supported him. How this matter will be resolved, believe me, I don't know. Mandataries will certainly be from the SMC. I only said that if there were any hesitation concerning the candidates, then because of the defense and because of the army and everything else, the Prime Minister should keep it, he can hold two posts. In this respect we still know nothing.

Naturally we would not hurry with the material but we should prepare a reserve option perhaps for the next week so that we can tell him what in our opinion would be realistic who should be sent to retirement by the end of the year, and who by the end of June and how we see carrying out of reorganization, i.e. to establish the number of formation positions we set in our former reorganization. We must, as Nikolić said, talk to our men frankly and find out what suits them best. It is better for us to initiate and suggest something, than to find ourselves caught by their decisions.

I think, as far as I understood, that he is fully prepared to coordinate his actions in consultation with us. That's it.

Gen. Stamenko Nikolić

Deadline, Sir, if it can be determined so that we can prepare the information.

Gen. Nebojša Pavković

We have to see, I have to consult with the commanders and the Ministry should give their view. On Monday, Tuesday we should have the first draft then we can put it all

on paper and then we can call a meeting of the General Staff, in an extended General Staff composition, to consider it. A big problem for us is a great number of generals who do not cover their posts, as counsellors, assistants, some who we promoted and they don't have regular posts etc.

About staffing solutions, I think it is still too early. Although we can prepare options in case he insisted on removing the command of the 2nd Army, of the Navy, what could we do, who should come in their places. This is one of the most difficult matters that we need to resolve, as from what came to my knowledge, they plan to remove Obradovic and bring in Martinović, and for the Federal Ministry of Defense Grahovac at any rate, and that is the scheme we were talking about. I don't know who could replace this Obradović in case he had to step down or to retire etc. who could be the commander. We thought about general Čečević, but I don't know what his relations were when he was there. We must stay adamant in our position that staff to be appointed must be from the army alone.

Gen. Svetozar Marjanović

He was explained what it would mean bringing back of those ones who had left the army, they are politically affiliated, that is against the Constitution and the Law and if they returned to the army, there's no theory it would not have a negative effect.

Gen. Nebojša Pavković

They are of the opinion that he has completely blackmailed him. Says he: "Do you want Montenegro to remain within FRY? You do, yes and we now want this and this and that, that is the condition, if not, we take our own way."

Gen. Miodrag Simić

The alternative is an indirect break up of Yugoslavia, this is direct, this is indirect.

Gen. Nebojša Pavković

Does anybody see a solution?

Gen. Miodrag Simić

A Montenegrin must be found to be the commander of the army there, there are more, there is Jagoš, there is Čečović, there is Garović, let them choose, no problem, but it is essential that he is not politically affiliated.

Gen. Nebojša Pavković

We still don't know, we will see after the consultations.

Gen. Svetozar Marjanović

We must stick to our conclusions, any bringing in of the retired staff will result in a break up of the army.

Gen. Branko Krga

Mr General Sir, I think that we must be realistic concerning this situation, a certain animosity against the army has been created in Montenegro and in some structures of the new regime, it is likely that some replacements will take place here. There are two options. The first option is that they simply make some lists outside of our influence, which would not be good for either the army or the state or even them. For this first option we must prepare alternatives and if he says that I have to go then you can say, all right he goes, but he should be replaced by Terzić etc. We should have alternatives for each post that we consider may be at risk and it is up to us to propose, and it is up to whoever is responsible to accept or reject our proposal. It is most likely that they will not accept all, neither will they reject all, but we can still ease assaults on the leading structures of the army that may bring about harmful consequences. All we do, we do with our best intention to preserve the army, to preserve interests of the state.

I suggest that we reconsider the key posts and offer our suggestions.

Gen. Nebojša Pavković

We told him that and he accepted, very reasonably, he never confirmed by a gesture or a word that he would accept the pressures etc. as he is convinced that no changes should take place now, but it does not mean that it is not going to change in two months, that it is not going to change in two months, we do not now yet. I think that big games will be played and it will not be here alone, a foreign factor will be also involved.

For us, it is essential to preserve the unity of our structures and our people. Through our discussions we must become aware that we have to face the reality and to understand certain matters. Sure enough, we well attempt to solve the basic problems of our men concerning their accommodation, it should not happen that somebody retires and this was not resolved. Regardless on whoever becomes the minister, he must have professional staff to work for him. It is impossible to staff the Ministry overnight. Has anyone got anything else to say, as practically only four men meet retirement conditions, they are Matović, Trajković, Aca Vasiljević and Todorić, and for others, we should set some criteria, age, length of service and see what we can do, maybe somebody out of this group will choose to go. I, personally, cannot force anybody into retirement. How many there will be, how it will further develop, we will have to see from his view.

Anybody on this item? We should be highly aware, we must take into consideration the current situation. The question is how long it is going to last until it breaks off, as we have been living in those circumstance for about ten days, many questions have been already risen. I do not know if you, in the Ministry, have any idea how shall we pay the salaries on the 20th? Money flows are every day lesser and lesser. Who shall I call? I used to know who to call. We sent five, six reports on the financial situation, apartments, the staff of the 30th center, an intelligence appraisal, evaluation of the security situation etc. I do not doubt that money will be provided, but this period

when things are not defined, you cannot find anybody. Who shall I look for? All right, if nobody has anything to say on this item, let us take up the regular course. Anybody? No.

General Branko Krga

Mr General Sir, there is nothing new to add to what I reported on yesterday.

Gen. Nebojša Pavković

We suggested abolition for that Filipović, the Canadian and the major. That Stojadinovic, I don't know how he planned to return into the Army and would there be anybody here with whom he could sit and talk. I received him because he was allegedly recommended by the President and I talked with him, Djaković was present. He was extremely insolent, arrogant etc. However, I mentioned him to the President on two occasions and he did not say a thing. I will give my best to have him placed in the Ministry, that directorate for psychological propaganda. He must be a specialist for psychological propaganda. Of course, we did not engage in examining his manner, but if we made an analysis, he was attached to some individuals belonging to the military leadership and as soon as one of them left he would start spitting at him etc. It is all being repeated now. I know it, when I was the head of office of Milan Panić, then Perišić and Aca Dimitrijevic and a group of people with them, were trying to make me a spy. Fabricated court procedures etc. When I repeated for the hundredth time that nobody had brought in that Panic, it was well known why he came, it was well known who had appointed him, I told them a hundred of times, that he had never had an aggressive approach toward the Army.

Once, when he was not given some details about the Navy, he said, colonel, you are afraid, but if I wanted, I could get all details about your Army from the Pentagon etc. That was it, that's all. What I wanted to say is that this same man, Perišić, behaved in this way, him and Ljuba as well and all others.

Gen. Nebojša Pavković

This is the well know scenario. I spoke yesterday with Smiljanic, to see what we can do. It will not end up with Smiljanic.

Gen. Milen Simić

Generally, the situation in all units is stable, the only problems that can affect the current state of affairs, are the problems with the salaries and disinformation about the salaries, that they will not be paid etc. accommodation problems and assaults on the army, but they have lessened, and they avoid assaulting the army so harshly as they did at the beginning, except of course the *Glas Javnosti* and Stojadinović, others avoid talking about the Army, or they talk in very moderate and decent ways. It is very difficult to follow, there are many open studies, discussions.

Gen. Nebojša Pavković

Has the interview I gave for the Tanjug been published?

Gen. Milen Simić

Yes, and certain excerpts have been published in all media and on TV.

xxx

The reason why the security forces in FRY desired to remain untouched is perfectly clear. Their possible opening to the public and bringing in of new staff clear of all crimes from the past, could open new investigations and resolving of a number of political assassinations, like the Ibar Highway, Budva, Stambolić, Ćuruvija cases... I possessed information on one of the assassinations myself even before 5th October, regarding the assassination attempt on Vuk Drašković on the Ibarska Magistrala which was carried out under a direct guidance by the SDB [State Security Service]. I obtained the information from my friend, Dragan Leštarić. He supplied the names of the people who participated in the assassination on the Ibar Highway, which I passed on to general Perišić and some people from the Montenegrin MUP. The Montenegrins got the information from me before 5 October, including the names of the driver and the people who had organized the crime. I believe that others too had information on the names of assassins and this was confirmed by Prime Minister Djindjić at the beginning of October.

First, they welded and reinforced the chassis of the truck indented to assassinate Drašković and his companions. They attached onto the truck parts of other trucks so as to distract the investigation procedure after the assassination. The truck was at the base in Lipovička Šuma forest. It was going out for test drives. By entering and exiting the base, it was regularly recorded in the logbook at the reception. After the assassination, there was a great disturbance, orders came to tear out pages of the logbook recording exits and entrances of the truck and to withdraw documentation of the truck from special files of the SDB. It was carried out in a very careless and clumsy way. At least thirty people knew who was driving the truck. Vuk Drašković is absolutely right when he insists on legal responsibility of a wider circle of people involved in this assassination attempt. Everything he said was true.

Why there was nobody to do something, I really do not know. Definitely at least the people who made it possible for Marković and Pavković to outlive and hide their crimes after 5th October, must have a morale responsibility. On the morning of the sixth, we could have easily pulled out whomever we wanted, but the new regime failed this examination. Even today Matić, Dačić et al give us lessons of how things should be done. Whether the information which I got from Leštarić about the people who participated in the assassination on the Ibar Highway was of any assistance, I really do not know, but there were numerous speculations. The fact is that I passed the information on both governments. A direct harm was Leštarić's arrest by Bracanović and his circle, and his keeping in a solitary for 17 days. Leštarić left the MUP after that. I will right about it later.

xxx

Gen. Nebojša Pavković

We shall proceed as per the agenda, let us make a brief summary of the last week's activities. Krga, I read yesterday in detail what Ljuba wrote. More or less he had some knowledge, but I cannot find a connection, whether it was a story he had heard from someone, but, all right, we will see, in any case it is indecent.

Gen. Nebojša Pavković

Today a meeting will be held at my initiative at President Koštunica's, me and Rade Marković from the MUP and President Milutinović regarding those matters.

Secondly, that attempt of penetration into the VJ by some individuals, we succeeded in countering the first attack. We managed in the most difficult circumstances, before the elections, during the elections etc. Read what Perišić writes in his book "The Battle of an Angry General", read the book, very cunningly, he writes only about a certain period of his work. He spent his whole life in the Army, for five years he was the Chief of the General Staff, which regime was he serving for five years, but he writes about 1988. 1988 is just one year and where were you before that, and when I look back, for Ljuba and for Aca Dimitrijević and the whole party of 1992 and 1993, I was the greatest spy in VJ because I used to be the Head of Office of Milan Panić, and they were prepared to harm me in any possible way, I possess evidence of how they were trying to put me to court. Whose interest was he protecting then, now he changed his story.

As such persons, I told the President, they should not return to the Army at any cost and we have to be firm, if we were not united in this, then no way. Haven't they succeeded in penetrating in here, no, in order to achieve a prestigious position within the DOS, within the coalition, they have been attempting in all possible ways to leave an impression that they were ruling over the Army, like they know what is going on, like they are influential, like they will do this and that, all that, just to position themselves well within the coalition, they were making promises, like they monitor what is going on in the Army, and then it appeared they aren't. Look what Ljuba and Vuk write about now, they write about whatever suits them. It means that he only wants to return to the Army, but when he paid a visit here, he told me he wanted to return only to secure his pension.

The question is whether he should return to the Army in this way, who would accept him for a boss, and follow me, I told Ljuba right into his face about his behaviour toward one of his bosses, Ljuba Domazetović, and Žika Panić, and then Kadijević before that, and then Perišić etc. It means, while he was there, all right, and later he starts spitting at them and then he enters Perišić's party, and only three months ago he was spitting at him.

Gen. Milen Simić

Mr General Sir, in addition to what was already said about the state of affairs on our territory, characteristic ideas in Montenegro, in all statements by the Montenegrin leadership and the media, is Montenegro's independence. With regard to VJ's position in Montenegro, in Serbia the negative approach by the majority of media is slowly lessening, as I said yesterday, except the Glas Javnosti and actually Ljuba Stojadinovic.

In Montenegro, the medial campaign keeps intensifying through assaults on certain individuals. Currently, the most specifically on Admiral Zec, both by announcements of certain judiciary agencies and certain members of the leadership, he is now a target. On the grounds of an assessment by the command of the 2nd Army, it is expected that very soon general Obradović will become a target and other heads of the 2nd Army.

Gen. Nebojša Pavković

Yes, but what is it about, it is about Djurišić, because we did not clear up his question here at this level, not in the Navy, it is now happening down there, we kept delaying it, loitering, shall we do it or not, forwards and backwards etc. This case proved that if you don't clear up certain matters in a proper legal and administrative way, then you end up with such situations. Look now, those pilots¹³, I told Smiljanic, it is going like this.

Gen. Ljubiša Stojimirović

Secondly, you have already said that, regarding certain issues, we should timely prepare ourselves and think about them before changes in legislation and both in the federal and the republican judiciary, in order to prevent certain situations in which we could find ourselves. We already have announcements regarding opening of the archives, and we should secure our archives, in order to show the democratization of the country. Such things, in any case, should not be allowed to take place without decisions of some federal institutions and all in accordance with the law.

We have another issue concerning advocating the release of all those who did not respond to our call ups for mobilization in 1998 and 1999, as, allegedly they did not want to defend the regime, and we should timely take a firm position as they will certainly seek our opinion, and there is also that matter regarding people sentenced for terrorism or spying, and they were allegedly put on trial for political reasons, they want to release them all from jail etc.

We should stay united with regard to the current laws and not allow any euphoria.

Gen. Nebojša Pavković

¹³ A group of pilots has brought criminal charges against the VJ leadership and the commander of the RV and PVO, general Smiljanić, because the RV pilots were forced to counter the NATO aggression with faulty planes and radars therein, although they made the military leadership aware of the fact. The military prosecutor dismissed the charges.

If they so decide, who am I to say whether I will release somebody or not. We can have our position. We have no authority, this is what I am saying. Our legal department should follow these issues, and, if nothing else, just keep us informed. Regarding the archives, if a decision were brought on the highest level, that's it, besides, what is there so interesting in the archives.

Gen. Milen Simić

We hold the archives for the last ten years, therefore pressures can be expected both officially and unofficially.

Gen. Nebojša Pavković

All right, but we cannot stay 100% at it and tell them no, whatever decisions are brought, we are going to accept. I cannot take a tank to protect the archives if a decision were brought, and if it were backed by the state.

KOŠTUNICA'S SECOND ADDRESS TO THE GENERALS

“All mothers hate war”
Horatius

General Staff Meeting of 11.11.2000

Gen. Nebojša Pavković

Mr. President, may I offer a suggestion?

Mr. President, the aim of our today's meeting here at the General Staff was to make us aware of the combat readiness situation in the VJ units, as well as of the problems which currently, a month after coming in power of the new regime, keep troubling the VJ.

The assessments we presented here are for your own information, but first of all let us express our appreciation for everything you have done for the VJ, let us tell you that the VJ is united, that it is under your full control, that we will not interfere with any matters, i.e. it is not involved, neither it will get involved in the political life of the country, however, we wish to point to some occurrences which affect us in a negative sense.

In addition, that the VJ does not, neither it will, exceed its constitutional limitations, but we are concerned about further developments in the country only in regard to threats to its security.

We are fully determined to support and offer our full contribution to further democratization of the country in all areas, but we consider that members of the Supreme Defense Council should be fully informed about these issues, as well as some individuals and common public to an extent up to your judgment.

We cannot understand what is the reason of the medial blockade vs. VJ, so the truth cannot come out into the public, should we start issuing announcements in order

to reveal the truth to the public. If, however, measures are not taken to preserve the VJ's unity and its existence in entirety, we believe that, in addition to everything else, disintegration of the VJ will follow, i.e. constant degradation on all levels. By supporting of certain individuals in various ways in order to accomplish certain objectives, in various regions, regardless on whether those individuals belong to the VJ or are within the political sphere of life, or even the civic, the situation can easily slip out of control.

There are numerous examples worldwide and the best example is Albania.

Of course, Mr. President, we consider we must respond to the threats the VJ is receiving, but we are unable to respond because of the medial blockade.

We wish to stress strongly, that to a certain extent even you are a subject of this campaign.

For example, I will point out, that the making public of residential addresses of certain Army officers, politicians and you personally, practically presents an assault, even an assassination attempt on this man and his family.

What the publicizing of your residential address presents, is endangering of your personal security, alike constant provocations and publicizing of addresses.

In all other countries, it is intolerable, except in ours. And in future, I personally, I assume the others as well, will treat such incidents as an assassination attempt on my personality and will assume an according approach.

I think that it must be stopped.

There must be a great number of people and enemies who cannot wait to find out where Pavkovic, Lazarevic, Smiljanic and other commanders live, you etc.

I would suggest, Mr. President, to you to use your authority and credibility gained through the elections, to do your best to secure regular conditions for the functioning of the Army as the main supporting pillar of the state and to make it possible for the future of the Army to be decided within the legal institutions, by the legally elected relevant institutions. And that means, that financing should be provided, in addition to all other problems we were talking about, to provide continuance in the building of the apartments, and to minimize psychological propaganda against the VJ, by the local, primarily the local media and local journalists who make such assaults on their own army.

I do not believe that something similar exists in the outside world.

Secondly, we consider that on a federal government level, an agency should be formed that will more seriously consider the problems in Kosovo and Metohija, an in particular in the landlocked security zone and everything that takes place in there.

We also consider that you should do your best to keep all activities of the political leadership for further democratization of the country within the constitutional framework and the law in order to prevent the extra institutional activities, before all directed to VJ.

Those issues should be discussed at the suggested meeting of a wider composition of the Supreme Defense Council in which all the relevant factors of the state and also some VJ officers of your choice would take part, certainly, we will prepare the data, and then we can decide on the approach.

And in the end, I would suggest you to visit one of the units on the terrain as soon as possible, meet with superior officers and troops, examine the conditions in

which they live and I consider this useful before all for the troops, for the Army, and for you as well as the President and the Commander.

That is all.

The President of FRY, Dr. Vojislav Koštunica

General Pavkovic, Messrs Generals and Admirals, all our discussions in the meetings of the extended composition of VJ General Staff have so far been frank, this one is even more so and I think that is something very precious.

I too will speak very openly, maybe in fragments, but with a firm intention to touch as many as possible issues raised here, to point out the state of affairs concerning the relationship between the state and the VJ, and on the other hand, to do my best for the resolving of all the matters raised.

Immediately, I would like to stress that we have always considered that parts of our discussions, issues that we raise, troubles and difficulties we are faced with, are caused by something new.

Therefore, the past elections.

We have already discussed it in our previous meetings and in the VJ General Staff meetings and have decided that the new situation, the changeover of the regime, really a democratic changeover in any country represents a novelty in any country in which such changeovers never took place before, that it would have been much better if such regular changeovers had been taking place in the past without tensions, if they were a regular occurrence here, but we have certainly decided, at the same time, that it was a very positive change, as FRY has fully and undoubtedly placed itself among other democratic countries and we have further decided that everything that was taking place on 5th October in our country, in Belgrade, proved to be a good test for all of us. And that the Army, same as the police, the MUP, but first and foremost the VJ, passed the test.

Consequently, we faced a challenge. The situation was new, however, the key institutions of the system have simply, VJ has reacted just as it should react respecting the will of the people.

It is a very significant indication. When analyzing the problems troubling us at present as well as our attitude toward the elections, toward something that took place more than a month ago, we still consider those problems new.

But if we take a better look, then we will see that the majority of the problems have been inherited from before and that they are a combination between the new and the old.

I will give you a clear example. And I will refer to it later again. It is about the relations between Serbia and Montenegro and the attitude of the Montenegrin majority and the current leadership toward FRY.

We have done our best, I am talking now about my own attempts and the attempts made by the VJ, concerning an important meeting, the Meeting of the Supreme Defense Council held in Podgorica, to develop our relations through a truly democratic and tolerant dialog between the regimes in Belgrade and in Podgorica, based of an undoubted fact that this state exists, that it exists internally, by the will of the people, by a

long created unity as well as by the willpower of the international community, which is also very important, therefore, bearing all that in mind, we held discussions with the regime in Montenegro, more exactly with the Montenegrin President, in a very civilized, constructive, democratic way. I was under the impression that the situation was improving in some way. And then again there appeared a turn and unexpected statements from Montenegro, mostly by the Montenegrin President, Mr. Djukanović, and not only him, but also by his companions, largely marked by two viewpoints (I am now talking about Djukanović's recent statements).

His first viewpoint is, although everybody can see that this state exists, the denial of that fact. He claims that it doesn't.

And now, his second viewpoint, very indicative in regard to his first viewpoint. That second viewpoint is related to the mutual relations between Serbia and Montenegro, to everything that has been taking place lately, and it is his claim that the roots of the crises are much deeper and that the problems were not caused by the former regime, more exactly by Mr. Slobodan Milošević, but that they go much further into the past.

It is a completely new view. How deeply rooted it is, I don't know, but what I do know is that Mr. Djukanović certainly played a significant role in the creation of the same federal state and that in 1992 he did not have any problems with the relations between Serbia and Montenegro, any comments regarding inequality of Montenegro.

As in my opinion, it is a very important fact and I do point it out because those firm allegations that the problems were much deeper indicate that those issues on our agenda spread deep into the past, much before 24 September and 5 October.

From a political point of view, in basic terms it is a very important fact.

On the other hand, at the very beginning, I would like to stress a fact, and it is a very important fact and contrary to a very pessimistic picture painted here regarding the relations in our state, FRY, and VJ's position in it.

That fact is also very interesting and should be taken into consideration. To a certain extent the picture, concerning the situation in our country and particularly in VJ is now much better and more favourable and it comes from within our country, the other part, which is also very interesting, comes from abroad.

What comes from within the country is how the public looks upon the VJ. You could have seen, there were several, and I am pointing out one specific public poll carried out by the research center "Medium" which confirms that the VJ, out of all institutions currently enjoys the highest credit. Look, it is an empirical, concrete, scientifically based research carried out in this country putting the VJ, in effect, on the top of the list concerning its significance, concerning its respect. That is of great importance.

Logically, I am asking why is it so? Firstly, because this is how the people look upon the VJ. It is proved by the questions, i.e. the replies by those polled. I think those are exact facts. Firstly, the people look upon the VJ in this way, and on the other side, there are some factors before all within the country, who have doubts about this great power, the people's perception about the VJ. It means that those ones who assault, who blemish, who contest the VJ, do not correspond with the genuine feeling of the people. This is also very important.

The second matter of importance, from an external point of view. How our country, the FRY is looked upon. In a very positive way. I must say, that I was very surprised by the completely changed view by the outside world, I must say, maybe I have already mentioned that but I must repeat, that I was very afraid that out of all the sanctions imposed on our country, one block would remain that would trouble us the most and that is the medial demonization of our country and our people. That is what I was afraid of, even this exterior block of sanctions, which had not been completely lifted, that when it was lifted, the picture about us would remain. There were so many lies, so many medial manipulations, in one part of, I cannot say in all, the western media and I was puzzled by the speed with which that picture was changing.

I think that there are two reasons for that, I will say briefly, as I think it worth mentioning, that there are two reasons:

The first is tightly connected with the fact that a revision of the policy toward FRY has taken place, first in Europe, the Russian diplomacy had had that view even before, and then slowly the second, i.e. the third most influential factor in the world, the USA, have started to change their position to a certain extent. They started changing their position because, on one side, they were afraid of Europe taking the prime role in the region, and on the other, and I think the same is with Europe, it was their response toward certain reactions by their own public. As the time was passing by an idyllic picture that was painted, the glorification of the last year's aggression by the NATO has slowly started to disintegrate, to be looked upon from a different angle, you know as the time was passing by, as months were passing by, and it has been more than a year since then, the picture painted in their public has become different and they must get used to it.

Maybe in one part of the world, as it is difficult to fully assess the situation in the world on the whole, but if you look at each individual separately, their statesmen, officials, at least some of them, I cannot say all of them, feel responsible for all that. It has all become intertwined.

I must say that it is very important. That picture that has now become different, in a way the matter is in the revision of their own policy, but to a certain extent it is also their appreciation of another, very obvious, realistic fact and that is that nothing can be done in this region without the FRY. And that its integrity, geopolitical, historic, geographical, economic, whatever you want, is very important. That our country is, as someone said in our discussions and I think it was general Kruga, the decisive factor in the region. And this statement, that FRY is the decisive factor in the region, I have heard in numerous discussions held lately with a number of foreign officials, including some who are not to my own liking and with who I would not choose to talk, but it is all for the benefit of our people's future and we have to renew our relations with the world.

I had many opportunities to hear that claim. In this region it is the FRY, Greece to a certain extent, but the FRY, and then I saw the foreign collocutors how they react to the bringing up of the names of some other countries in the region which had certain aspirations and certain positions at that time in the region, for example Croatia, how they just waved them off. That is their reaction.

This is the reality. Really, ever since the sanctions were lifted and we were able to renew normal communications with the world, to breathe with full lungs, everything has been different. The FRY has eventually been priced by its real value. And when our country gains back its full value, some of our neighbours, regardless on their

aspirations, will be priced by their own values, but their real value is a little bit less than it was while Yugoslavia was excommunicated from the world. In my opinion, it is also a very positive fact.

Therefore, a very positive attitude of our public is obvious, I can see a positive attitude by the world, and that is encouraging. I have heard here such voices. I think, that by opening of some questions to discussion by certain participants here, which have not been reviewed politically, we, the politicians have not opened them for discussions, let me tell you immediately, the question of the “Partnership for Peace”, is a question that we will think about, but it wasn’t even touched, as it seems to me, at least so far, in any one of my statements, I consider it a very serious matter, which can be responded to in two ways. I proceed from the fact that the Russian Federation had a very positive view, but we have to approach it from a different angle, we have to take into consideration the professional view and opinion of the VJ, and, as General Pavkovic said, the financial construction. However, it is very encouraging to talk about it all, and about a number of other issues, like the issues that would improve our situation, regarding the border problems, before all with Macedonia, regarding the renewal of relations with some of the countries which participated last year in the aggression on our country, and let me be completely frank, we will not be able to collect payment for the damage in a form known as the war reparations, given the relations in the world, but we will in some other form, when we renew the relations, we will get it, I think, not in the form of war reparations but in some other form and that will offer a possibility for Serbia to get off to a good start.

First is the question of Kosovo and Metohija, then of Montenegro, the question of the approach by the two parts of our society and political powers, Serbia and Montenegro, toward the VJ.

His visit on 17th November together with Flora Brovina, accompanied by Rade Marković, the Head of the State Security, to the prisons in Serbia, in order to calm down Albanian prisoners was very important for us, because on that account we will be able to visit the prisons in Kosovo and Metohija, in order to check what is going on with the imprisoned Serbs.

You know what is the state of affairs regarding Montenegro, the attitude of the Montenegrin leadership has changed several times from the most extreme to a less extreme. We have really tried to conduct a policy taking full consideration of a complex situation in Montenegro, as within the Federal Parliament there is one political group, the Socialist National Party of Montenegro, and in Montenegro itself the majority after the 1998 elections, there is the coalition “For a Better Life” which did not participate in the federal elections.

We have tried to work together with both groups, and let me be completely frank, with regard to Mr. Djukanovic’ s coalition “For a Better Life”, the problem is that it has stepped down from its electoral program, it was actually a pro Yugoslavia program, but all the solutions, the solutions concerning the relations between Serbia and Montenegro and their common state, any solutions contrary to the will of the people tested through elections and a referendum are acceptable for the Montenegrin leadership, only elections and a referendum are not acceptable. I think that we have just prevented a most intensive campaign for independence against the will of the people by our admittance into the UN. I think that the President of the Federal Government, Mr

Žižić has given a good explanation when he said that between zero seats and two seats we have chosen one seat and thus proved that FRY exists. We held one Supreme Defense Council meeting in Podgorica, unfortunately, it was not conducted in a correct and consultative way, but was followed by another change of their position at last in their media, I think it is a very serious turn. We will very soon make arrangements for another meeting, and I agree with General Pavković in that it should be of an extended composition, as there are more relevant factors that should get involved. When our discussions commenced, there were only two institutions on the federal level, the FRY President and the Yugoslav Army, but now we have the Parliament, the Government and together with them we shall commence our discussions about mutual relations, but it will not be on a bilateral level, it will not be subject to negotiations between Montenegro and a future Serbian Government, on the contrary, all relevant factors will take part, the federal authorities, simply because we acknowledge the fact that FRY exists, it exists by the will of the people and by the will of the international community and the whole world now after entering the UN.

The third, so to say, crises focus, is the assaults on the VJ, which are in contradiction with the extremely positive opinion by the majority concerning the VJ. They are, so to say, very aggressive and very militant, but are not in the majority, they are in the minority, but it is a fact that we have to acknowledge and treat very seriously. There is a number of different incidents, I would not like to go into detail, including assaults on certain persons, various ideas on the transformation of the VJ complete or incomplete, more of the former than of the latter, various completely unjustified ideas about the shortening of the military service, the staffing within the VJ, change of the staff etc. and then the question of cooperation with the Hague Tribunal emerged followed by roll calls for bringing of the VJ staff before the Hague Tribunal, we will offer explanations for all those questions, but let me say one more thing about the Hague Tribunal.

Our opening to the world, which is inevitable, as I believe that all the matters discussed and the difficult financial situation of the army point out that there was no other way, not only concerning this important social segment, the VJ, but also concerning other matters, for us there was no other way. When we were able to do it, we were not in a position to expect that in 50 years or I don't know how long after, we will have to prove that the continuity of the state exists. That what happened in 1991, was a clear secession by Slovenia and Croatia and all the others, but the problem, with regard to the then situation in the world, and in particular following the Badinter commission, was looked at as a disintegration of the state.

We had to acknowledge that fact sooner or later simply because it was the only way to enter into the international organization and that was the only way for the survival of the country, its people and the VJ. There was no other way and therefore it had to be done. It shows, our entering into the international organization, how insoluble our problems were without all that and within that package, there is a question of collaboration with the Hague Tribunal, it is only a fraction. Unfortunately, it is something that is contained in the Dayton Agreement as well, but I would like to make myself completely clear, you know what I think about the Hague Tribunal, about our cooperation, about extraditions, all that, but they resolute about the cooperation. There is a lower level of cooperation which may help us survive, which can help us in effect to

ascertain what was going on in Kosovo and Metohija, how many Albanian atrocities there were in Kosovo and Metohija, the extent of the NATO crimes, the consequences of the bombing, all that can be achieved through the cooperation with the Hague Tribunal.

When I am saying that I am actually reminding you of the fact that all that had existed before and was canceled. Therefore, it is our position that we should not exceed the level which existed before, and everything else will have to be a matter of careful consideration, I think that Mrs. Carla Del Ponte was receiving various responses and I personally thought I should not respond, however in any case my first response will be about the matter relating to what was regarded as a crime even by the international community and that is the last year's bombing. Several international organizations have already pointed out that there were many cases of violation of the humanitarian law etc. It is much more complicated as you could have seen from roll calls for me to apologize to some of our neighbours and my response is also very resolute, there will be no apologizing, and, frankly speaking here among the soldiers, completely frankly and roughly, even if I were roasted they would not have the pleasure simply because the truth about the events in this region is much more complex and there are many who should apologize to us first and this not only because of what was going on in the last ten years, but much earlier and which was an interlude into what followed in the last ten years and simply this is what my position will be.

When all we were talking about adds up, including the recent assaults, I must say that it is impossible to prevent all of those in the media, however that the VJ itself should attempt to prepare a medial campaign, but I will, in so far as I can, do my best and will attempt to explain to the Government that there is a medial blockade, as it was said here. I wish to point out that the problem is not only in the media, to a certain extent, however, it is, but the main problem originated from within the VJ and I think that the instigators come from a group of former VJ officers and the media only pass the information on, on this and a lot of other matters.

Gen. Nebojša Pavković

Mr. President, thank you, it is not a common practice, but may I comment on two points. The first, we would not like you to have an impression that we thought that the problems in VJ we discussed were caused by the coming in power of the new regime, as you said 90% and more are the problems carried over from the previous period and just a small percentage, that you too have set aside, has appeared in the current period. regarding the Hague tribunal and cooperation with the tribunal I would like to assure you that the members of VJ are not afraid of what they were doing in Kosovo during 1998 and 1999, they have not committed any crimes. The individuals who violated the humanitarian law they are responsible. We have included all those regulations in our plans, programs and commands, but assaults coming from some incompetent people keep inflating concern and tension by both the members of the VJ and our people and are picturing the VJ as an undisciplined army exceeding military rules in Kosovo. This is the essence, otherwise we fully support the idea to offer explanations for everything that was taking place through a correct, constructive collaboration, and those who exceeded the law should answer to the law.

FRY President

Dr. Vojislav Koštunica

It is the matter of our survival and unveiling of the truth about everything that was taking place in this region, and on the other hand anybody caring about his own dignity and that who knows what is the law, simply knows that the court is very far from any courts. We are not singled out in that opinion, the Russian Federation, the Russians, I must say, have very close idea about that court, and what is the level of their collaboration with the court is not worth mentioning, other countries, the Western and the Arab, overcrowded the court with their judges, with their money they make strong influence on its work. The Russians have not done that, I think that a good part of the Western public have a different opinion just like about the last year's NATO aggression. That change of view, that picture about the bombing of FRY is different today than it was before and that is very important.

With regard to the first, it was my intention, I know where the problem lies, our elections on 24th September have, nevertheless, brought a new situation, I think as it is new, it occurred a month ago and is completely new, they made a strong effect on many issues being discussed here including a number of negative occurrences, relations with the Army, relations within the state itself etc. I was of the opinion that it is very important, that we should take care of both, the real picture always seems more complicated and we do have some inherited problems. Mr. Djukanović has really taken part in the writing of the Constitution. His tales about the problems, let us see how far they go. Both then and now raising questions about everything about the Podgorica Assembly, I don't know, about Stefan Nemanja who allegedly occupied Montenegro, you know, the moment when in 1992 the state was constituted by the will of the former regimes in Serbia and Montenegro and Mr. Djukanović, and an end was put to at least that part of the history, and really everything that has been causing problems to our mutual relations should be put ad acta, but I mean, he and the Duklja Academy and whoever, they are raising all those questions now.

Then, we have a strange situation where one regime that keeps trying to appear as democratic, democratic by the Western model, keeps looking only at opportunities and not in the past, actually keeps looking too much in the past and trying to support its claims by establishing facts about Duklja, what it used to be and about Stefan Nemanja, what was the role of the Podgorica Assembly and many other details that have nothing to do with the future, but only with past, however that is it. I think the positive part of all of that is that things are getting uncovered and politically solved. In the political sphere of a country there is no worse thing than hiding or delaying of problems. I feel that a resolution is being delayed and I really cannot see, I cannot imagine nothing else but the disposition of the people in both communities to live in a common state, and I believe that an indirect proof for that is actually the constant evading to hold elections, a referendum, they do not participate in one elections, they do not participate in others etc.

Gen. Nebojša Pavković

Mr. President, thank you for your consideration.

14.11.2000

Secretary of the Ministry for Defense Milovan Čogurić

Mr. Minister, Sir, Messrs. Generals and Colonels it will be nothing new when I say that the VJ should continue to be the stabilizing factor in this state. Today, we can see that all of us agree that we should do our best to keep this course, but we have come to a point, and all of us have expected it and were worried about it, as by means of the customs and then by means of the financial exchange, by means of political actions of the political parties, some parties in Montenegro argue for the secession of Montenegro from Serbia and forming of an independent sovereign state. The situation is inflated and it directly affects the stabilizing role the VJ was holding so far, and we will do our best for it to hold it in the future as well.

If we looked for a reason why right now, at present a financial plan is being prepared for the entire state and the balance for the next and the balance of accounts for this year. That would actually mean that for a share of the 2nd Army, a share of the Federal Defense Ministry and for certain military institutions for which we have a separate paragraph, it would be expressed in foreign exchange. What foreign exchange resources we have, what we used to acquire so far through detailed planning, what we used to have was being spent on official travel and acquisition of armament, equipment etc., would now be at the disposal of Montenegro for regular everyday expenses on that territory, the policy led down there greatly affects officers and their families, and their children, as well as soldiers and officers whose families live in Serbia or where the head of a family lives in Serbia and the family remained in Montenegro and vice versa. What we have been very skeptic about in our discussions here, it is their intention to proceed in this way, as it is a fact that the world has turned to Belgrade, and will possibly offer financial assistance, thus Milo Djukanović lost his position of the top star disturbing Milošević, the situation has changed as Yugoslavia has a new orientation, a new state policy and aspirations and now with this paragraph for foreign exchange for Montenegro in an amount which is not negligible at all and which was originally intended for us, we enrich the Montenegrin budget with foreign exchange and they get hold of foreign exchange resources down there.

I would therefore appeal, Mr. Minister, Sir, on the Federal Government to get in touch with the Montenegrin Government to suspend that decision as it could lead, it is easy to lift customs duty, it is easy to form a dual currency exchange system, but it is not easy to destabilize and disturb a machinery with an expenditure of 80% of the federal budget, it is easy to make promises to anyone that he will become a commander of a Montenegrin Army, it is easy to speculate. When we joined in the elections, Mr Minister knows that, we voted for Yugoslavia. Montenegro and the situation in Montenegro could be seriously disturbed if the Army split in two, not into a Serbian and a Montenegrin army, the orientation of the people in Montenegro is in the majority for a common state and I would therefore appeal on the Federal Government to suspend the decision on the single currency system.

Gen. Nebojša Pavković

We agree in that they should remain your advisers, but advisers-generals must remain to prepare a response to questions they will raise.

Secondly, we must keep saying that the VJ was not restricted for a civil control in our society, the army has always been open, and the reason why some boards were not functioning etc. is not our problem, but the Army has never been restricted to public. Eventually, through our reports reaching the Federal Ministry of Defense and the Federal Government, as well as the Federal Parliament, we have made our work public.

For example, we now read Perišić, he thinks that this board will be able to enter the army and start to make changes, to carry out staff replacements, to change formations etc. this is his goal, as he has not returned as the Chief of the General Staff, neither as the Minister of Defense, or this or that, he now thinks, but naturally your men will offer their opinion on the matter.

Federal Minister of Defense, Mr. Slobodan Krapović

It is well known who has the authority.

Milovan Čogurić

... at the Ministry are appointed by decrees issued by the FRY President or by appointment by the Federal Government, i.e. first a Decree and on the basis of the Decree appointment by the Federal Government. Thus for the position of a Deputy and for the position of an Adviser to the Chief of Office we initiated, but it has all been suspended, and the positions of the Deputy and the Assistant which have so far been filled by generals, on the basis of a FRY President's Decree some people have been appointed by the Federal Government, and those people are their choice... we have to keep this in mind.

THE ARREST OF MILOŠEVIĆ

‘There are only two kinds of people: the just who consider themselves sinners, and the sinners who consider themselves just’

Pascal

It was only after six or so months following the overthrow that the turn of the man whose policy had shrouded many families in the region in mourning finally came.

In order to comply with international demands that Milošević be brought to justice, the Government decided on a prudent and subtle course of action. At the time Milošević was staying, under an arrangement with President Koštunica, in a military compound including the villa Mir. He was there with his family except for his son Marko, who had been helped by Rade Marković to slip out of the country. Milošević was looked after by a unit commanded by Major-General Senta Milenković. Apparently Milenković did not relish his task and thought that it would be foolish to defend the indefensible. The Government knew that Milošević would resist any attempt to arrest him in connection with the Hague Tribunal indictment and that there might be clashes between his supporters and its troops. For this reason the Government accused him of

financial fraud and tried to talk him into giving himself up, but he refused. The Special Operations Unit (JSO) next charged the compound in what turned out to be a dismal foul-up. The operation was a deliberate failure, and Minister Mihajlović was fed the information that the VJ was guilty of obstruction. This was not true. Pavković did not want to compromise his standing with the new authorities and would have preferred to have Milošević out of the way in The Hague if only because Milošević could furnish embarrassing evidence in connection on the assassination attempt on Vuk Drašković at Budva. The fumbling of the elite JSO commandos in their attempt to clear the wall surrounding the villa was covered live. Because the quarrel between Pavković and Mihajlović grew worse and it appeared that the VJ and the police might clash for the first time since October 5, I informed Mihajlović through Perišić that the Army was not trying to prevent the arrest. The West was insisting that Milošević be arrested before March 31. I saw that the unit detailed to arrest Milošević included members of his security team and characters I had seen featuring in various filmed material. Unfortunately, there had been no clear break with the former regime and the people who had served it. All I could do was report on what went on.

The irony of it was, the very people who had been executing Milošević's orders were now tasked with arresting their boss.

In the event, the chestnuts were pulled out of the fire by the tactful and courageous Čedomir Jovanović who appeared on the scene, went inside and finally persuaded Milošević to give himself up. But Minister Mihajlović and General Pavković continued to argue whether or not the Army had tried to protect the former president and under whose orders. I kept delivering the relevant documents to General Perišić who photocopied them with the letterheads covered up and passed them on to Mihajlović and the late Zoran Đinđić. Mihajlović could furnish some evidence about this. The suspicions that the Army might have obstructed the arrest operation were fuelled by the knowledge that the Army was under the command of Koštunica who was opposed to extraditing Milošević to The Hague. In a later espionage indictment, Perišić is said to have ordered an employee to photocopy the documents without the letterheads before handing them over himself to the US diplomat Neighbor. The following throws a completely different light on Milošević's arrest.

* * *

2 April 2001

Gen. Nebojša Pavković

In connection with the recent events, in spite of the views taken at the meeting with the President on the roles the Army and the MUP played in these events and notwithstanding the official verdict, the media and MUP members in particular continue to circulate accounts aimed at discrediting the VJ, especially the Guards Brigade and individual officers.

As a result, strong objections are being raised by the Guards Brigade and some other units and officers, they're condemning such behaviour and threats of criminal charges, etc., that certain members of the Army will be arrested for obstructing the MUP in carrying out its task. I've notified the President, we've sent him today a report and a

chronology of the events to let him see how the events evolved. Apparently the arrangements made by the Army and the MUP were not fully observed. The thing is, they wanted to carry out that action without letting anybody know including President Koštunica but that's not our problem. What matters is, there's this full information presented at those two meetings at the MUP, General Bojović was among those present, so there's this complete information that the Serbian Government had decided on altering the security arrangements regarding buildings and people, the hitherto Public Security Directorate, the unit headed by General Senta Milenković which guarded the FRY President, some 100 men strong, they were attached to the 6th RDB [State Security Department] Directorate, with some members - sixty-eight according to my information - making declarations that they are joining that newly-established directorate and unit and the rest continuing to guard Milošević, some of them as his personal bodyguards.

So, this is the information that was given. This was what was agreed, with Minister Mihajlović promising that the men guarding Milošević would be gradually replaced by other men, that the first batch to arrive would include four new members and that the remaining twenty-six who are currently guarding Milošević are MUP members. He said the list would be made available far in advance, we'd have it seven days in advance, there'd be direct contact between a MUP official and his counterpart in the Guards Brigade command, this task being entrusted to Colonel Kovačević, who's the unit's head of security. None of these arrangements was adhered to.

You see, the attempt was made to enter the building without the order and the lists having been made available on time. Of course, the men at the gate announced the arrival of the new group of Milošević's guards - I ought to explain that the residence was one of the buildings in the compound that was guarded solely by the MUP, the Army had no access to it. The Army had no access to the gate reception and the residence. All these arrangements had been made by that unit, as far as I know Senta, who effectively stopped providing security three days ago.

So, when the arrival of the new team was announced, it was in the morning, they had no order and no list and were turned back. The list was produced at 1625 hours, it was brought to me by Colonel Čosić, I told him he was to go and look up that man, Colonel Pokrajac, he's the unit's new commander, we was to get him in touch with the commander of the old unit so they could discuss arranging the transfer, there was the order and there was the list, no reason not to do it. My guess is that Čosić himself didn't know the names of the men on the list, he went there and found Pokrajac and was let inside, but instead of Senta there appeared a new man, a Colonel Manasijević, he looked at the list and the order and said, I'm not letting this shift in, it's not what we agreed, all these men on the list are new, I won't let them in. He went back inside, there was an argument, I think he went to see Milošević and Milutinović, I just don't know what went on in there. At the same time people kept coming to see me, Prime Minister Đinđić came too but on other business, then he attended that conversation. Colonel Čosić arrived, those two colonels, the predecessor and the replacement, with Čosić saying in effect they can't reach an agreement, I inquire what the hitch is, the fellow says, The list isn't according to what we'd agreed, I won't hand over the post, whereupon the other one says, Who are you to decide, I'm your superior officer, you're to go back there, get the guards together and march them out of the facility, I'm taking over, I've no business with you. The fellow won't budge, they threaten to shoot each other, I tell them, Shoot if that's

what you've decided to do, but first have another look at that list and compare the identity card numbers. They go back, everybody's back at the facility, the rest from the MUP turn up as well as some of Milošević's private security guys, as far as I understood they are holding their guns at the ready and won't let anybody in, they won't hear of any hand-over, the private guys say if anybody goes in it will only be over their dead bodies. The thing is, there's an obvious misunderstanding between the two structures, the two MUP units that are to effect the hand-over. Ćosić, you and others went to see Milošević about this thing, I don't know how long you stayed there and what you talked about. Can you tell us what went on?

Col. Ćosić

General, I realized there could be a shootout at any moment, my soldiers were in the middle, there were about 1,000 civilians outside the gate, so I moved my soldiers a little to one side. SPS people went in and then came out, no one was stopping them, there was a rally outside, people sang songs and lit fires. Some thirty 'specials' with ski-masks over their faces stood about one kilometre away, they wanted to go inside, they'd arrived while we were at your place, if they'd turned up in regular uniforms or civilian clothes with neckties and all they might have pulled it off, but this way those inside knew why there were there. Mr Milošević said later, Well, I understand you, I'm going to stay here with my security, you can pull back whoever you want, do whatever you want, those security men who want to come in, my advice to you is not to let them, I don't want them inside, I was given this house by Koštunica to live here, I'm the host here, you know that in Serbia the host decides who comes in and who stays out. Pokrajac, Rašeta went inside in the company of two of their men.

Gen. Nebojša Pavković

Just to make sure there's no misunderstanding, Rašeta is the head of the 6th RDB Directorate, he signed that list, Pokrajac, also a colonel, is the new commander, the Directorate head is a second lieutenant as far as I know. The boss is a second lieutenant, the commander is a colonel.

Col. Ćosić

Inside the reception there was a MUP man, from Senta's former squad, he never left the place.

Gen. Nebojša Pavković

So there were five of them inside. Could those policemen have entered by the small gate?

Col. Ćosić

I don't know what their intentions were, we simply told them to please come inside and take over as agreed, we weren't going to stand in their way. But they just hung around, I couldn't tell what they were waiting for, I guess they were scared too, what with all those people gathered outside.

Gen. Nebojša Pavković

At that time I had one or two contacts with Pokrajac, I told him, Pokrajac, the small gate is open, go in, you're responsible for what you do. It was probably from there that the reports that the Army was barring entry to the compound were dispatched to Đinđić - who'd meanwhile left my place - and to Mihajlović. So far as I know the security pull back, get into the building, shut themselves in, the men are waiting for the gate to open, it stays shut because, I think, the power's off, I'm referring to the big gate. Meanwhile, I keep Koštunica informed, we have several conversations, the man doesn't know what's going on, he doesn't understand the need for such hurry. Milutinović's trying to reason with Đinđić, he's told to keep out of it, so he doesn't turn up any more. What happens next, General Bojović comes to me, we're discussing the matter, I give orders Bojović orders, I hear Mihajlović over the phone, he's wrought up, he asks insolently, Are you providing security for Milošević, are you guarding him? I intend to send out a brigade to intervene, is the Army going to interfere? No, it's not. I say, Be my guest, carry out that action of yours as you see fit, but you'll be responsible for the consequences. I'm trying to explain to him that it's all a matter of misunderstanding as to who's to take over, that he and his commander and his head of Directorate can't control their men because they are from the old security team, so we decide to pull out of the reception against all the rules and regulations. So we vacate the reception, we pull out the troops, General Bojović's there in person. How did the thing go, Bojović, will you explain it to us.

Lieut.-Gen. Bojović

I received two orders from you. The first order was to make sure the soldiers stood aside, they were to keep out of the conflict and mustn't use their weapons at any cost. I relayed the order to Colonel Čosić and he carried it out on the spot.

Their next objection was that the Army was still in the way, that Čosić wasn't allowing...that the Army was interfering. It was then that you issued the next order for me to go there in person, to pull out and evacuate the entire personnel, from guard duty, the armoured vehicles, the reception, there was a threat that Čosić would be liquidated.

Gen. Nebojša Pavković

Who made that threat to you?

Col. Čosić

Dušan Mihajlović, the Interior Minister.

Lieut.-Gen. Bojović

I left the place at midnight. Everything had been evacuated by half past twelve, they alone remained, I had personally let them take over the gate offices. The NCOs who'd been inside picked up their weapons, kit, gas masks and left. I told Mr Pokrajac, There you are, you've taken over now, here are the documents, the records, you've got the keys now, do what you're supposed to do but you're now responsible for this city, we're pulling out right now. You see, our presence there might have served as their excuse until twelve thirty that night, but after that there were no soldiers or officers there, they could've accomplished their mission, the problem was not in the Army.

It's this conflict between those two MUP groups that's at the root of the problem, the old and the new security as it were, they were unable to come to terms, one group was prepared to shoot its way through, the other wouldn't let them, the task was not carried out and they had to shift the blame onto somebody, the easiest thing to say was, Well, we couldn't do it what with those soldiers and people out there. I myself turned in the offices, the inventory...

Gen. Nebojša Pavković

...(inaudible) the facility itself has never been within the competence of the Army, it's within the competence of the Federal Government, the President's General Secretariat's directly responsible, he decided who lives there and who doesn't and so on. We didn't permit Milošević to remain there, not was it our duty to evict him from there...It's not the duty of the men at the gate to escort anybody from there to the building, when a visitor arrives and identifies himself, the fellow gives us a ring and says, Pavković is there, he says, Let him in or don't let him in, if he says, Don't let him in, if he says, You're not permitted inside, then I go back, if he says, Let him in, then you go in and wait to be told where to go. This is the way we've been doing this for years, we don't decide who goes in, Milošević's chief of security decides or since recently Milošević himself.

What I know about Senta is, that unit had the most sophisticated weapons, something neither we nor our special units have. I gather there were special security arrangements inside the compound. I don't think we did anything to obstruct the MUP in what they did. They didn't tell us anything about their intentions, they failed to produce the lists on time, the lists they produced weren't according to what we had agreed, I don't know the name of any of those and I don't care, after all they weren't able to control the units they had there. Later we...after the shooting stopped, because they had tried to force their way in but couldn't, there's a simple explanation why they didn't, withdrew the Army from the armoured combat vehicles [BOV], the armoured combat vehicles remained locked, there was that statement made by Mihajlović the next day. In the afternoon we had a meeting with Mihajlović, Đaković, Bojović and myself, Mihajlović repeated his story and I reiterated what I'd already told you, of course we had all the proof we needed, the statements of those at the reception, Ćosić, Bojović and all those who took part. We had evidence of what the Army did and what they did, I think that tipped the scales, Đaković spoke later, the opinion prevailed that something rather

mysterious had been going on, that it wasn't according to the spirit of the agreement. All that tendentious rumour that the Army is guarding Milošević, word is that those weapons are the Army's, that there are plans for a state coup, a military coup. What they wanted to achieve talking about those maps we don't know, but when Milošević gave himself up on Saturday morning Siniša Vučinić tried to escape by jumping over the fence and was stopped by our guards, so there's no question of the Army being involved in any way.

Lieut.-Gen. Bojović

The weapons discovered there, other than those two combat vehicles, none of that is ours. After the take-over [October 5] the Guards Brigade continued as before regarding the facility because those were its orders, it had to guard the facility and it continued to do what it did before, such were its orders. For your information, we made two exceptions, to leave them three telephone lines, they asked us to intercede for them, to make sure the phones are not disconnected, that the three phones remain in the building. This was agreed and I mediated. Also Mr Filipović from security, from the MUP told me that former President Milošević had asked us to help if we could to keep the building heated, so we delivered fuel by tanker to keep the heating going. That's all the Guards Brigade and the VJ did for the former President and the facility.

Lieut.-Col. Stamenić

There are no new developments, no further information. We've gathered all the material evidence in their possession, starting with the Federal Government decree regulating...facilities, also the decisions of President Koštunica placing them under the protection of the Guards Brigade, the guard duty arrangements.

Gen. Nebojša Pavković

We should see if it's necessary to make an addition statement regarding what Ćosić said, I didn't know they wore jeans and ski-masks. The Guards Brigade was returned to the General Staff some fifteen days ago after being directly subordinated to the President, it was responsible to the President's military office, that's not debatable at all, the orders are that it go on doing what it did before. What could be debatable, though, is the deviation from the guard arrangements, we had no right to hand the reception offices over to anybody, and we ought to have defended the facility from outside attack, we must appreciate this, I also told this to the President. I made this decision which Koštunica approved, the state must know and everybody must know, because they want to carry out the action, we pull back because we don't want any soldier killed. On the Sunday morning, after Milošević had gone, everybody left, the receptions are empty, there are no guards in that part of the compound, and Bojović phones me for instructions.

Let me tell you once more, if anyone is involved in any act of obstruction we're going to find out easily, otherwise you cast a blot on the Army's reputation. We've now made arrangements as to what to do with the facility and how. My proposal to the President was for the Army to continue guarding that other facility of exceptional importance, to wall it in, close the gates, the MUP may have the rest. We raised the

question of the White Palace, the Old Palace, Karađorđevo, Dobanovci, etc. Regarding these attacks in the press, threats of criminal complaints and so on, you lawyers, prosecutors ought to give us an explanation of what it means when someone threatens a colonel on duty with shooting him, what the implications are. This evening I've suggested to the President that tomorrow we have a meeting with the MUP, I would be there and all my subordinates who were there, also everybody from the MUP including those in ski-masks, let's see who they are, the names of those two who got wounded weren't even announced. I'm interested in what the lawyers have to say, let Đaković inform us briefly.

Lieut.-Gen. Milan Đaković

There were two basic objectives there. We have reliable information that this is so, one objective was to arrest president Milošević and the other to compromise the Army at the same time. Half of it has been achieved, they've got the president, and they were within an inch of attaining the second, of compromising the Army, but they failed...The intention was to prove a direct link between former president Milošević, Vučinić and the Army. Currently they are trying to prove that Vučinić had received specific plans from the Army, his task was to carry them out with the Army, some sort of coup, that everything had been arranged but they foiled it so it couldn't be carried out...

Gen. Nebojša Pavković

They knew that Milošević had been saying he wouldn't let himself be captured alive, that he and his family were going to kill themselves, their one object was to make him commit suicide. In order to capture him they reckoned they'd have to destroy the building, but that would have made a bad impression on the people, so they chose to talk to him and persuade him to give himself up. It's as well they did that because no one got hurt. That's my guess.

Lieut.-Gen. Milan Đaković

They didn't expect that at that meeting with the press President Koštunica would insist on respecting the law, that everybody who broke the law must be brought to justice, they weren't expecting that and were surprised, they were simply disarmed, they suddenly realized that President Koštunica's position is that no one is untouchable, they didn't expect that, they expected that he and the Army would hold their ground regarding former president Milošević all down the line, that they won't let the affair end the way they'd planned. Bearing in mind those earlier statements that he was not going to be extradited to The Hague, which didn't mean he wasn't going to cooperate with the Hague tribunal, their intentions regarding him, their object was to detach him from the Army, to make him vulnerable in order to deal with him in a final showdown...

Gen. Nebojša Pavković

The VJ General Staff, the 2nd Army and the Navy have never had any plans regarding Montenegro. The plans we had concerned the order to remain in constant combat readiness and measures under that order to be carried out in case the VJ facilities and personnel were threatened. As I'd been warning in the media, we weren't going to let the Army be worn out and irritated by depriving it of water, electricity, telephones, etc. All I said was that they had complete plans for attacking the Army and what would happen in Montenegro afterwards.

Gen. Svetozar Marjanović

General, generals and officers, I got my first information about these things from television, when Ivković made that announcement in the Assembly. The information was confirmed by Šešelj who told the Assembly that the residence of former president Milošević was surrounded by seven jeeps, two ambulance vehicles and special forces wearing ski-masks. Having heard that I phoned the operative on duty to ask him if there were any new developments, and he said there weren't any. I rang up the duty officer at the security department, the receiver was picked up by a sergeant who said he had no information that anything was going on. Still watching the TV, I rang up Stoimirović and he confirmed what I'd just heard...(inaudible).

Gen. Šušić

...President Koštunica later amended that same decision by adding that the Guards Brigade provide security for the buildings in cooperation with the MUP. On March 16 the President cancelled the decision and the Guards Brigade was again placed under the command of the General Staff. The duties of the Guards Brigade remained the same, the only difference being that the commander was going to be replaced. As regards this possibility, the press had been speculating for three months, mentioning General Bojović and me as commander of the Guards Brigade, I've had a very good relationship with it. My assessment on the strength of the growing reports that Mr Milošević might be arrested was that it was necessary to inform the President of this possibility and ask him, in case there is any decision by the State leadership to detain or interrogate the [former] president, to let the Army know in good time, that is, to inform me so I could stay in touch with General Bojović and above all the General Staff, in order that we might act on time to prevent any unforeseen complications that might result in bloodshed and unforeseeable consequences.

On February 28 I told this to the President and he promised that as soon as such a decision was taken he would let me know as head of the Military Office and inform the Chief of the General Staff as well, he would make concrete arrangements with General Bojović. Twenty days later I reminded him again, the danger was in the air. Of course, the things that we'd had before went on, it's plain now, the things I've heard here said about the MUP, it's been trying to set the Army up, to make it exposed and vulnerable...There are people in our midst who are working against the present Army leadership and certain generals. The most active are our former frustrated comrades. This is a warning to us...Let us please preserve the unity of the military leadership at all levels, let us manifest our military professionalism and dignity wherever we are, let us defend

the Army as an institution in every dispute. At the first meeting with the newly-elected President of the State my humble self had the honour to be in the company of the Chief of the General Staff and General Bojović, I took the liberty of saying, of reminding him as a professor of constitutional law that by definition the VJ is an institution of legitimate political power, like its counterparts in any other country be it most democratic or totalitarian. Of course, he agreed that this is so and that the Army is doing nothing on its own initiative including in the present situation. I agree with what the Chief of the General Staff has just said about making statements one after another, if necessary every day, to protect this institution against those unverified, arbitrary attacks.

Gen. Nebojša Pavković

As regards our information service, we must be much more aggressive than has been the case so far. I think the service needs shaking up from top to bottom. Reading newspapers and proposing things is not what I should be doing, I should be giving my consent for things to be done...Pavković's not the problem, I've offered my resignation to Koštunica on fifteen occasions, not resignation but to be replaced, the problem's somewhere else, this thing will not end with Pavković, as to our former colleagues, except for General Vuk Obradović, all the rest are deep in it, they ought to be criminally prosecuted, publicly exposed, all of them and some active ones too. Our next task entails personnel changes in the VJ and that very soon. If hanging out dirty linen in public is the thing to do, then let's do it. I've requested inspection of our financial affairs, inspection of our housing affairs, I want everything examined properly but not 1999 and 2000 but 1994 onwards, let people see who did what, who made the decisions, where millions of dollars were spent between 1993 and 2000, what was bought for hundreds of thousands of dollars.

As regards the MUP, our cooperation with that structure is generally good. In recent year we've given them material resources and ordnance worth 57 million German marks. Twenty days ago we gave them the material resources we'd taken out of the war stockpiles, something our units entering the ground security zone don't have, the things we don't have, vehicles, weapons, grenade launchers, ammunition, everything they asked for. That's worth 57 million German marks and we got nothing from them in return. In know this for a fact, when last time we gave them stuff they took notes of every screw on a vehicle, but when they returned those vehicles they just dumped them in a field like so much junk and left. Some of those things have been paid for, some have been destroyed, they signed for some of them. You see, our attitude towards them has been very correct.

I refused to take part in that controversy. By November 2 all the units had gradually evacuated the ground zone, some of them slowly withdrawing and others running away, they gave it over to the Shqipetar terrorists, so that's the kind of situation we have there. All I'm asking you is to understand, the thing people don't appreciate is that those who lost the ground zone on purpose are now advisers in the co-ordinating body, they are giving advice as to how it can be recovered, they resent our having said this openly...I told Čović we were having problems with regular funding, we needed a stable source of funds, provide us as you're providing the MUP. The easiest way to destabilize the Army is to link it to Milošević, if we'd wanted to defend not only that

building but the whole compound they wouldn't have ever entered it, that's clear. I also told Mihajlović, Why didn't you let us know, show us today an order changing the security arrangements in the residential building on Užička Street and we'll hand it over, if you'd told us to surrender the receptions we'd let you go inside and leave you to it. Now we're again in a situation where we are to evacuate the MUP from the ground zone, they are supposed to carry out some special tasks though we know how...They made a statement that I refused to sign the agreement, and that Pavković drank champagne to toast the victorious entry into the zone. Finally there's a proposal to Koštunica to give a special reward to the Joint Command chief, General Krstić and Jelić and to kick out everybody from the 3rd Army Priština Corps as if they're nobodies. According to them, none of this would be incorrect and unprincipled, everything would be according to the law. We have an exceptional Army and exceptional officers and we must preserve this. We mustn't, one mustn't link the Army to Milošević, the conflict between the Army and the MUP to Pavković, there's no problem, I will go and Bojović and all others will go if they are involved in this but the Army will have to emerge from this with its reputation untarnished as it did before.

Gen. Miodrag Simić

I wouldn't go along with your assessment that our cooperation with the MUP is correct. You learned to your cost that this cooperation is correct only on our part. I insist that the MUP is working against us. At the previous Collegium meeting I said that the tight budget was the first step towards breaking up the Army, I told this to President Koštunica and Prime Minister Labus. The second step is this media smear campaign against the Army as personified by you, you're not just any general, you're the Chief of the General Staff, one attacks the Army by attacking you. It is in this context that I view this affair regarding president Milošević. They won't stop there, they have their orders and they must destroy the Army at all costs. They already have the MUP in their pocket, the Army and President Koštunica still stand in their way.

Gen. Nebojša Pavković

They control and have everything except the 3rd Army, they don't know what to make of it.

Gen. Miodrag Simić

I think that we mustn't remain on the defensive any longer. I think that we must not appear individually, we must defend ourselves in an organized manner, we must defend the institution. I therefore suggest that we set up an inter-disciplinary team to monitor and assess the situation on a long-term basis. If you allow, since we can't afford to evaluate the situation on an ad-hoc basis, we can't play at firemen putting out one fire after another, we must find out in advance how things are likely to develop. I was astonished to learn from the news that the house of former president Milošević had been surrounded. I am an army commander after all, I ought to have been informed earlier. I

think that we ought to have reacted differently and foiled the plans of those who wanted to compromise us while actually...

Gen. Nebojša Pavković

We must analyze this case from a military point of view and insist the deal was not adhered to. We ought to have been told there would be a change of guard that day and that Milošević would be presented with the indictment.

Gen. Miodrag Simić

They will go on trying to compromise the Army, that's their chief objective. We must organize better and make sure we have access to the media.

Gen. Spasoje Smiljanić

While I generally approve of what has been said here, I think we must show greater respect for our functions and powers. The Chief of the General Staff, the army commanders, the Air Force and Air Defence commander must not give way to anybody over anything precisely on the strength of their functions. My impression is that we, including you General, have been rather indulgent, that we've backed down too often for the sake of domestic peace, in the interests of fair play or for other reasons. What I really want to know is why you signed that plan today if you don't think it's good, you oughtn't to have signed it as it is. I think that we must not give way any more, just as we must not do what they are doing to us, namely discredit others. I fully agree with you that we must make a start on personnel rearrangements though in the present situation we may just as well cry for the moon. I hope you'll appreciate, we don't need any special team to expose the people who are spitting in our eyes...let him say what he has to say, let Smiljanić say a thing or two about Grahovac, explain who Grahovac is, but I want to assure you, they may have Perić on their side, but they don't have Smiljanić, they have no corps commander, I know who they have and I'm going to put him under arrest.

Therefore, will you please...I wish to assure you that the things the land forces generals and colonels have done and said, we've had none of that in the Air Force and Air Defence. I can't understand that no one can't write anything against Vukšić.

Gen. Nebojša Pavković

We haven't got a Smiljanić in our Directorate, in our Army, I told this to Pantelić, he's going to write an article on Vukšić and sign it.

Gen. Spasoje Smiljanić

I've made a proposal, I want you to back my proposal to reiterate our initial support to the President of the State. I'm only saying this on behalf of the Air Force and Air Defence, but if he has our support he will have to back us too. You may recall that I told him, Mr President you must protect us from some of your coalition partners who are

going for us at full tilt, but he didn't do that, I'm going to tell him this, you'd better tell him yourself. I insist that he'd be told that the weapons and equipment no police force in the world is entitled to must be returned to the Army. Surely, the police do not need the Mig 24 helicopters, they surely don't need the Mig 17 and all that stuff. I think we're not here, we mustn't let the Army come down because we aren't ready to weigh the facts openly and impartially.

Gen. Nebojša Pavković

You ought to realize that at times I must walk a tightrope to make sure things turn out in the best possible way. As soon as the opportunity arises I'm going to, it might be as early as tomorrow, I've asked to see all those from the police tomorrow so we can say things to each other's face. But if there's no meeting we're going to hold a news conference, we'll invite people from here who ought to be present, we'll say openly that these things are lies, it's not what happened, let every one of us tell the reporters what's going on, that might bring the present set down. They draw parallels between Army and MUP generals, between a MUP general who comes out of nowhere and an Army general who underwent training and worked hard to become that, that's why they're spitting at us.

Lieut.-Gen. Branko Krga

What I wanted to say, you've already mentioned that we're dealing with a far greater problem than our relations over that event. It was merely used as a pretext, I fear that the Shqipetars will be the only ones to profit from all this. We ought to tell the public, the leadership, the President and all others who are willing to listen that as a result of these developments our position as a State vis-a-vis them and the international community is rather unfavourable.

In view of this, in order to put a stop to all this, I propose, in fact I go along with your proposal that we have a meeting with the MUP and discuss these things seriously, let the President and Đinđić also be there, we must tell each other openly what this is all about because the Army and police are very important institutions for the survival of the State and, if you will, the people, etc...I go along with all the colleagues who propose that the matter be cleared up, the MUP must be told in no uncertain terms that if they are opposed, then we must see what further action must be taken, only we mustn't make any rash moves that might prove counter-productive for us, we must normally take account of the interests of the country and the people as a whole.

Gen. Nebojša Pavković

As to what individuals have said and done, I think Vukšić was the worst...

Lieut.-Gen. Živorad Vujičić

General, we who are sitting here are 100 per cent right, Serbia was also right but she lost the war, we stand to lose the media war with these people because they have

better leaders and better methods, they have better plans while we have our honesty, so in the end we're going to end up...just as we got bombed although we were guiltless and blameless, we who are sitting here are going to get it in the neck. What for? As I said earlier, when we were alone, when we had that discussion, you mustn't expose yourself so much. If I were you, I'd never present myself to be asked questions in talk shows, to answer their questions, given that Lukić never attacked us on television but Mihajlović did, our man Krapović ought to step forward as Defence Minister and defend the Army, let him make explanations in that place and draw fire...(inaudible)

Lieut.-Gen. Stamenko Nikolić

...I'm not in favour of setting up a special team, I believe that everyone ought to do his job. I only wish to say, I feel offended both as a man and a general because on Friday I didn't know that this thing would happen, we had a Collegium meeting and we had no information that something was going to happen. General, all these attacks from Vukšić, the man talks strategy although he never commanded even a platoon, we didn't think he deserved a pension, I hope Krga doesn't mind my saying so, Krga as a man was in favour of helping him and his family, so eventually he got his pension and all the rest. I think that we must preserve our unity, which means we must stay on the same wavelength.

Maj.-Gen. Vranić

While that was going on, General, I was in Kragujevac at the swearing-in ceremony (inaudible). What sort of television is that, allowing him to say those things, to blaspheme the Army? What kind of man is he, talking about the Army like that although he was its member until recently. Also, what ought to concern us is the attitude of the man in the street who wants the answers, who wants to know how much of that is true. We ought to deny these things because in 90 per cent of cases the man in the street would accept our explanation because he naturally trusts the Army and has an absolutely positive opinion of it. I think that we must appear in public more often, I agree with the proposals made here, it won't do to let people say all kinds of things only to deny them later.

Gen. Miodrag Simić

They're imputing things to us to keep us busy, they're going to say one thing tomorrow and another thing the day after tomorrow, they want us going around in circles, dealing with that, defending ourselves. This is why I said we must predict events and forestall them.

Lieut.-Gen. Branislav Petrović

When Mihajlović turned up I told him that he should be ashamed for lying like that. Second, I told the Chief this was only a beginning, they are out to break our unity and to eliminate Koštunica through us. We are well informed about what goes on in

DOS. We may not matter, but there are 78,000 of our men, we mustn't play about with them, we must be more energetic, we're honourable men, the Army's a paragon. I was out there and I asked Krstić where the MUP was, what had happened to the MUP, he was with our man Pavlović, the MUP had run away.

Col. Radišić

I think that our real topic here is information warfare, that we are in real danger, that our situation is as grave as people here have pointed out. I think that we are not trained for warfare of that kind, this is the main reason why we lack personnel who could deal with filthy people like Vukšić, Stojadinović, Perišić and others. We are currently under the spotlight all the time, in the last issue alone nineteen out of sixty articles were about the Army, people are writing about us, there are neutral, positive and negative attitudes towards us, but the fact is, there have never been so many articles about us before. For the first time ever people in government are speaking against the Army, this is the first time we've had this thing happen to us. These things didn't happen to the JNA, nor did they occur during the former regime, they are now happening to us, individuals in government are attacking us...As for myself, find someone to replace me, I'll go to that war with them, I can beat them. I think that neither Ljubodrag nor Vukšić is fit to hold a candle to me, I'm not saying this to advertise myself but because they're bad, Ljubodrag can't write. This war ought to be fought by someone who's equal to it, Milorad Pantelić can't hold his own against them, a man like Ljubodrag will lick him any time because he plays dirty. What I want to say is, we haven't got the right personnel.

Gen. Nebojša Pavković

You will send for Ljuba and give him instructions, he's to...sign, otherwise he'll be retired straight away, I'm going to see to that personally.

Col. Radišić

We have no time, we must organize better. We've got to arm ourselves and get the right personnel for the job...this is classic information warfare, unless we think right we can lose it by speaking when we shouldn't and not speaking when we should. Everything we say is of the utmost importance.

Gen. Nebojša Pavković

I go along with everything you said, I agree...responsibilities from our house. As to these attacks from the authorities, we shouldn't be answering them, let's find people outside the Army who will...there are a good many retired generals who...90 per cent of our retired generals and Army members are disposed favourably but we make little use of their services, we don't contact them and ask them to write things, we must fight these people with the means you've outlined. I just can't understand that those people now in power don't realize that the Army is an instrument of that very same government, just as they were elected by the people so we too have...a people's Army. The long and short of

it is, they can't bring themselves to put the message across that they have confidence in us and in what we do. We had several calls yesterday, Vuk was authorized by the Government to find out exactly what 63rd Brigade is up to. If we'd wanted to do something we surely wouldn't have done it that way, a column on the march, so I had to explain that the Brigade has only fifty men in Niš.

I mean, they're watching and they're afraid without a reason whatever, that's what we have to do, establish mutual trust. I can't think of any generals, any command structure, any level they would trust, what structure would that be? I think that basically many of them are simply convinced that the Army ought not to exist, that things could be done on the model of the countries in the neighbourhood. Take Macedonia, for example, I had opportunity to talk with Milanović from the Ministry earlier today, they had been in Bulgaria, he tells me they have no army at all. So what advice can they give us about the Partnership for Peace, surely they have learned their lesson?

Gen. Branislav Obradović

General, I have a proposal to make, I agree that we should not set up teams at the General Staff level to fight these things in an organized manner because for this purpose we have good and efficient...structure. I should like to suggest that after that meeting with the MUP organs tomorrow or whenever, that depending on the results of that meeting and our relevant assessments and conclusions, that if possible we arrange to appear as guests in a studio debate on a TV channel that would have us, to select a team from various departments to answer approved questions with full authority. In this way the public would have first-hand information about what we represent at the moment, what we are doing and what we are to do in view of the forecasts, it seems that lots of important things will be taking place.

Col. Petković

(inaudible) as to what happened during the night from Friday to Saturday...

Gen. Nebojša Pavković

We've invited you here as advisory bodies to tell us whether it can be done that way, I know that it can't.

Lieut.-Gen. Milan Đaković

It's in the papers, ask whoever owns that paper to give you the name of the person who signed it, the initials are 'N.N.' [anonym], so start proceedings against 'N.N.'.

Col. Petković

Suing some 'N.N.' person would be a wild-goose chase.

Col. Milosavljević

Since it is my duty to deal with all criminal complaints that are made and those that aren't, I take it that I'm the one who's supposed to bring an action. Well, I promise to look into the matter carefully with the lawyers from the Security Directorate, we're going to find out if there are any actual elements of a criminal offence there. If there are, we're certainly going to initiate proceedings against the person involved for committing the criminal offence of assaulting a member of the armed forces in the performance of his duty. As to the criminal complaints...those who are making threats to newspapers etc., any person is within his rights to make a criminal complaint. In my capacity as prosecutor I have to take and file it and then see what can be done about it. Therefore one shouldn't worry and fret too much that something might be left undone, that we won't do things properly. My opinion is that the Ministry of Defence ought to take a more active part in defending the Army as an institution, they as a political body ought to ask those other politicians whether they intend to change their present attitude.

So, there's no dilemma, sometime tomorrow I'm going to look into all this together with the colonel and the other man concerned with the case, we're going to establish whether there are any elements of a criminal offence in that so we can initiate proceedings.

Lieut.-Gen. Stamenko Nikolić

I completely agree with General Đaković that the military prosecutors must act *ex officio*. Milosavljević is right, he ought to examine the matter to see if there are any grounds for filing a criminal complaint. In view of what this man said here, the Chief of Staff, whom we trust completely, that he has received death threats, that they threatened to liquidate him, General, we mustn't delay. There's no reason why the prosecutor couldn't proceed *ex officio*.

Lieut.-Gen. Živorad Vujičić

The thing is, they're accusing me of being the Government's man, but when I go there they say I'm not being co-operative and such things. Now, I wasn't there on my own, there were Colonel Ivo, two ministers and Ljiljana Stanišić. My first proposal to the Deputy Prime Minister was for the federal State to take out a long-term loan for southern Serbia from the National Bank of Yugoslavia, whereupon he said it wouldn't wash. Second, I suggested the issue of federal bonds at generous interest, I said I would find people to buy them, but he said it was no go. That was his response to every proposal I made. In the end he says the IMF has checked our budget, he says that we have thirteen salaries there, that we ought to economize, I reply that's our back pay, he says we won't have that, etc. I found the Serbian Government even less accommodating, they are downright antagonistic. Those of us who don't realize that they are going to use economic measures to drive us into a corner, to break us up in that way, are very mistaken. We must reorganize as soon as possible and do something, three months have gone and the plan's only 40 per cent realized, I just don't know how long we can go on like this.

Gen. Nebojša Pavković

Regarding what Žika said, he's completely right. But when I said that we ought to send a team who could make sure we don't leave empty-handed, I didn't want to identify the problems because of those others who were present, the problem of funds is a special problem, I mean we've got to pull through and pay the wages. Subsistence money's a problem out there. We're having this meeting tomorrow, I'll let you know in time where and when, we must discuss this matter quite openly and take stock of all our debts and claims. Regarding the Military School, the rooms taken on lease at the Military Academy, let's find out what we owe to whom. We've dispatched a communication to the President today requesting that he decide what...they are getting everything without paying anything, we're getting nothing and giving everything. If it's not accepted I'm going to ask the President for permission to hold a news conference like they did, the people who took part will all be there, General Sušić too, we'll decide who else will be going, we're going to clarify this matter.

If you ask me, I think we must do all we can to calm things down, the tension was caused by those who gave the unfair information unsubstantiated by facts. Now that they have been presented with the facts they are again making untrue statements. If someone guarded Milošević for ten years, those men who were in his house for ten years, the chief, that is, the Minister of Internal Affairs doesn't know what weapons they have, where they got them from. Now he thinks the Army delivered to them a case packed with hand grenades through a window though we all know what arms Senta had. What is he on about? What an embarrassment, the man doesn't know what stuff was in there. Let them ask the MUP personnel who manned the reception inside the compound. How the stuff got through past them. All right, let's wind it up.

* * *

The following interview with the then Guards Brigade commander was carried by the press:

Major-General Milivoje Bojović, commander of the VJ Guards Brigade, on the problems outside the residence of the former president of the FRY

WE DID NOT OBSTRUCT THE ARREST

Belgrade - The problems which arose during the arrest of Slobodan Milošević were due chiefly to the fact that two groups of MUP members failed to agree on a change of guards inside the residence in which the former FRY president was staying. This caused a delay and called for negotiations with the help of mediators, Major-General Milivoje Bojović, the VJ Guards Brigade commander, told *Blic*.

Q: Where were the troops during the events outside Milošević's residence and what were they doing?

A: I was away when I received a call from Colonel Radomir Kovačević, the chief of security in the Guards Brigade, he told me that certain technical problems had arisen concerning the change of Milošević's guards. Minister Mihajlović phoned General Pavković and asked him to help solve the problem. At about four in the afternoon, Pavković saw in his office Manasijević - I don't know his first name - he is deputy to General Senta Milenković from the old security team, Miloš Pokrajac from the State Security Department [RDB] who was to head the new security team, and Colonel Radomir Čosić, deputy commander of the Guards Brigade. They arrived at the gate and went into the reception without being challenged by the two soldiers inside. Pokrajac had brought along thirty men in jeeps and a van. However, the old security team did not permit the soldiers to open the gate and enter the residence. The members of the two camps started to haggle.

I had meanwhile returned from my trip. At midnight General Pavković ordered me to withdraw all the troops surrounding the residence because rumours had begun to circulate that the Army was preventing the new security from going in. Half an hour later, all the officers and guards withdrew from the vicinity of the residence carrying their weapons and kit. They pulled back with their rifles slung over their shoulders and did not fire a single round.

Q: Why did you not assist the MUP forces when they went out to arrest Milošević?

A: I only learned that this was an arrest operation on the Saturday afternoon. Milošević's arrest was not in the plans, all that had to be done was change the guards and serve him with a summons. This was confirmed by, among others, Minister Mihajlović at a meeting with President Koštunica. The Army observed the procedure and complied with the orders of the MUP guards inside the building. Both they and the men who were to relieve them were regular police officers.

Q: Why did the old security not allow their replacements to go inside?

A: They insisted that the list of the names of the men who were taking over had not been given them on time. When a list was produced later, it turned out that all the men guarding Milošević were to be replaced, not only four of them as arranged previously. The old security insisted that the whole affair be called off.

Q: What precisely had been arranged?

A: A few days before there had been two meetings at which it was agreed to replace the personnel guarding Milošević. The first meeting, held on March 23, was attended by myself, Dušan Mihajlović, Miloš Pokrajac and several MUP men. I was briefed on the changes in the RDB Sixth Directorate and told that security would be replaced and that final arrangements would be made later. At the second meeting, on March 26, I was there with Colonel Petar Kovačević, chief of security in the Guards Brigade, Pokrajac and Manasijević, deputy to General Milenković, and two MUP men I did not know. Milenković had been assigned new duties and Pokrajac was due to replace

him. Four others were also to be replaced and the remaining twenty or thirty could stay on. It was agreed that the Army be given full records of the relief arrangements.

Q: Is it true that the Army handed over the keys to the main gate to Siniša Vučinić?

A: When I arrived at the reception on Konavljanska Street I found there Manasijević, Pokrajac and my deputy Čosić. They were inside, with the jeeps, the van with the reliefs, a crowd of people and reporters standing outside the gate. I told the MUP men that I had been ordered by General Pavković to withdraw the soldiers and that it was up to them decide what to do next. Men from both security teams were present, so I showed them all the keys to the gate which is worked by electricity, at the push of a button. The keys were left in the possession of those two and we left. Later the gate could not be opened because power supply to the facility had been cut off.

Q: How then was it possible for Vučinić to enter the residence and for large quantities of weapons to be brought in?

A: The receptions at the gates were manned as usual by two soldiers, non-commissioned officers who let visitors in. They could only open the gates by permission of the duty police officer inside the residence. The soldiers would then let the vehicles with visitors pass without searching them and establishing the identity of the passengers. Since Milošević had permission to receive visitors every day, including the day in question, my guess is that Vučinić and the weapons got inside in the same way. After all, that day all the SPS deputies as well as some of the citizens who were standing outside the gates entered in the same way. While the party meetings were in progress, cars went in and out a hundred times and, of course, they were not searched.

Q: Is it true that the Army stopped police officer Miodrag Vuković serving the summons on Milošević?

A: I don't know who came to serve the summons on Milošević. What I do know is that on the Thursday a person arrived who was supposed to deliver to Milošević mail from the court, or so it was said. The soldiers at the gate informed Milošević's security, they received the reply not to let him through, and they obeyed. In other words, he was physically stopped by the soldiers but effectively by members of inner security who denied the permission to enter. The soldiers could not act contrary to the set procedure.

THE JUL SDB CADRES TAKE REVENGE

»There are no bad times, bad are the people alone.«
Darwin

At that time, the situation was hectic. Milošević had to be arrested at a request of the International Community. A financial loan on which the US Congress was to decide

depended on the arrest. Attention of the public had to be diverted from the ongoing events. It was the first test for the new government. What if Milošević gets arrested? The tangled web of crimes may easily become unraveled from the very top. The boss may start giving names of those who murdered on behalf of the regime. Where are the bones of Stambolić? Who murdered Ćuruvija?

The plan was made. They will find a man who could be fit enough to commit the murders and who is well informed about what was going on within the Service. That would lead an investigation in a wrong direction, and a difficult witness of their crimes would be removed. At the same time, attention of the public would be turned away. Therefore, it had to be somebody who knows them well, but does not share their views and does not belong to their circle of death and fear. They found all those characteristics in Dragan Leštarić, who used to be of a great assistance to me, intentionally or unintentionally. We have been and we remained friends and best men.

Those ones who committed murders and who were still ruling over the State Security Service, summoned Leštarić to the Belgrade security service office, next to the Novi Beograd Municipal Council, allegedly, in order to return the weapons he had been obligated with before the bombing when the State Security Service Warehouse had to be emptied so that weaponry does not get destroyed. Milošević's battalions of death were headed by the same group of men who began to worry that their ex college could start talking about everything he knew about them. However, they were not aware that Leštarić was assisting us both before and after 5th October.

Dragan did not have a clue about what was going on and went to their office, where he was arrested. They took him home under guard of people armed with the "Heckler" machine guns and they searched his apartment. The street was jammed with their vehicles and their men. I think that. At that time, Radonjić was the Chief of the Belgrade office of the Serbian Security service, he was a suspect of participating in the crime on Ibar Highway, and Romić was the Chief of the Sixth Directorate of the State Security Service. The names are known in public, and Milošević knew them as well. Bracanović assisted in putting an end to the story. Dragan brought out all arms that he had with valid documents. He was absolutely sure that it was just a misunderstanding. I witnessed the search. Their men were more or less decent – more decent than certain individuals who pretended to be serious security figures. They were looking for a gun, which was purchased via Petrušić who was a participant in the "Pauk" affair. They did not find it because he did not have it. Dragan was a witness in the "Pauk" affair too and he arouse their anger because he did not witness at court as they had desired, I was assured of that when Dragan introduced me to Petrušić in a restaurant in Belgrade.

They took him to Belgrade around midnight. I think it all happened on 27th March 2001. Around midnight I phoned Petrušić to tell him what was going on:

General, Leštarić was arrested. I'll come to pick you up.

Come immediately, he said.

Near Belgrade, I overtook the line of cars taking my handcuffed best man to the city. I arrived at Perišić 's late after midnight. I told him what was going on. He did not comment. he told me the following:

I will speak with Mihajlović in the morning to find out what is the matter. It is too late now anyway for finding out the reasons of the arrest.

We parted at about three in the morning. I went to the State Security Office building. A guard at the gate took my personal details and said it was too late and that I should come in the morning.

I struggled fiercely to get hold of any information. A lawyer, Slobodan Božić did his best to find out what it was all about. Leštarić was under a police arrest. As far as I knew, Minister Mihajlović was told that Leštarić had taken part in the assassination of Čuruvija.

I phoned Dragan's ex-colleges who I thought his friends and asked them if they knew anything about him and his past that I did not know. I did not find out anything new. But the response was in the morning newspapers: "Suspect of the Čuruvija Assassination Arrested." That confirmed my suspicion that they had killed two birds with one stone. An undesirable witness was removed and attention was turned from the arrest of Milošević. The next issue carried information that guns found on him were given for expertise. For a moment, I thought that they obliged him with the guns with which Slavko Čuruvija had been assassinated. Had they done so, Dragan would have probably spent the rest of his life in jail. It could have easily happened, but Leštarić got the guns long before the Service knew that a regime change would ever happen. In jail, he was put under a special routine. Media and journalists were doing their job. Because of newspaper articles, everybody kept away from him. His closest friends intended to resign from the Service, as they knew that he was not involved in those crimes. He was not allowed any visitors or newspapers for a long time. He was in a solitary at the Central Prison described at the beginning of this book. Days were passing by, and he was feeling worse and worse. I must admit that some people from the 1st Directorate of the Federal Ministry of Interior, who moved there from the Serbian Security Service as they were assured that nothing had changed, showed solidarity with Dragan, and in particular the Chief of the Service Petrušić. Also, the current Prime Minister Živković, who was the then Chief of the Federal Police, had a very decent attitude concerning the Leštarić case.

We did not seek anything else but the truth and it was most difficult to achieve. As the expertise proved that it was not shot at Slavko Čuruvija from the guns found on Leštarić, they charged him with unauthorized possession of arms and ammunition. What a relief. Save the "Patriotic Block", that was the backbone of the State Security service, did not give in. He had to provide evidence of how he got hold of the guns. He had a written permit from the Central Warehouse of the State Security Service. The investigative judge was to arrange hearing of two witnesses from the 1st Directorate of the Federal Police, as well as the warehouse officer who had issued the guns to Leštarić. I knew about the former two that the JUL oriented staff could not win them over to their side, but I did not know about the warehouse clerk. The two witnesses were Goran Petrušić and Nenad Batočanin, who was later murdered by the Zemun Gang near the Red Star Stadium. I knew both of them and we kept in touch for several days. I would like to give them credit and show my respect for their decency concerning the arrested Leštarić.

The investigative judge did not hurry with the hearing. It was obviously convenient for the Service. The above-mentioned two officers volunteered to testify without being summoned. They told the truth. The problem arose in finding the Warehouse clerk, he had retired. Allegedly, summonses were coming back from his address. As it was clear what was going on, I had now other choice but to find him

myself and ask him to come with me to testify. It was very risky, as the State Security service could have arrested me because of exerting influence on the witness. I was pretty much sure that the State Security Service had already given him a “treatment”. I found him at home. I introduced myself and told him about the problem. I was accompanied by a friend whose name I will not mention because of his job. He told me that what was in the newspapers was an outright lie. I felt relieved. I asked him to testify at court whether Leštarić was legally obliged with the guns or not.

We were lucky that he was an honorable man who agreed to come with me to the court and testify. After his testimony, there was nothing to hold back Leštarić’s release from prison. After seventeen days of imprisonment, with the help of our efforts and with the help of the truth, Dragan Leštarić was released, and soon after acquitted by the court. For his imprisonment, as well as mine, nobody was called to account, nobody apologized. Leštarić was the first sacrificial lamb who was to save the criminals from their liability, the second was Prime Minister Djindjić. The outcome was tragic.

After the arrest, the leadership of the Ministry of Interior was trying hard to rid them of Leštarić. When he realized that, he left the Service. Even today, Minister Mihajlović is reminded that contact with Leštarić is not desirable. Quite irrationally, General Lukić expresses great animosity against Leštarić, who is, at present, engaged in the shooting sport with the “Gendarmerie” club under the auspices of general Guri, who has not succumb to pressure to turn his back to Leštarić, but that is what he is like. They won at a shooting contest in Italy and at a press conference, they appeared together with Mihajlović and Lukić. Everybody looked at them in surprise, but such is life.

We have often been in a situation to witness appearance of members of the Anti-Hague lobby who were filled with information on the subject and a lot of money. Later, the information would appear in the press as evidence that no crimes were committed on our part. Frequent visitors of General Pavković were Mr. Kosta Čavoški and Mr. Vuk Obradović. Kosta Čavoški was a hardliner always busy explaining why suspects of crimes should not be extradited to the Hague. Vuk Obradović was a very welcome guest at the General Staff Headquarters, although the same General Staff was persecuting him for many years before 5th October. The very moment when Vuk Obradović left the Government as a consequence of his “sex affair”, general Pavković and the General Staff began evading him. Neither was his brother welcome in the position of the Director of the Federal Flight Control. The daily agenda sets out the names of visitors to the Office of General Pavković following 5th October. Marija Milošević was visiting him often. She was recorded as “Marija”. It would be interesting to know what were they talking about.

DAILY AGENDA OF THE CHIEF OF GENERAL STAFF

26TH February – =04th March

Monday, 26 February

07.15 – 07.30	Inspection of mail
10.00 – 10.30	Dragi
10.30 – 11.00	Kosta Čavoški
11.30 – 12.00	Stojanović, JUMKO
12.00 – 12.30	Uzelac and Boban Marković (wounded soldiers)
12.30 – 13.30	Tomić

14.00 – Lazarević and Stefanović
 16.00 – Ratomir Ristić

Tuesday, 27th February

07.15 – 07.30 Inspection of mail
 09.15 – Vuk Obradović
 10.00 – 11.00 Geza and Gojović
 11.00 – 11.30 Andjelković and Tomić
 12.00 – 12.30 Lalić
 13.00 – Cerović and Stanković
 14.00 – Miško Obradović
 15.00 – Miladinović, JUHOR

Wednesday, 28 February

07.15 – 07.30 Inspection of mail
 08.15 – Djaković, Krga
 10.00 – Ratomir Ristić
 11.00 – 11.30 Marjanović
 11.30 – 12.00 Marija
 12.00 – Vujčić, Jerotić
 13.00 – Ljubiša Mitrović

Thursday, 01 March

07.30 – 08.15 Inspection of mail
 08.15 – 09.30 Meeting of the General Staff
 11.00 – 11.30 Nikola Lunić

Friday, 02 March

07.30 – 08.15 Inspection of mail
 13.30 – Baltić, the fans of Partizan

Even when the new regime would decide to send to pension a certain number of generals, problems would occur. Generals were reluctant to accept retirement, and they regarded it as an insult. They would refuse to accept decrees on their retirement, protecting their positions, not offering a chance to new people and new ideas. The following table sets out terms of service including service benefits of certain generals, which raises a question why tax payers have to pay for benefits of which generals do not take any advantage, as they desire to remain in the Army at any rate:

A LIST OF GENERALS AND ADMIRALS WITH FULL TERMS OF SERVICE

No.	Name and Family Name	Rank	Date of Birth	Term of Service as at 31.12.2001
1	Vladislav Stepić	Lt. General	1.26.39	42.03.04
2	Branko Krga	M. General	2.18.45	41.05.02
3	Jagoš Stevanović	M. General	10.6.45	40.06.14
4.	Milorad Djordjević	Lt. General	11.16.45	40.06.02
5	Branislav Dašić	M. General	11.28.45	40.05.19

6	Milan Krajović	M. General	1..3.46	40.07.13
7	Branko Fezer	Lt. General	3.28.46	41.07.15
8	Miloš Gojković	Lt. General	5.15.46	40.02.12
9	Ninoslav Krstić	M. General	7.10.46	41.04.01
10	Ratko Djukanović	Lt. General	11.17.46	44.09.06
11	Todor Petković	Lt. General	3.29.47	44.02.05
12	Slavko Biga	M. General	4.7.47	41.02.20
13	Branislav Petrović	M. General	5.27.47	50.08.06
14	Nikola Grujin	M. General	9.21.48	50.01.16
15	Aco Tomić	Lt. General	10.6.48	40.08.20
16	Milan Djaković	M. General	10.23.48	40.11.01

THE FEAR OF TRUTH

*«Many illusions stem from the truth misused by people»
Voltaire*

Perisic's flaw was his enormous trust in people and his ready acceptance of them. He had no reservations about people and failed to grasp that many of them came to see him with bad intents. His entourage composed of people working for various military services contributed to his ouster from the government of Serbia. I know for sure that he was a strong opponent of Milosevic's staunchest associates and stooges on the eve of 5 October. He was very well informed. As far as I know Minister Mihajlovic, Vice Prime Minister Covic, the late Prime Minister Djindjic and former President Kostunica had a selective access to information with which I provided the government of Serbia. That is they had access to information with a major bearing on and relating to national security, and unimpeded development of democracy in this country. My briefings in Perisic's cabinet lasted usually half an hour. Due to his multiple obligations he did not have much time on his hand, so he usually asked me to sift through the collected intelligence and inform him only of intra-army developments with a possible impact on interests of government and citizens of Serbia. At the time DOS was still united. However I would like to point out that the meeting of Chiefs of Staff of Yugoslav Army did not discuss Milosevic's handover to the Hague Tribunal.

The next conflict between the government of Serbia and Chiefs of Staff of Yugoslav Army erupted in June 2001, when General Pavkovic openly confronted Vice Prime Minister Covic tasked with co-ordinating and monitoring situation in South Serbia. In the Land Security Zone there were understandably many servicemen, including generals Ninoslav Krstic, Momcilovic, and Jelic. Serb government was very satisfied with the performance of General Krstic. It was much rumoured in Belgrade that he was slated to become the new Head of Staff of Yugoslav Army. Pavkovic grew fearful that he would lose control and that the new authorities would favour General Krstic over him. Conflict was in the offing. Services within the army started digging up information about General Krstic's past. It was thus brought to light that he was a good officer, albeit with some problems with alcohol in the past. Statements of his drivers and associates were collected. There was much interest in dredging up all kinds of information about him: who his friends were, which were his favourite haunts, etc.

Newspapers splashed the following front-page headlines:

*« Attack on Pavkovic», «General's replacement and background thereof»
«Sudden replacement of General Ninoslav Krstic from the post of Commander of the Joint Security Forces caused vocal protests of some DOS leaders and new wave of criticism targeting Head of Staff of the Yugoslav Army.»*

AIM, Belgrade, 19 June 2001

* * *

Gen. NEBOJSA PAVKOVIC

...let's see...the next staff meeting could be held on Tuesday. Monday is out of question for we have a meeting in South of Serbia regarding border guard towers...So let's schedule a meeting for Tuesday, at 10 a.m., so we can wrap it up by noon and move on to the meeting of expanded staff to discuss the issues relating to the end of service, promotion, education. I would like to invite to the second meeting General Krstic to tackle some issues...Due to recent developments we had been reluctant to address those issues earlier....there is evidence that he commanded those forces, we shall discuss those issues, in fact Lazarevic is calling me to tell me that there are many reactions to that conduct. I must tell you that I would avail myself of this opportunity to appraise how much the two of them, the two commanders impacted such commanding. I can tell you that there is evidence that the two commanders in South Serbia have never issued any order to units, to any unit, during execution of that task. I monitored yesterday's events by my Motorola. When we called Jelic he did not even know his secret code. I must tell you that Krstic did not call us to inform us if everything was ready, if anything else was needed, to brief us about next moves, to say what has been completed. On Monday you shall have all the facts and figures ...they shall be disclosed here. We were in the dark as to his movements, his meetings, his interlocutors. He practically became a private general acting as the whim took him. He went to attend some courses in Vrnjacka Banja, that is some US-organized seminar, at which tribute was paid to the fallen US soldiers, but failed to send telegrams informing us of number of our casualties. Moreover we were neither informed of nature or whereabouts of his meetings. Something was utterly wrong about his actions. I did not want to discuss his conduct, I kept briefing the President as scantily as I could, did not want to force the issue of Krstic's actions. You know well that I even intentionally stemmed the flow of all Krstic-related rumours, and you are aware of the responses. Now we are facing even similar responses at lower levels. The main question is how he can command if he, as a commander, carries only radio station of the Interior Ministry and keeps in touch only with that Ministry, and is utterly unaware of acitons of our units. Was he able to command? Yesterday I checked with Lazarevic, yes, he had a station, we asked all the others, even a squad commander what was happening. He really did not behave correctly..., in any case we should try to establish what has really transpired, formally and factually, who planned what, who was the key organizer, who prepared actions, who spearheaded those actions, who commanded...I have a serious intention to suggest to the President a joint meeting to be attended by all relevant

people. They should then say what they have to say about the aforementioned. If we want to allow anyone else, other than the President and authorized individuals, to pursue a personnel policy, I am not against that idea, but you know well how stiff resistance we had to overcome to ensure a rank for Jelic in January, or in December, to have him deployed on the ground. You shall see all the relevant documents, all the relevant statements, so you shall learn what people say about Oraovica, about Skoljo, what they say about goings-on there.... They say that no-one made any effort for two days to get in touch with our people cut off at Skoljo. Nothing was done for two full days. Then for three hours no-one moved to assist our released soldiers...It is not true that the TAM truck hit the mine, it was shot at. Only lies, cover-ups, no-one knows what is really happening there. I have just returned from that area...people are cursing us, even swearing that they would like to torch the Joint Security Forces Command. We must look into the matter, try to establish to who did what, I am not against recognitions being given to all, but let us divulge the truth who is behind all those actions. Just now we saw the course of the most difficult operations ...but we did not see a single military unit. Why in the process of editing centrestage was given to the crew, to journalists, cameramen, 50 vehicles and the whole convoy entering a village? It was done because villages are accessible, because the police units enter them, whereas the army marches through the mud, forests, minefields, mountainous areas...But there is no mention of that. Yesterday you did not see a single military unit, those in uniforms were all policemen. No-one ever mentions the army. This glossing-over happened in the past, and happens now. It is not attractive for cameraman to follow our movements. But I have iron-clad information that we lost control over Trnovac, over Lucani, over Koncujski, that we just passed through those localities in agreement with the local assemblymen. Who needs all those lies...we have to shed light on all those facts if we want to publicly divulge them. He threatens that he would make public all those developments, and he tried to eliminate Chief of Staff, and the 3rd Army and to portray some prominent individuals as as militants. On the other hand he often screamed in his hiding place that we should open fire from all the available weapons. And then no-one dared mention the excessive use of force. If we cannot clarify that we shall set up a meeting with President and all relevant people....and if we fail to shed light on what has happened, we shall organize press conference and I shall recount the evolution of the whole story, I shall say who shilly-shallied when action had to be taken against 30-50 terrorists, and instead engaged in marginal things, like conducting negotiations, signing treaties, while our soldiers were dying and the ranks of terrorists swelling to reach the number of 5,000. So then people shall know who did what. (tape is barely audible).

Lieut.-Gen. MILAN DJAKOVIC

Sir, the main problem are attempts of some structures to magnify problems relating to the Hague Tribunal in order to embroil the army in the whole issue. I have operational information that attempts are at play to incriminate some military personalities on the basis of data allegedly originating from the army proper. In view of that we shall have to contact some persons in order to convince them of our innocence. We have no evidence purporting our non-involment in activities into which the Hague Tribunal is looking. You have seen that they dare not accuse some personalities.

Gen. NEBOJSA PAVKOVIC

We have not accused anyone, but rather denied his implication of the involvement of the military leadership. I have said that some people, leading personalities in the Interior Ministry of Serbia are trying to launch such accusations. I have not accused anyone, as was denied by Mihajlovic. I don't know where that letter is. Kostunica has one letter signed by Mihailovic which represents an investigating judge's response to us. In that letter the judge says that no-one has ever accused the army or its top leadership of any offensive activity. We should also see again the visual recording of several days ago to re-establish who has said what. The whole story began at that meeting. Namely the story that the army was forming para-military units.

Lieut.-Gen. MILAN DJAKOVIC

I shall show him the telegram which I have sent and say: Mister Minister, since you have made certain accusations, why haven't you replied to my telegram and asked me to discuss the matter with you.

Gen. NEBOJSA PAVKOVIC

The second issue is related to the army's and the Interior Ministry's superiors and we have explained in depth the course of developments in 1998 and 1999. It is true that there were orders, and we have said that. But they have never acted in compliance with that order. Notably that very Lukic who is sitting next to Mihailovic. We have thousands of witnesses so I have no reason whatsoever to discuss it with Lukic after his downfall...he knows well who his commander was.

There was a joint command at the top. It was a political body which co-ordinated police and army actions. Recovery of battlefield was carried out by the police units. We were not needed for that recovery, it was not up to us to bring a freezer truck and place it in the police garrison. It would have been illogical. Reports of all our commanders, including the one of the 3rd Army speak of non-subordination of units.

Lieut.-Gen. MILAN DJAKOVIC

Sir, it is interesting to note that the matter was disclosed by a former agent of the state security forces, and a current member of Nova Demokratija party. Mihajlovic cannot deny that, I challenge him to deny that Vitomirovic is not a member of his party.

Gen. NEBOJSA PAVKOVIC

You should underscore that in talks with the person you intend to see.

Lieut.-Gen. MILAN DJAKOVIC

I shall mention all those individuals who know that Vitomirovic as an agent of the state security forces was deployed in Kosovo. I shall tell him: «Why do you ask me when you know better.»

Secondly, information given to the press by the state security services are information in possession of Mijatovic's daughter. She is the state security services journalist. She'd better not try to deny it, for there are ten reports submitted by Natasa Mijatovic, daughter of Head of State Security Services. Perhaps I should divulge that or order some of my associates to write about it and thus earn some money. But what would be the purpose of such a move of mine? We are accountable for the things that the army did, they should be responsible for the things the police did. Therefore nothing is controversial in that matter. This newly-formed commission of ours should now work on this matter, should engage itself fully to that end, perhaps even get in touch with Bulgarians. There are many solutions..our people could present themselves as journalists interested in the matter, in detecting who did what, in learning who played which role, they need not present themselves as the military...Some people have suggested that we launch our own paper, or have a lower-ranking officer form a news agency, and that's it. Our man finances the agency, he works there, and that's it. And all that instead of begging journalists to disclose to us something. If I give him data, he mustn't divulge it. Let the truth emerge.

Gen. NEBOJSA PAVKOVIC

All the disclosed material is very transparent, very intentional. Firstly, that Mihajlovic if he has mentioned some medals he should check their origins instead of highlighting that some were given the medal of Yugoslavia, which is usually hand-made and given only by the President. Do we know anything about its maker and the place in which it was made? I was unaware of its existence until recently. It is allegedly the medal made by the army and destined for national heroes. We allegedly awarded Milosevic with that medal. And such allegations are highly unfair.

Lieut.-Gen. MILAN DJAKOVIC

All agreements relating to the 31st of March and arrest of former president were orchestrated. I shall tell Mihailovic about Bjelica-related rumours. He was their man, and now they say that Bjelica worked for us. It is common knowledge who he was in contact with, what he did and for whom he worked. And on top of everything they have now released both him and Vucinic.

Gen. NEBOJSA PAVKOVIC

He came to us with a plea to give him weapons for his unit. We have immediately recognized his motives, and accordingly informed Kostunica. He said that the agency was formed, he asked for 100 or 200 rifles to provide protection for Milosevic. At play was an obvious attempt to frame us ...he came to my house to see me at midnight. Only a stupid person would have failed to see through his ploy.

Lieut.-Gen. MILAN DJAKOVIC

Three or four contacts have been made. If he wants to act as a patriot, he can help only in his capacity of a member of that institution. Nothing less, and nothing more.

Gen. NEBOJSA PAVKOVIC

You should be with Kljajic and Bojovic in Nikitovic's office at half past 11.

Lieut.-Gen. LJUBISA STOIMIROVIC

Sir, as regards this exercise we agree with General Krga that it should be postponed until fall, in order to see which troops would take part in it. KFOR and other troops need not take part in it again. We need not make a presentation, for it would incur additional expenses, plus our soldiers are already exhausted. Thus we should stage it in September or October. If you agree I can write your orders for General Lazarevic, that the here present admiral on grounds of poor health of his mother requested that the control team of the War Navy be instead headed by his deputy.

Gen. NEBOJSA PAVKOVIC

...let us continue this conversation, now that we have Krstic with us. Like the previous one, I have scheduled this meeting to discuss the whole situation which had emerged after practical disengagement of the Joint Security Forces, downsizing and overhaul of the JSF Command.

The President, obviously displeased with the manner those statements had been made public, entrusted me to discuss the whole matter with Krstic.

This is what I think. We already had one conversation, after analysis of completed tasks, that is entry into the land security zone, and on that occasion assessment was voiced that all our duties there had been performed in a responsible, professional way and without any hitches. Then we also lent credit to Krstic and the Command for what they did, notably in the sphere of contacts, co-operation and execution of joint activities of entry into the Land Zone with international community and KFOR.

We also made our remarks in relation to functioning of the Joint Command and Joint Security Forces from the aspect of commanding and problems which in that regard arose between Chief of Staff - Command of Joint Security Forces and the 3rd Army. I would not like now to dwell anew on those remarks and assessments. However I think that there had been major deviations from the orders issued by the FRY President and Chief of Staff with respect to functioning of the chain of command of JSF. Then I publicly criticized General Krstic for failing to fully comply with the subordination relations, which required the following sequence of prime movers in the chain of command: Chief of Staff-Krstic- the JSF Command.

I have once stated the foregoing, and in the course of my expose today, I may touch on some aspects of that matter sporadically. On that occasion we have also said that an important role in the aforementioned operation of entry into the land zone was played by the Command of the 3rd Army, and the Pristina Corps, the latter having been

engaged in practically all activities linked to that operation, as envisaged by the January order of President, and other orders relating to formation of the Joint Security Forces.

I deeply regret my disagreement, which began early on, with the President of Co-ordinating Body, Mr. Covic. We had divergent views on the place and role of Chief of Staff, my personal place and role, and the roles of the 3rd Army Command and the Pristina Corps.

In my mind, the attempts to publicly portray the army as a war-monger, as the most militant organization bent on resolving everything by the force of arms, were not fair. We have data, information and our commanders reports from the field which supplement that story. I also think that the constant emphasis on Chief of Staff's failure to provide accurate information on the state of affairs in the JSF Command, is not acceptable for us. But we decided not to challenge that misinformation until our task was completed.

During execution of that task we faced many problems in the command system, perhaps because co-operation and co-ordination with the 3rd Army Command was wanting. We held several meetings with a view to improving that co-ordination as the 3rd Army unfolds activities ensuring engagement of the Joint Forces.

At the Nis meeting we defined the roles and places in the chain of command of both Commands, and thus improved the overall situation.

Thereafter we devised a new plan for implementation of security measures in South Serbia and in the Command of JSF. The plan also envisaged disengagement of the Joint Security Forces. Three meetings with the Command of JSF were held to discuss that plan. General Krstic took part in only one meeting, while Momcilovic, other bodies of the 3rd Army Command, and bodies of Chief of Staff took part in all meetings. At the meetings we defined all forms of the JSF disengagement and set deadlines thereof. And the plan was in principle accepted by all. But at a later date Krstic proposed again his variant which did not differ much from the adopted one envisaging downsizing of the Command from 50 to 30 men. Obviously our plan was drafted after consultations with the FRY President who had also floated the thesis that the Command should be composed of experts, whose expertise and professionalism could facilitate contacts with representatives of international community and an easier compliance with their demands. In other words it was suggested that the Command be composed of translators, jurists, and military experts. And with his approval thus-formed, experts-manned Command was put in place. It was also established that the body, no longer tasked with command duties, would now act as a liaison agency between the Co-ordinating body and international community on the one hand, and be also in charge of co-ordinating activities of the Interior Ministry and those of the army units, on the other hand. We thought such a solution was acceptable, despite some minor downsizing. The said decision was articulated on an Order that the newly-formed Command would place demands to the Pristina Corps and the 3rd Army Command and carry out expert activities on behalf of the latter. In other words if the need arose it was to do assessments, issue documents, draft plans. And to make it cost-efficient we substantially downsized the Command.

Moreover, for the sake of replacements and leaves, we decided to effect personnel changes in that Command. Hence it was decided that Momcilovic took on duties of Head of Command, while Krstic was to resume inspection duties, which had been stalled,

while, in keeping with the needs on the ground, General Obradovic was to be reinstated to his post.

Several days ago we had a meeting with the President and Covic. But we did not have time to timely summon General Krstic, and Covic criticized us for that failure. But in fact it was the President who decided on the composition of the meeting. On that occasion we indicated all problems linked to command activities in the JSF zone of responsibility. He refused to accept our explanation, and responded in a similar way to other members of the expert staff team in attendance, by saying that there was nothing to discuss. So we have a problem, how are we to communicate with someone who refuses all our stances, rejects all our arguments. In such a situation there is hardly any room for reaching understanding.

I thought it was necessary, in line with the President's instructions, to talk with General Krstic, as the person directly involved in all developments. I used to point out that during his assignment in South Serbia General Krstic deviated from the command system, and was in fact directly subordinated to the Co-ordinating Body President, since he carried out only the latter's orders. In view of the situation on the ground we condoned such a conduct of his. But the recent spate of virulent criticism targeting me personally, the top army leadership, and allegations that I was the one who urged General Krstic's replacement, though, as you well know, the President was in favour of that move...however we cannot still make public our version of developments. But at today's meeting with the President, I shall check his stance, and if it is necessary I shall make public, I shall divulge everything, the course of events since entry of Shiptari into the Land Security Zone to date. General Krstic was not replaced, under the presidential decree he was temporary assigned to the LSZ. And he completed his task. Judging by some statements of Krstic proper he expected that replacement and moreover asked for it on grounds of his exhaustion. He agreed with the disengagement plan of those forces and their Command. But currently we have the situation in which General Krstic and I, as the key army man, with whom the army is often identified, are at odds. Smear campaign is in full swing, speculations in the press are rife, and we think, and the President shares our view, that such speculations should be stopped. I am not familiar with Krstic's statements, but the President told me the following: «He has said many unfair things. Please talk to him.» Last night on the Maska TV talk-show I heard Krstic say that all those who work professionally are being replaced. I am not familiar with other statements of his. I think that we, here gathered generals, as the most responsible army people, should finally clarify that issue, and, if necessary, make public our findings. In my mind, Krstic should be the first one to do that.

I suppose you can predict the consequences of further destabilization of the army. I think Vice Prime Minister Covic, thanks to his influential position, has elevated that problem to the level of the government of the Republic of Serbia. This is the first time in the history of our army that the republican institutions are interfering into competence of the President. I think that all and sundry, notably soldiers, well know that the aforementioned criticism is not only aimed at me. I don't sign orders on appointment of generals, so I have not signed the recent one. We all know who has signed it. President took decision on the basis of what he has learnt, and we have accordingly followed through. Hence no-one has misinformed the President compelling him to take the wrong decision. If that had been the case, then let us examine our conduct in that matter. If we

acted wrongly, then he shall most certainly right our error. I had a talk with him yesterday, and he voiced no intention to change anything in that regard.

I would like to ask all of you, members of this expert staff body, to say what you think about this matter. Let us also hear General Krstic, and then we, as true soldiers, and generals, can draw our conclusions, instead of allowing any scribbler, any hack-journalist to engage in generals-bashing, to belittle our profession, and thus affect directly our and army's authority.

So let's proceed with Stoimirovic's expose.

Gen. LJUBISA STOIMIROVIC

Sir, generals, as regards the situation which we are now facing, I would like only to touch on some elements within my competence, and my expectations and problems before this situation had arisen.

Firstly, as regards line of commanding, people of great professional experience and reputation have been selected in keeping with your proposals and the President's decision. And I think that we have then acted correctly, in line with our assessments and importance of the task. We know that General Obradovic was of repute when he took on the assignment. The same holds true of General Krstic. General Krstic chose Momcilovic for his deputy and Head of Staff. I personally hold in high esteem General Momcilovic for his professionalism and excellent reputation. Of course in line with his function, the next appointment was the one of General Jelic. In those terms I personally did not expect any problems in commanding activities, but rather a more successful co-operation between the two commands, the one of the Joint Security Services and the one of the 3rd Army. Later we realized that the said co-operation in the past two and a half or three months was not up to our expectations.

As regards the number of forces necessary for the performance of the task, they were determined nearly 100% in line with demands of the Joint Security Forces. All generals in attendance here well know that we put at the disposal of the JSF Command our best troops, our best servicemen, because we all feared casualties, notably among conscripts and reserve troops, and hence tried to cut in advance our possible losses. Therefore we all and also General Krstic then decided to deploy our special units. The special units of the Yugoslav Army. And realistically speaking they had the capability to successfully carry out their tasks. And thanks to efforts of those forces and obviously good command we preserved our high professional reputation, we confirmed it, and some were surprised by that fact.

And now I shall say openly that we still have many enemies, but we also have many friends. Our friends shall rejoice in what we had achieved, but our enemies are probably displeased with our success, and are perhaps behind all the trouble we are currently facing.

I personally had serious problems. Firstly I had to deal with 55 orders in only 80 days, or two orders from Chief of Staff, this or that Command, every day. It was very taxing. It exhausted both Commands, but everything was done in keeping with our and political decision of March, and we also respected that pace of commands.

Sir, generals, admiral, sometimes there were disagreements because any movement of any unit was followed by the demand for a its replacement by a new,

adequate unit made by either General Krstic or General Lazarevic. Such reactions were quite understandable in view of fear of all commanders that they may be left without sufficient forces. In line with this, for example, the newly-assigned commanders frequently placed demands for reinforcements of their sectors, namely the 3rd Army or the Joint Security Services. In my mind Chief of Staff met those demands in a realistic way, for it also made its assessments, in addition to those made by the 3rd Army Command and the Joint Security Forces Command. We all monitored developments on the ground, and reinforcements were sent, or troops were reduced in parallel with the swelling of or reduction in the Shiptari militants' ranks. So you all know which 2nd army troops were sent as reinforcements, which troops, notably the military police units, were characterized by their permanent combat readiness. But at times we could not meet either General Lazarevic's demand, or General Krstic's demand, and the expert staff present in this meeting was aware of that. You took decisions and we think those decisions were the right ones, as in the end it turned out.

We faced a critical situation in Oraovica. Then it was not clear what had really happened there. Unfortunately General Curcin was there on that day, but he was not in possession of accurate information, did not know what kind of situation our forces faced there. But, fortunately, on the second day, he was told of the complexity of local situation, of incursions of a number of terrorists from Kosovo and the Land Zone, and that very night, on Your order we sent in new forces in order to salvage a difficult situation. After that some members of this expert staff team went to South Serbia to assess situation on the spot, and everything was resolved within 3 or 4 days.

As regards disengagement of forces, I contacted Generals Krstic and Momcilovic and obviously Colonel Lukic, now General Lukic. That disengagement was by and large effected in line with proposal of another command and our plans. So stances in that regard were fine-tuned. I would like on this occasion to praise the stand of General Obradovic. Namely he gave a wide berth to journalists, and did not allow the media to compromise or manipulate him, though he had already gained much political exposure and prominence through General Krstic.

And now I want to underscore that division of generals into two columns would not be beneficial either for our army or our country. If no-one knows who would lead one or two columns, or if they might even split into 5-6 columns, then we and the others shall face an unwieldy situation.

I must add something else. During the war we all, more or less, faced grave dangers, and could have died, regardless of our high ranks. In fact General Velickovic perished, General Krstic nearly died, for he was in a heavily bombarded facility. So I think that it would be a sheer catastrophe if General Pavkovic and General Krstic were to divide the army into the two columns. Therefore I ask all here present generals, each within his competence, to correctly inform the general public, to enable General Momcilovic to properly discharge his duties and tasks, in the same way we struggled to enable proper work of General Obradovic and General Krstic and to preserve integrity and reputation of General Krstic in his capacity of the Yugoslav Army inspector, and all that in the face of allegations relating to recent replacements, misinformation of the President etc. Smear campaign must be stopped, before it gains momentum.

Sir, if there is anything else to say, I shall do so later.

Lieut.-Gen. STAMENKO NIKOLIC

I would not like to repeat what General Stoimirovic has already said, but would like to stress something else. We must understand that the generals are exclusive appointees of the FRY President, as spelled out by the Constitution and the Act on the Yugoslav Army.

I would not like to dwell on that, therefore I shall only mention that Article 136 of the FRY Constitution clearly lays down that the President personally appoints generals and regulates affairs related to them. Article 151 lays down the same rule.

We had several meetings where it was explained that not a single general, colonel, officer can be in two places, be named or appointed by two different orders, decrees. Some wanted such a possibility, some demanded it. I am not referring to General Krstic, but to General Krsman Jelic, who wanted to be appointed by a decree. Thus, such a possibility is not viable. This is confirmed by a recent decree on appointment of General Momcilovic to the position of the Deputy Commander of Ground Forces, instead of General Milorad Obradovic. In other words when he takes on those duties, his formation position will be the one of your Deputy Commander of Ground Forces. But he will retain, until completion of his tasks, as regulated by an operational order, his current position, to which he was appointed by the FRY President. Individual incrimination, notably linking his name to the freezer truck case, is not accidental. So I think that the current situation must be adequately explained by General Krstic, in view of his responsible position, either by means of the print or broadcast media. And in my mind he should accept that challenge. And I suggest to him to do that in order to ease tensions, preserve the army unity and save it from further criticism. In the past we managed to resist many temptations, and we must do it now too.

If there are any questions regarding my prerogatives, I am ready to answer them.

I am personally puzzled by the things I hear on TV or read in the papers. I must apologize beforehand to General Krstic, for what I intend to say. Namely in my mind he manifest a certain inferiority or vagueness by not responding to the information publicized by the print and broadcast media. I am convinced that General Krstic who, according to all assessments, discharges successfully the duties of Head of Inspection Services of the Yugoslav Army, in performing that special task, did not have any special personal goals or expectations. But as I see things now, though I may be wrong, I think that the time is up for General Krstic to either align himself with generals, or with politicians. I am sure that he does not have any dilemma in that regard, and that he sees his duties and responsibilities with the mind-set of a general. But he has led us to a specific predicament, and I see behind this duel, behind all the public goings-on, that someone is using both You and Krstic, and notably You to introduce disorder and disintegration among the army ranks, and thus engender a process which would lead up to the situation which we all want to avoid. And bear in mind that such attempts to undermine the top army leadership, by dint of insistence on certain replacements, have been at play since 5 October.

As a General, I can only try to get across to General Krstic the message already worded by Ljubisa Nikolic: Tell the general public clearly and vocally what you have to say, what you are expected to say in your capacity of the army general, about current manipulations which affect you both as a general and a private person. Thus he would

clearly put an end to attempts to misuse any of us, attempts to link us to certain politicians or political blocks in whose company we don't feel comfortable, attempts to compel us, the top leadership, to impact disintegration of the Yugoslav Army. I had to put it bluntly, because we are professionals, we are educated, we have some experience, and we are top experts in our special fields, for were it not so, we would not be holding our current positions.

Last night while watching BK TV I felt uneasy. I felt uncomfortable when I heard the message that the story has not ended. I don't know what else is there to say about General Krstic. I also agreed with your proposal that Krstic be promoted. I saw you go to the President with that proposal. And now I hear that the whole story about promotion and his new, incumbent duties, shall be finished only in early July.

My opinion is that this whole story should be cut short. It is detrimental to the Yugoslav Army, to You personally, to General Krstic, to all of us who keep a low profile, but who may soon become targets of some, new criticism, on new grounds.

That is all I wanted to say. I don't know if General Krstic had an objection to the analysis of total influence on organization and functioning of the rearguard security, which was presented to us in the garrison «Sima Pogacarevic» in Vrnjacka Banja. He was then both the president and co-ordinator. Then the assessment was put forward that organization and functioning of the rearguard security was excellent and that all prerequisites for a successful completion of our tasks were met. If there were oversights or weaknesses, and if anything has contributed to the current souring of relations, notably misunderstanding of Krstic's and yours personality, and of the structure of the Yugoslav army, and manipulation thereof by the media, let us delegate part of responsibility related to the rearguard security to the one who by the nature of things should be held responsible. In that way, we shall ease the burden of responsibility off the shoulders of the rearguard security.

Gen. BRANISLAV PETROVIC

Sir, I would like to express my gratitude to Chief of Staff and You personally for providing me with the opportunity to be involved in the developments taking place both here and on the ground. I saw many things.

I want to openly state some things. All of you who are sitting here are the most important people for me, and very close to my heart. Army gave me everything I have. So I don't intend to align myself with some columns and to break up the army unity. Instead of doing that I'd rather sign a paper that I shall go fishing, for I have a moral obligation towards our commanders and soldiers down there.

Secondly, initially there were problems, but thanks to Your and Chief of Staff timely measures everything has settled. Krle, as a commander there I was really hurt when during my two-day long meetings with Head of Staff you failed to turn up. Regardless of identity of my visitor there, it could have been General Pavkovic or General Marjanovic, you had to act differently. Military organization must function.

I also want to stress the following: Covic, regardless of his position, and he maybe even considered a new Einstein, cannot command me. Army functions as it functions, Krle both you and I know who gives orders, who puts forward proposals, how problems are resolved. To put it openly, before all of you, I was against deployment of such a large

number people down there, for in my mind all relevant matters have been settled. Army commands have their tasks, we have enough people down there, no-one else should be sent there, for there is no need for engaging extra people, we don't have money. We don't have an extra 1 billion dinars, we cannot even pay out salaries.

And just when I thought that everything was settled, I got such a shock. I am terribly shocked. It was said that the map was not signed. I remember well the night when the map was drawn, when the first-day map relating to our entry into the Zone C, was signed.

Secondly I was shocked by what I heard that night from the beseiged colonel in Oraovica. I could not interfere, it is not my department, I was just listening. And the news was terrible....But I thought it was all over, that everything was settled, we intervened and now everything was OK. And now this attack on the Yugoslav Army. It is such a terrible thing.

Attack on our army! And I heard Head of the Russian Chiefs of Staff say twice that we have the best army in Europe. And now who is vexed by that fact, who is vexed by us, present here?

I think that the moment is ripe for you Krle, as Simic has already suggested, to hold a press conference in order to boost the position of our people down there. The current situation is very dangerous due to the across-the-board poverty, the smear campaign has reached its peak, and we should put a stop to all this, or army shall be blamed for everything. We are united, we function and work well, and there are no reasons for such a heavy criticism. I can only guess who is behind all those attacks on the army. In that regard Obradovic mentioned some party interests. Which party interests? I am not interested in them at all, I am interested in you, my pals, present here, and in no-one else.

I think Krle that you should explain the whole situation, make a sound and vocal public statement. And that would resolve our problem. The President himself has said that inspection is a highly honored duty. And it is. And there's nothing tragic about it. And I don't accept that the personnel policy be run by an incompetent person.

Adm. MILIVOJE PAVLOVIC

Sir, generals, I can promise you I shall not go fishing, though I am the only one who could do that. You all want to go fishing, but here we are dealing with much more serious matters than fishing.

Some columns were mentioned. I think that we all aligned ourselves by forming one single column long time ago, some ten or eleven years ago, that then we made our choice. And to tell you honestly I intend to stay in that column as long as it suits me, and above all from the standpoint of preservation of this state and fulfillment of my professional obligations. However if at some point in time I realize that the column no longer suits me, I shall find the way to leave it.

But it is bad that generals find themselves in some columns, they should be all in a single column. Therefore, we as an expert staff team and Chief of Staff, should preserve our unity, and stay within that column.

We all have a propensity for making mistakes, that is, we may commit errors in our line of business. Some do it subconsciously, some do it consciously, but we are here

to point out those mistakes. But the one who aligns himself with a political column shall commit a major error. However, as of late, in the past 18 months I have noticed that some among us, some generals, are finding opportunities to fulfil some of their unfulfilled ambitions through their engagements in politics. This is particularly true of our retired generals, who so quickly adhere to this or that political option, in total disregard of the need for preservation of this state. The fact is that we are facing a very violent attack, and to tell you honestly while in Montenegro I failed to see the violence of that attack. This is not an attack only on the Army, this attack goes much deeper. The fact is that the army is something firm and strong, and everyone acknowledges that, as General Petrovic has mentioned, even the Russian Head of Chiefs of Staff recognizes our strength. But we seem to be succumbing to some pressures, and we seem to be contributing to weakening of that strong army. It is obvious that by breaking our backbone, the backbone of someone else is being broken, namely the backbone of President Kostunica, who is held in such a high esteem in the FRY. So some other stakes are obviously in the game. In my mind in this campaign the main targets are not Head of Staff, or General Krstic.

I don't have much to add, I by and large agree with the previous exposes. I only want to say that I am glad about what I heard. I hope that all the exposes were sincere, regardless of their emotional or analytical nature. I am glad that we present a united front, that we are in agreement, and that we toe the same line. I am much younger than General Krstic so he perhaps sees me in a different light. Nonetheless I think we should bring the whole controversial matter to an end, we must stop those attacks, for new elements, other than the freezer truck, may be introduced into that smear campaign. Those who are bent on breaking up the Yugoslav Army are likely to step up their campaign, and we must be ready to fend off those attacks, not only for our own sake, but for the sake of preservation of this state, for the sake of pre-empting a new popular catastrophe, of saving the broad masses from such a development. We have had enough suffering in this country. And we should urgently work on preventing such a possibility.

I think that General Krstic currently holds the key to resolution of this situation. I am against a big press conference at which a focus on the principal issue may be lost because of the need to field many, diverse questions. If he is for the preservation of the unity, he should prepare a thesis, take a clear-cut military attitude, and plainly state that he, like all the generals and soldiers only carries out and respects orders of his superiors, and that he has not been replaced. In those terms, I would like to reiterate that he is the key to the current situation.

Sir, if you made a public statement, you would have to deny those insinuations. And yours would appear to be a defensive stand, at the time when we don't have to defend ourselves, when we don't need to do that. Moreover, then a never-ending repartee would ensue.

But we have to hear out General Krstic. It is quite normal to hear his line of thinking. He may even want to tell us something of which we were not aware.

I would like to say once again that we should stay away from political realignments, political alliances, and that we should do our job in the interest of this state. And I am ready to voice this stand of mine once again later, if the need arises.

Contrary to General Petrovic I was a bit hurt when they excluded me from the field trips. But I also grasped that I did not need a job with this uniform down there.

Though I have repeatedly asked General Stoimirovic to take me there, to include me in his team, I subjectively felt that it was better for me to stay away from the goings-on there, to have time to deal with my own private problems. Perhaps you have saved me from any such assignment, for my own good.

Lieut.-Gen. ZLATOJE TERZIC

Sir, generals, I shall be very brief. We are facing an orchestrated and strong assault, of unprecedented virulence and arrogance, on the Yugoslav Army.

What is the objective of that attack? I think, and I wish I were wrong, that its first goal is priming of the general public for hand-over of the top brass in charge of the defence in 1999 to the Hague Tribunal. Indictment was filed against Ojdanic, and many more, notably against you, Lazarevic and the majority of us sitting here, are in the offing.

Public opinion should be primed for such a development, for public opinion holds in high esteem the army.

The second goal is to incapacitate the Army to discharge its functions, its role. As we have seen, the same scenario was played out in Macedonia, Bulgaria, Romania, etc.

I have already mentioned that we should effect an in-depth analysis of all the recent developments, instead of taking into consideration only single cases. We should analyse all allegedly controversial cases together, starting from the conflict between General Krstic and You, the freezer truck with Shiptari corpses, no-show of the leading political figures at the Special Academy. I fear that if we fail to effect such a complex analysis, then we shall not be able to see the forest from the trees, that is, by dealing only with single cases we shall overlook the global picture. And if that happens then we shall not have a well-prepared platform for counteracting the current developments.

In this very place I warned on 12 October last year, unfortunately I don't have my agenda with me now, that those bent on breaking up the Yugoslav Army could do it simply by compelling us to deal with our own issues, by setting us against each other.

Let's look back at some past developments. You must remember that we all before formation of the Joint Security Forces discussed that idea, and prepared a relevant material. As far as I remember we were all in agreement about setting up that formation, we signed the pertinent document, and cautioned against the consequences of putting in place such a command. In fact it transpired in the recent past. There was much insistence to do that. Covic was the one who insisted most on putting in place that formation. Now many of us are likely to conclude that the then stand of his was not accidental. And we had cautioned against possible consequences, and now we are facing the predicted consequences.

Media have a field day. Coverage of the Yugoslav Army Day press conference was at odds with what had been stated at the conference. Media commentaries of that conference were utterly unrelated to what was said there. Hence media were tasked with portraying a different situation, contrary to the one explicated by us.

I want to believe one thing: if we had heard General Krstic before this discussion, it would have been much shorter. I want to believe that, for I cannot believe that General Krstic turned against his own army. I simply cannot believe that. The gist of the matter is that resolution of the Krstic issue is used for quite a different objective. And those who

are manipulating that issue are not friends of the Yugoslav Army, of General Krstic, of any of us.

Sir, that is all I wanted to say.

Lieut.-Gen. GOJKO BRAJOVIC

I want to join in the discussion. I am the youngest general, I have held that rank for only two and a half years, but I have to say what I think.

I think that these attacks on the army have been going on for the past 10 years. And we have been tolerating them. But the army in the post-5 October period and in the face of the then attempt managed to preserve its identity. The terrorist incursion was used as a ploy to embroil the army, to compromise it in the eyes of the international public opinion, to break it up. When that intent failed, our enemies tried to undermine the Joint Security Forces Command, and the army's authority, through media allegations and manipulation, though our friends, as General Stoimirovic has confirmed it, have assessed that we deserve full marks for completion of our task of entry into the Land Zone of Security. Media manipulations began with some statements of General Krstic, that is parts of his statements, but as General Terzic has put it, we practically don't know what he has stated. Media used only excerpts from his statements with a view to first break up the expert staff team, and then to undermine the integrity of the Yugoslav Army.

The fact is, as General Simic has put it, that that the army shall cease to exist if we don't stay within one single column, and the repercussions thereof on the state, are well-known.

In those terms, I back your proposal. Namely General Krstic should as quickly as possible give a public address on a prime-time, widely watched TV program, in an open studio, even via BK News, and try to explain the matter. I even suggest that he be joined in that effort by General Obradovic and General Krstic as our two representatives, one in the co-ordinating body and the other as Head of Command. Such a public showing would be more efficient, for there would be two top army men ready to explain the matter and the army's stance on the whole issue.

Lieut.-Gen. BRANKO KRGA

Sir, I agree with my colleagues who think that this meeting was necessary. Perhaps we could have held it much earlier in an equally calm and civilized atmosphere, above all with a view to helping You, as our Head, and in a certain sense General Krstic, as our colleague.

Some colleagues mentioned the appraisals that our army was the best in Europe. I can confirm that, for due to set of circumstances, I am quite familiar with the status of other armies. But such appraisals come from our friends. On the other hand I believe that some ill-meaning centres of power, and notably militant Albanians while reading and watching our media are now gloating over the current conflicts between politicians and generals in our political scene, in our public scene.

We simply mustn't give those centres material for gloating over so-called conflicts.

Sir, in those terms I have two proposals.

First, instead of having General Krstic make a public statement and thereafter fielding all kinds of provocative questions, I would like to suggest a meeting between us and all the political prime movers, and I would not like to call them politicians, including Covic, Mihajlovic, even Prime Minister Djindjic, and President Kostunica, to discuss all angles of that issue, try to pinpoint problems and mistakes. That would be a civilized and constructive way to handle that issue, for we are their army, and they are our state representatives. Now we cannot be in any conflict of unprincipled nature with them, for such a conflict would be detrimental both to us and them, and ultimately to the state and people. Therefore such a conflict is out of question.

The said conflict should be also avoided because of the foreign factor in our neighbourhood. I have been monitoring developments in Macedonia and in Kosovo, and you have seen them too. Covic said wisely that developments in the Land Security Zone is not limited only to its perimeter. What shall happen after a massive repatriation of Albanians, what shall happen when armed militants from Kosovo start returning to the Land Security Zone? In other words, we are likely to encounter even more serious, and diverse problems in that area in the near future.

The second problem likely to emerge is the announced re-tailoring of borders in the Balkans. The timing of such announcements is not accidental. And we, that is our state, our army, our people, must be well prepared for such developments. That is we shall not be able to handle them properly if the army is disunited, confronted, and we saw how badly affected we were even by recent, minor developments.

In my mind that preparedness is of key importance for the preservation of state and national interests.

Secondly, I think that we have properly completed our task in that Zone. But as soldiers we must be very cautious and practical, and even pose a question whether such a positive assessment would have been possible, had there been fighting, casualties, units incurring major losses, a long combat to seize a strongly fortified facility. Had that been the case, our assessment probably would not have been so laudatory. Hence I suggest that we engage in an objective analysis of functioning of this command and its entire performance, and see which lessons we can draw from such an analysis for any, God forbid, similar task. During that effort we should also try to establish whether formation of such a command was useful, regardless of General Krstic's role in it. For had someone else, any of us, been at the Command's helm, he might have encountered similar problems. We must find out which were Krstic's personal mistakes, which were the command's functional mistakes in view of the fact that in the same area the 3rd Army Command and Pristina Corps were also operational.

Sir, I think that we in the past period resolved many complex tasks. On 5 October, and on 31st March, and in the Land Security Zone. In view of the aforementioned I am convinced that we can prevail, that we can successfully overcome this situation, if we objectively and responsibly discuss it. In those terms the discussion so far has been very encouraging.

Lieut.-Gen. MILAN DJAKOVIC

Sir, I have many things to say. But on this occasion I shall touch only on some elements, while I shall talk about other elements even directly with General Krstic.

I fully agree with assessments of other participants in this meeting, but I shall endeavour to present some elements from the aspect of security, and to air my views without any intention to prejudge anything, or to claim that I am 100% right. But I have evidence for what I am about to say, and I abide by my words.

We must agree that situation is very complex, and that it is fast acquiring characteristics of the army-bashing campaign. I have long pointed out the course the campaign might take, and have here audio and video tape recordings which as a warning were shown to Head of Chief of Staff and sporadically to other authorized bodies monitoring the situation in the country and region.

Political statements of some leaders clearly indicate their leanings, and their backing or non-backing of the Yugoslav Army. You have seen the army-related statements of Mr. Mihajlovic, of Mr. Covic, or Mr. Canak, of Djindjic, and of other structures.

At the same time President Kostunica, Democratic Party of Serbia, PDS, General Perisic have clearly positive stands on the Yugoslav Army.

It means that we must simply understand what General Terzic said: «The whole campaign is tantamount to preparations for the next development, that is, for charging the Yugoslav Army with commission of crimes, relieving the Interior Ministry of reponsability for them, and delegating that responsibility to the army.

The genesis of the freezer truck case plainly indicates the goal which I have mentioned.

We have pertinent operational knowledge which I cannot disclose, for it would place certain people in an unpleasant situation. Though I know who has imparted the relevant intelligence, I simply don't have the right to incriminate anyone, to summon someone to say: I am behind the whole story.

Therefore we must view the whole matter within the entire evolution of relations between politics and the Yugoslav Army.

Problems are multifold. I 'd rather not speak about political problems, they have been already discussed. Security aspect of the problem is catastrophic. I shall present facts which cannot be denied, for they have been operationally checked and confirmed. I shall follow the sequence of events and try to be brief and unrepertitive, so that we can finally clarify this matter. I and the service which I head want to see this matter finally clarified. I have told the President openly:» As long as I am head of this service, no-one can break the rule. If I am not good enough for this job then you can replace me immediately without any problems.»

And I shall say good-buy to everyone, leave my position to any successor. I don't want to deviate from my principles, from regulations, for anyone's sake. I can tell you that the entire security situation in the Yugoslav Army is favourable, that we face no organized enemy activities, that there are no negative trends. But I agree that what is being divulged, division of generals Pavkovic and Krstic, with pictures, into two camps or columns, is sheer fabrication. I know that some colonels and lieuenants have stated in some units that General Krstic promised them promotions. As I did not attach much importance to the whole story, I have not checked it. Only few people, four or five people thought that the changes would come about, that Krstic would become Head of Chiefs of Staff. I can tell you where all that was planned. Daily «Ekspres» is under auspices of those structures, which I don't want to name now. Namely the paper's editor-in-chief

Stojiljkovic was at a lunch in the Interior Ministry on the 31st of May. He was then briefed and instructed to write what he wrote. I am sure that he was not instructed by General Krstic. Those instructions aimed at stirring up trouble. Why there was no by-line of the author of that front-page article? It is a precedent not to see a by-line of the author of the article in which it is maintained that the shake-up in the Chief of Staff of the Yugoslav Army is imminent. It suited them to omit the by-line under the front-page article. And why?

And you Sir, and I can say that openly, know why that has happened. You have received information about contacts between General Krstic and Nova demokratija, contacts which were not in line with his profession. General Krstic visited Mr. Mihajlovic in premises of Nova demokratija. They discussed the group G-6, and then the commentary was that the correct name was G-6 plus 1. You know about that meeting, and there is a linkage between that visit and subsequent events. I am speaking openly. There's no longer room for hushing up, caculating, and clarifying.

Situation is very complex, and if we fail to resolve it consequences thereof shall be dire for the Yugoslav Army, for the status of the entire General cadre, for the entire cadre which had been mostly engaged in Kosovo.

All the foregoing may be confirmed. I only speak about things for which I have reliable and confirmed data. The above situation may be viewed from various angles, firstly from the standpoint on the 3rd Army, Pristina Corps, and the Joint Security Forces Command. It was already mentioned, and I can confirm it, that the situation was very incensed until the Nis meeting, that we were all under threat of a far worse conflict, that harsh criticism of General Krstic and Vice Prime Minister Covic by units and some commanding officers was looming large. Some of them have been warned against such criticism. I did not want to issue any similar warning, because the security forces informed me of that you were aware of the manipulative nature of all the received intelligence. I personally did not want to warn you, to tell you that you were 100% in danger of remaining alone, on one side, that is, only in Covic's company.

I don't have anything to hide, I speak openly, because of relations within the commands.

Secondly, I want to point out General Krstic's attitude towards the security bodies. His intolerance of them is evident. And now the arguments attesting to the above: first your behaviour in the Zone. One day you came and started asking security officers about your towels. You went as far as to say that if they were not able to save your towels, how could you possibly hope that they would save you. Furthermore, let us touch on the issue of operational intelligence. You went as far as to inform the Vice Prime Minister that security services learnt about the smuggling activities in the Zone and furthermore that our cut in the racketeering of the police officers was as high as DM 200. Then Vice Prime Minister Covic asked for evidence, contrary to all rules of engagement of security services and of operational intelligence. In fact you should have taken adequate measures, instead of compromising and vilifying officers.

I cannot maintain that this or that should have been done about Oraovica. Relevant political decision has been taken to resolve that matter, and in view of that one cannot criticize our services for what they did.

I am in possession of an excellent appraisal of attitudes of foreign services towards our personalities and the Joint Security Forces Command. The appraisal was

done, on my orders, by my man in the Zone, -and I had every right to issue an order to that end, -and not by Jandric and Slepcevic who had other tasks. It is indeed an excellent appraisal. While I discharge my duties I am authorized to say that the move was good or bad. As regards Jandric and Slepcevic I can say that they had their obligations and tasks, and that thanks to complementary work of other bodies, they have by and large, not 100%, provided us with reliable data on the attitudes of foreign services towards our personalities, including You, and the Joint Security Forces Command.

We must change our attitude towards foreigners. Our regulation clearly spells it out that prior to contacting foreigners, a permission must be obtained. But we are now talking about a specific case of official contacts. But there were also contacts of unofficial nature. One of those was Your meeting in Vranjska Banja, during the memorial held for foreign soldiers, where you paid tribute to the fallen US soldiers. But you have not sent a telegram. I am telling you what the others have objected to. They have objected to your failure to send a telegram of condolences for the two fallen officers of our army. General Obradovic knew how the officers in the Zone Command reacted to your failure, in your capacity of the Commander of the Joint Security Forces, to send the two telegrams of condolences, and also send an envoy to the funeral of the two dead officers of our army. And they knew that you went to the memorial service of the US armed forces. You can imagine the nature of the then commentaries in the Zone. And they were negative. I am telling you that, for we monitor and study such events.

We have already discussed our stance on the mass media. And I shall repeat it loudly and clearly: all those who breach orders and regulations, must be held accountable. My services are not specifically interested in that aspect, so I would like the Command to deal with that matter. It is a binding obligation. No-one can contact the media, unless authorized to do that. Members of the Yugoslav Army who contact the mass media prior to obtaining pertinent authorizations, are considered to have committed a flagrant breach of our regulations. Those who want to do that, must inform us of their intention and contents of their intended statement. They must voice the stands and interests of the Yugoslav Army and not their personal interests and stands. If someone is not working properly, if Chief of Staff has failed to meet its obligations towards the Joint Security Services Command, then Djakovic or General Nikolic or anyone else should be simply told: You have not done that. Then we shall sit and talk and discuss the matter. I, as Head of Department, cannot maintain that I have fulfilled 100% my obligations towards the Joint Security Forces. But I tried to be correct and to do my job.

In that context let us discuss the stance on Chief of Staff and the FRY President. In my mind at play is an open attack on everything that the President signs, namely on decrees and orders. If you think that you have a column behind you, I am telling you that you are wrong. The others have imposed the issue of that column, and are striving to emphasize it. If we sit and talk I shall tell you some things even more openly and clearly. It is not a problem.

Now the stance on the Interior Ministry. Your stances on the Interior Ministry and on the Security Services differed. You told security bodies to contact the Interior Ministry, instead of ordering the Interior Ministry to have its units here, and then having them make contacts with security bodies within the framework of the Joint Security Command. Then I banned security service to go there. Security bodies have sent four or five information on the extreme conduct to the Interior Ministry, and I approved

forwarding of all operational intelligence to the Interior Ministry, including preparations for destruction of facilities, possible assaults on high-profile personalities, on the Yugoslav Army, on the Interior Ministry, etc. I fully authorized forwarding of the foregoing, and told security services not even to ask me whether they should do it or not. And we have not received a single information from the Interior Ministry. Why? Am I responsible for that, or You, in your capacity of the Commander of the Joint Security Forces? I would have said, I am leaving, I cannot command them. It is true that it is difficult to command them. Now they maintain that General Pavkovic commanded them in Kosovo. They are lying. General Rodjo tore up the paper with General Ojdanic's written order that the troops be placed under his command in compliance with the article 17 of the law. He said: «Ojdanic? He shall not command anyone here.» I was there when it happened in the hotel hall. And so were General Pavkovic, several other generals and several colonels. And that is why they want to delegate responsibility for crimes committed by others to the army. Army should be answerable for what it did, but this transfer of responsibility is unacceptable. That freezer truck case is just an element in the broader picture of the above attempts.

Relations within the Joint Security Forces Command. They are catastrophic. The only thing about which you are right, is the catastrophic nature of those relations, of conduct of some individuals. Firstly, all data and information were accessible to the bodies tasked with the internal monitoring. They had their men on duty in our command. They used our phones, they used mobile phones to report on everything that we said. Most of them spoke Serbian, there were some Croats among them, and to my knowledge several identified intelligence agents. Therefore our Commander, that is, our general, Head of Staff is to be blamed for all oversights. For, You were more interested in the second part of this conversation. And we shall have to take some measures to bring to an end that process. NATO officers were sitting with us during our decision-making sessions and listening to everything. In fact NATO should be informed to the extent it needs to be informed in order to carry out its tasks, and monitor the whole situation, instead of listening to everything. And they all had a fair grasp of Serb language. Such persons were identified. They were not stupid to send people without any knowledge of the language. I could give you the names of some Croat women who, after living in the US, came to Croatia, to be then sent from Zadar back to the States, and then once again posted here. You cannot deny that they belong to intelligence structures. If we are not good at some jobs, they certainly are. Army is not under an external threat, but it is under an internal threat, and it is an old scheme. To break us up from the inside. We cannot permit there, regardless of prospective victims. And I want to say openly that I, as Head of Department, shall not allow it. I shall use all the means available to punish those who deviate. I am not threatening anyone, I am simply stating my intentions.

I had better warn you in advance, lest you share the fate of General Vujicic. Namely, Head of Chief of Staff cautioned him three times, and I cautioned him twice, against deals, percentages, and he just laughed off all those warnings, by saying, «You in the Yugoslav Army don't have a clue about it.» Is that so? If that is so, then there are no problems. Everything is OK. Let us not have to prove the existence of those problems. I do my job professionally and responsibly. The same probably applies to others, but we nonetheless have to respect what is to be respected.

Relations with political personalities. You were present when Mr. Covic, during a meeting, asked a general how many generals had perished. And the answer was: «Only one general.» It was not true. Four generals died. It has never happened before. And we all knew that, but everyone kept silent. Then I, as Head of Department, was compelled to respond by asking Covic: «Mr. Covic, how many dead generals would make you content?» And then he grew silent. And I wanted to tell him: «Why don't you ask how many politicians, how many their children, had died?» His was not the right question for a person, like me, who for five years went wherever I was ordered to, like you must go now, like all of must go now, to fight, even on a political order. We simply did not want to react, until this meeting was held. I understand General Pavkovic's reticence, but I nonetheless blame him for not reacting. On the other hand I know that he knew that some were waiting for the failure of this meeting. But some people are clearly saying on TV, and it happened even last night, that a break with the legacy of the old regime, that is with the Yugoslav Army, must be made. I would like to remind you, Mr. Krstic, of the talks held by five or six persons on the 6th of October in restaurant «Vule and Stoja». Freshen up your memory about your role in those talks. Do not take a wrong turn. Don't step out, don't abandon the army's direction. If something is wrong, say it. Communicate it to General Pavkovic. If no-one else dares, then I shall tell him. I don't fear the consequences. My intentions are good. If I deserve it, he can replace me. I have always been well-intentioned and sincere. I have always tried to help people, and not to hurt them. The fact that Zika did not want to be helped, that's his problem. And I have told him that. Now I would like you to consider the following: If you want us to continue our discussion I shall tell you about a couple of things which had happened in the 90's. A lot of water has gone under the bridge since then. But some people should be held accountable for those events. For some things are never forgotten, or outdated, and the fact that you wanted some of your men to serve in the Zone, that is also indicative of something. I think that I am good at assessing situations, and I can say, without bragging, that this time around we have made good assessments and predictions.

General, if it is necessary I shall...

General DRAGAN ZIVANOVIC

To put it briefly, I, as the youngest members of this expert staff team, invite all here present to take a united stand. We are the targets of a well-orchestrated, propaganda war waged from a single centre. Its objectives are also known. Therefore we should eliminate our personal vanities, and act only in the highest interests of our army. And finally if any of those statesmen offered me now the position of Head of Chief of Staff, I would –simply run away. That is all I wanted to say.

***Lieut.-Gen.* SVETOZAR MARJANOVIC**

I cannot but repeat some of the things said here today. I am glad that you have understood that we have to do things in the interests of the Yugoslav army, this state and its people, and not in our individual interests. Here's my opinion.

In my mind it would be wrong to focus only on the problem of General Krstic. To focus on him, as the only problem. In the course of my expose I shall try to explicate

why such an approach is wrong. Now I don't want to talk about the task, and completion thereof. I have my views about both, but at this stage they are not important.

I agree with Krga's proposal that we must sit together and thoroughly analyze the task. I want to take part in that effort though I am nearing my retirement date. In that process we shall probably find answers to many questions which currently trouble us. Why the task was carried out the way it was carried out? All and sundry in this state and beyond its borders, likewise we on the team, were told that the Yugoslav Army was the most organized part of society, and the only integrating factor in the FRY. At the post-bombardment meeting with the former President I said that I was convinced that NATO would never again launch such a campaign against Yugoslavia. That was intimated to me by Sexton and Reinhard, who also told me that they were surprised by the Yugoslav Army's level of organization, professionalism, moral firmness and stamina. That assessment of theirs made me say what I said before the then President.

If the above is true, then the current developments acquire a new dimension or perhaps the right dimension. The goal is to break up the institution. I would not like to go into assessments whose making, writing, forwarding or even communicating, in presence of us all, to the top state leadership I have always urged. I think that some public statements by General Krstic were manipulated, doctored, and several were not well prepared. Hence I think that he was misused. I heard the first statement related to his return, and I think it was correct, for, if I remember well, he said that he would be resuming his duties. Someone said that he was not clear and explicit. He performed that task, as a provisional task, in line with the received orders, and after completion of every task his resumption of duties seems quite logical and normal. Some oversights were carefully planned by a team. And those oversights led up to a near-conflict with the government of the Republic of Serbia. That government finances this army, and we have material evidence thereof, since the government of the Republic of Montenegro does not pay in its meagre 0.5 % contributions to the federal budget.

I suggest that we now embark upon a full evaluation of the task, but not for the sake of saying that the task has not been completed. Head of Chiefs of Staff made such an assessment at the meeting in the Zone...then he also expressed his gratitude to all those who took part in execution of the task and found fault with... I think that we now need an in-depth analysis relating to what some of us had said before the beginning of the task in the Land Security Zone.....that is relating to our predictions, to the course of developments, our objective (recording is barely audible). I hinted at the paper which I wrote, and which Head of Chiefs of Staff signed. But the President did not vest us in prerogatives. However I wrote: «where the army is therein lie the state prerogatives.» But what about Bogatic Municipality, there is no army there. If someone fires a shot on our side and that shot goes to the other side, to Kosovo and Metohija territory, then the KFOR Commander decides single-handedly that army and police must leave that area.

Hence let us do a complete evaluation to be used only by us, and not necessarily forwarded to anyone. Such an evaluation could help us predict further developments, demands, procedures. I agree with Krga that Krstic at any press conference would be exposed to harassment of journalists. Therefore a properly and succinctly-worded press release would appease the general public, and prove that the army's unity has been preserved. And that is my opinion, namely that our unity has been preserved. My or someone else's mistake does not prove any break-up. However it is also true that we

cannot continue our work unless we counteract demonization attempts. It is much more dangerous if the unity is broken up from the inside. I have to make an appeal. After 40 years of active service, I reiterate my early July 2000 appeal, that we draft a more strict regime of subordination, and apply it equally strictly. If you fail to do that, within 6 months there will be no Yugoslav Army. Commanders mustn't be the eldest top-ranking officers. Moreover they curry favour with Chiefs of Staff only when they visit them down there, and you are aware of the treatment they are accorded in the Zone.

Hence I make a plea to You. Any army commander, who does not like his job down there, should be transferred here, as a deputy...the more so if he dislikes Petrovic Bane as his supreme commander. That's what we have to do if we want to preserve subordination scheme or successful commanding in all situations. Thank you.

Gen. NEBOJSA PAVKOVIC

I agree with the foregoing. Let's hear Krstic now. We are doing a complex analysis of the Land Security Zone related developments. Within that analysis there are several key issues which we shall make public when the need arises. We soldiers, unlike common people, know how to make appraisals. Now let us elaborate General Marjanovic's remarks. If we have a land zone with three villages harbouring 50 terrorists and you receive an order to flush them out, and then you try to do that in a peaceful way, by signing various treaties and agreements, their ranks keep swelling, they make raids, kill soldiers and police, plant mines...and then suddenly they receive an order to pull out, and you enter smoothly those villages...So Krga posed the right question, what would have happened had they not accepted the international community demand to pull out? How many casualties we would have faced?. And why the international community despite its available legal prerogatives, failed to order them to immediately pull out?

Hence that game should be clarified from a military-strategic aspect. We must detect the nature of the game in the background and make it public. I have several times made public statements to the effect that the army and police have not had any conflicts, and that we had an excellent co-operation. However, I hinted at some problems with some individuals from both institutions. Added to that I denied, on behalf of the army, any links between the top military leadership and the freezer truck. We have evidence to back our claim. I divulged that we had intelligence about the police making concerted efforts to compromise some army people and that we would publish that document. I added that we could not make it public immediately, for it would cause much trouble for the man who had given us the said document. We have never said that we lacked material evidence for what we had done. We are still to decide about the time of its disclosure, and also about our disclaimers. In case of sheer necessity we shall make public all the relevant documents. To challenge Covic's allegations, and I heard him make many against me and other generals, I shall accuse him on 15 counts and provide all evidence. Moreover when he made those allegations he was convinced that no-one heard him. But a man heard him and wrote a report ...however I thought initially that we had to be correct towards Covic. We have never said anything against him, we only made some remarks about his conduct at official meetings. But someone informed him of the report, and then we submitted it to the President and Covic. And that was an official report. I have here the conclusion of the government of Serbia. They have adopted the plan of keeping order

and security in the Land Security Zone, in territories of municipalities Presevo, Bujanovac and Medvedja, to be implemented through overhaul of the Joint Security Forces Command. Who drafted that security and overhaul plan? It is a clear indication that someone does the job and then simply informs us. Instead we should have been informed about the Co-ordinating body stands, in order to discuss them, make, if necessary some amendments, and then inform the President of the process, settle through a joint discussion all issues, get a green light from him, and then put up an official proposal to the Co-ordinating body. Someone has obviously taken on the army prerogatives. We, the army, have never interfered into any political decision by the Co-ordinating body. Our opinions in writing were even thrown into basket by them, but we still have documents relating to our proposals.

Lieut.-Gen. NINOSLAV KRSTIC

Firstly I want to say that I was unaware of the goings-on, and secondly I am glad that this meeting is being held for it provides me with an opportunity to say something. I have not taken part in making of that scheme, I was just invited..... You remember that at quarter to six I was told to meet Covic at 12.00 o'clock. And that was my first ever encounter with Covic. I just asked that Lazarevic be appointed Head. As regards co-operation with Lazarevic and other commanding officers in the Zone, you well know that I tried hard to establish a good co-operation. I told him in a friendly fashion: «Lazo, I am a novice, a newcomer, so I beseech you, as a friend, to come to the Zone and help me.» And he replied that he could not come, because of his impending leave. Prior to leaving for the Zone I went with General Obradovic to see him and his reply was the same.

Let me put it this way: all those misunderstandings did not have a major impact on the performance of the task, and in that regard I have not complained to you too much. that. On several return trips from Merdar I tried to meet Laza, but he was never there, despite our agreements. The last three months down there were like a personal hell for me. I understood that I was facing a state task, a government task, President's order, your order and I understood I was there because of your and President's decision. In view of the importance of the task I did my best to perform it correctly. And the official evaluations give me high marks for my efforts. I certainly made some mistakes, and I acknowledge them, but I want to underscore that I never intended to distance myself from you, to distance myself from Chief of Staff, and to lead another column. I belong to this Chief of Staff, I belong to this group of generals, I don't have and want another option, another choice.

I think we worked well in the Zone. As regards my large number of contacts with people, well they served the following purpose: I wanted a bloodless completion of the task. And I succeeded in that intent, and such a denouement was useful both for the army and police. The success of our three-months long work in the Zone also boosted the Chief of Staff's reputation. I don't have anything to do with the subsequent developments. I plugged out all the phones. General Marjanovic rightly said that I stated that my resumption of duties, after a successfully completed task, was quite normal....but I don't see anywhere the second part of his statement. Contrary to your assumptions and opinions, I have never felt hurt, discontent, and my ego has never been bruised. I have no connection whatsoever with the recent media coverage. Moreover there are texts which

praise relations between you and me, and those between me, Lazarevic and Chief of Staff. On the other hand you have seen headlines totally unrelated to texts. So please don't blame me for something that I have not done.

As regards your proposal, I have decided to stay away from the radio and TV. No more public statements, unless you order me, but I think it would be erroneous. I agree that we should issue a concise press release to the effect that I am not displeased, that I have done my job in the Zone, and that I shall resume my normal duties. There's nothing controversial about it. I want to add something. I learnt from General Lazarevic about your last visit to the Zone and I welcomed you. That night you asked me where I would be the next day, and when I confirmed my visit to Jelic, you said that you would be there too. I waited for you in vain, and then went on a field trip.

As regards the Land Security Zone, the proposal was put forward to deploy new units in order to pre-empt the Macedonian scenario, placing of troops along the administrative lines. But as the things stand now, they don't even want to talk to me. First I called several times the general, and he was away. Then he called me and told me that we could have a private meeting. And I don't want a private meeting. I just want to make one more remark, namely, that the media created an illusion of me dividing Chief of Staff, and of my hefty ambitions. I don't have any hefty ambitions, I would have been happiest if I stayed down there. And I am not affiliated with any political party.

Gen. NEBOJSA PAVKOVIC

Basically we have to clarify whether there are divisions among Chiefs of Staff and resolve problems which have emerged between Covic's Co-ordinating Body and Chief of Staff. We have not contributed with any action or conduct to the current stand of the President of Co-ordinating body. You remember that Covic declined to accept our suggestions and said at the meeting that official signatures and commitments taken on by the state should not be linked to some personalities. As far as I know, and Obradovic shares my opinion, while you functioned there, they changed two commands. Some documents were signed by the outgoing command. Then the second command was put in place. So what? It only means that there are no lifelong duties. I even suggested to Krstic, to appoint him Head of Department for Liaison with International Organizations and Defence Policy, lest he put up with onerous duties performed by Obradovic. Covic was against that naming, for he was in charge of establishing contacts with foreign organizations.

I personally think that all the stimulative measures would have been implemented if Covic had not hastened to make several public statements. And those statements irritated the President too. We did what we could and I asked the President whether Krstic should go public, or issue a press release. I insisted on non-mention of the replacement, and said that it was up to the President to change the pertinent decision. There will be no replacement, under a normal procedure there is an interim assignment of up to 6 months, and it is moreover extendable.

Lieut.-Gen. MILAN DJAKOVIC

...this replacing of people...they are smart, they have their goals. In order to protect General Momcilovic, we have to slowly prime his successor.

Gen. NEBOJSA PAVKOVIC

We took the stand to gradually open to the international community, to the foreign armed forces, to NATO. But our recent tack was wrong. We must be considered a serious army. The US envoy stated that he learnt more in two hours spent in the Joint Security Forces Command, than during his entire stay in the Zone. If we continue to behave like that they shall not appreciate us....we know which intelligence we can provide as the army, and which lines to use for the supply thereof. We, that is the President, pondered even Momcilovic's replacement.

Gen. MILORAD OBRADOVIC

This stance of Chief of Staff is important (recording is no longer heard). Sir, if we don't effect full implementation of subordination, our command shall be utterly faulty. Secondly, when personalities from Chief of Staff come, no-one is ready to act as a great commander. Chief of Staff is our strongest institution...subordination must be willy – nilly implemented (tape is not audible). Many resent the way our task was carried out to date. But your statements have encouraged me. We should act like gentlemen, like soldiers. No-one can write this Chief of Staff off because of its setbacks, we worked hard and conscientiously. If I had erred I would have been replaced. Therefore we should immediately deny that General Krstic was relieved of his duties.

Lieut.-Gen. SVETOZAR MARJANOVIC

In the contact talks on the 7th of June 1999 negotiations were not conducted. General told us that he joined the Military Aviation in 1971, and that in 1973 he was engaged in exercises in Kosovo and Metohija and that his group was primed four years for future deployment in Kosovo and in the Balkans. This indicates how organized they are and why that insist on changes. He told me: »General, if my superior Sexton knew about this disclosure of mine, being an Englishman like me, he would have fired me on the spot.»

Gen. NEBOJSA PAVKOVIC

I was aware of that issue of subordination, as mentioned by Obradovic. I had information about blatant ignorance of command structures. But I did not want to bring that matter to Krstic's attentionbecause of other similar rumours, as noted by Covic. The Joint Security Forces Command and the whole army oft disregarded commands and orders. And all the while we strove to incur the least possible number of casualties.

Lieut.-Gen. LJUBISA STOIMIROVIC

General Krstic probably did not hear the last night's statement. Namely Covic linked his replacement to a possible June or July dismantling of the Land and Air Security Zone. Hence what we, notably General Marjanovic predicted here, is now a – reality. By all appearances the current policy towards us shall be continued. We should state in our communique that a general who takes on any state task on orders of Head of Staff, must in parallel assume responsibility for execution of that task. If generals are replaced in the East and in the East, and documents signed, we should be also duty-bound by that principle of subordination.

General Krstic asked to be excluded from making any public statements in the future. That is good...but regardless of that plea of his, I suggest that we prepare a good interview with him for «Vojska».

Lieut.-Gen. MILAN SIMIC

General Krstic need not appear at a press conference, but he was directly implicated and is being manipulated in his capacity of a commander...He should therefore make a public statement in writing to be forwarded to the media. Secondly, Chief of Staff should issue a communique on today's meeting, that is on the discussion of situation, and our denial of all accusations ...while Krstic should write his statement.

Gen. NEBOJSA PAVKOVIC

OK. You shall do it together. We should also write a communique for all the units.

* * *

Conflict between General Krstic and Chief of Staff is evident, though it did not suit the latter. Chief of Staff did its utmost to preserve its unity and to take a common stand. The uppermost military body was aware that any split within the institution would have disastrous effects on the army. Moreover it feared a spin-off: unravelling of financial and other scams and mishandling. In that period «Nedeljni telegraf» ran operational intelligence related to tailing of General Krstic. Statements which his driver had given to the military intelligence services were a real scoop. Namely the driver confirmed that tailing was done thoroughly and that the focus was on his contacts and talks. Compromising material had been actively sought. One statement, which I think, was made by his driver, speaks of general's movements, his meeting with his lover, and taking cooking oil and other food purchases to his house...After the expert staff meeting and disclosure of compromising material the scandal died down. And probably only General Krstic knows the reasons of such a denouement. The top military leadership considered him Covic's man, regardless of his bloodshed-free and professional taking on the duties of the Land Security Zone Command. Entry of our forces into the Albanian-controlled villages was the first practical example of co-operation between the US intelligence officers and our troops. This was partly made possible by politicians and

army troops in charge of South Serbia. According to Perisic, documents which I forwarded to the government of Serbia, were photo-copied in his cabinet. Letterhead was covered, and thus xeroxed documents were handed to Vice Prime Minister Covic. Those documents amply indicate the army's stand on the resolution of crisis in South Serbia. We should not however disregard the fact that at the time there was almost no control over the army. The Army Minister, from the ranks of SNP, was not too dilligent or meddlesome, and no-one else was able to gain a real insight into the army, as a conservative institution. Every attempt of Serb or Montenegrin authorities to estalbish full control over the army and its services was doomed. Army had its protectors. I believe that these documents helped the government of Serbia take rational decisions.

THE “PERIŠIĆ” AFFAIR

“Love the truth, forgive mistakes”
Voltaire

The last record I handed to Perišić was the one of the meeting held on 21 August 2001. It should be noted that the Army made several attempts to draw near to Perišić, but they did not succeed, at least to the extent they had expected. In autumn of 2001, Perišić received a visit at his government office by General Krga, the then Chief of the Intelligence Directorate and General Djaković, the Chief of the Security Service. They discussed current problems and it was agreed that daily intelligence and security evaluations be sent to the office of the Vice-Prime Minister Perišić, who suspected that they were not sending him valid information.

I ceased sending documents in August 2001, as nothing was being done concerning reforms in the Army. Everything remained just the same as it had been before 5 October, the same people, the same moves. I considered it useless to take so much risk for nil results. Perišić strongly supported the idea of staff changes in the Army, thus causing ever greater animosity by the Army. Bad compromising solutions, made in order to preserve the DOS, kept the coalition from moving any further from status quo. Every attempt was blocked by uninformed patriots, who kept, for god knows what reason, the old staff and their old ideas. When I realized that nobody wants to carry out staff changes that would create conditions for reforms in the Army and its agencies, I decided to stop exposing myself and others to risk. I knew that if they decided “to step on our toes”, we would not be able to explain why we were doing that, in particular after 5th October, although needs for information on their activities were greater than ever. The assassination of the Prime Minister proved this assumption. Criminals who committed murders on behalf of the political mafia kept their offices even after the 5th October. More radical than ever, on one side they were seeking protection by the new regime, and at the same time, on the other side, attempting to eliminate everybody who dared step in their way. I was an ideal target, together with a team of people who were doing their best to make easier the work of the new authorities by providing correct information, because we were no criminals and did not belong to any clans or agencies.

In mid September 2001, the KOS commenced an action of following Miodrag Sekulić, lieutenant colonel, who made an immeasurable contribution to

uncovering of all negative trends in the Army. But the actual target was Momčilo Perišić, and the ultimate aim the Serbian Government. They suspected even before 5th October that information must have been leaking from the General Staff. Problems occurred when information given to Perišić for the use by the government, was made public. Disputes between Mihajlovic and Čović on the one side, and the military leadership on the other side, were discussed mostly through the media. The General Staff could easily see that the Government was always one step ahead, because the information on military leadership plans was always at the office in Nemanjina Street before hand. Undoubtedly, the other source of information was President Koštunica. While he was still having a “love affair” with the DOS, but also even before 5th October, he had various opportunities to get hold of the above mentioned documents. When the “love affair” was over and when Aco Tomić was appointed the Chief of the Directorate for Security, the situation was suitable for producing a scandal. The appointment of Aco Tomić as the Chief of the Directorate for Security was achieved through enormous pressure put on Pavković. It was true that Tomić was not a graduate of the Academy for National Defense, neither had he appropriate civil education, he was inclined to alcohol and was just average in everything. Nevertheless, it is also true that during Pavković, ie. Milošević rule, many others were promoted to general. The victim of the pressure exerted by Koštunica’s office was General Djaković who was transferred to the position of the Chief of the First Army Headquarters. Djaković told me once, when I visited him at his place, that Pavković was not treating him right, alluding at his transfer and later his retirement. By appointment of Aco Tomić as the Chief of the Directorate, the pro-Russian line returned where it always used to be. He brought with him his staff, the anti-Western hardliners. That could have only caused damage to Serbia. Attempts made by the Serbian Government to make any changes within the Army were useless.

But let us turn back to the beginning of our surveillance. It commenced in September 2001 and we received information about that a week later. It was a so-called “Postman” operation. We were followed by a team of people from the Counterintelligence Service of Belgrade. Anyway, I was aware that I was followed , as they used to do it very clumsily, most often following us in a vehicle. Once, on my way from Obrenovac to Belgrade, I was driving around and around the city, they persistently tailed me and it was very funny. Finally, I stopped in front of the Tiršova Hospital, they were forced to slow down and then I could see who was in the car. The same procedure was applied whenever I was meeting Sekulić at the “Dača” restaurant in Karaburma. Later, they presented tapes showing the two of us meeting and entering the restaurant’s garden. We did not make any exchanges, so they had nothing except our portrays. Before the arrest, we decided to trick them and in a phone conversation we were making arrangements how to exchange “little parcels”. We led the following conversation:

- Hi Sekula, what’s up, shall we meet so that I can give you the money?
- Okay, I’ll bring the diskette.
- At 10.00 in front of the Military Hospital, first kiosk next to the hospital.
- Agreed.

We met as agreed. We had a drink and held our usual conversation. At the end of conversation, he gave me a diskette, and I gave him 500 DM. On the diskette were measurements of his carpentry. I gave him the money in public and he gave me the money back later. I put the diskette in the pocket of my car door, and it remained there

until my arrest. We expected to be approached and arrested by someone from the VJ Service. However, nothing happened. Later, I found out the reason why: the order for surveillance issued by the Chief of the General Staff, authorizing the Chief of the Service to issue an order for surveillance, had actually been issued in 1994. Ironically, it was signed by Perišić. A person is put under surveillance at a proposal by the Directorate for Security, subject to approval by the Chief of the General Staff, and this for only two three-monthly terms. Such an order is unconstitutional, therefore no data collected by means of surveillance can be presented at court as evidence. Actually, a decision on putting a person under surveillance can be brought by a court alone.

Immediately before our arrest, I received several strange phone calls, late at night and early in the morning. An acquaintance provided a list of all phone calls and I realized that a friend of mine had dialed my number by mistake. I felt bad and could not tell the truth to the man who provided the telephone listing. I am quoting this just for illustration of how my tensions were growing in expectation of my arrest.

Pavković and Rade Marković agreed that staff of the State Security Service and the VJ must be present at locations where they tap telephone conversations. As it was difficult to tap telephone conversations of the Vice-Prime Minister without the knowledge of the BIA, the Security Information Agency, it is most likely that they were not tapping our phones. Thus, we lost a chance to discredit them. And the diskette was of great assistance when we eventually were arrested.

We knew we were going to be arrested, as we were informed about it. I went to see general Perišić and told him about their plans. I asked him to destroy all documents, although I did not expect the things to get so far. Perišić destroyed some documents and took what was left to the Government building. I stored all the documents on a diskette. At that time, I was followed and photographed whenever I was visiting him. Perišić relied on his immunity and safety of his office and it was a fundamental mistake. Had he destroyed all the documents, the Counterintelligence would have been terribly embarrassed. I advised Perišić of possible consequences of our meetings, it is therefore unlikely that he was passing documents to Neighbor disregarding my warning that he was watched. It was quite easy for them to approach Perišić because people with who he used to communicate were mostly from the Army. The same was with the people who used to follow him. Therefore, it is needless to draw any conclusions.

Everything was ready for action. On 14th March 2001 Perišić had a dinner with an American diplomat, John Neighbor at the “Šarić” restaurant. He was accompanied only by his driver and bodyguard, Darko Milanović, a former member of the “Kobras” from Pančevo. He was a member of the First Directorate of the Federal Ministry of Interior and not of the Sixth Directorate of the State Security Council that provided escorts for Serbian officials. A military police team, members of the “Kobras”, entered the restaurant led by colonel Dragan Telesković, who had planned the whole action. The arrest was theatrical, they were tape-recording it, they pulled black hoods over Perišić and Neighbor and took them away.

On Perišić, they found a phone, a pen, a phone book and 1,430 Dinars. A minute listing those items was made. They took them to the Directorate of Security. The minutes on items found on them were made in the Topčider barracks, i.e. about 15 KM farther from the place of arrest without presence of any witnesses, which is contrary to the Criminal code. Regardless on the law, the question is what the security guys were

thinking when they “abandoned” important evidence, i.e. witnesses. I assume that, had Perišić really been passing on documents, they would have happily made a minute at the spot, at the restaurant, in the presence of witnesses. They could have asked one of the waiters or the guests there to witness the search of Perišić and Neighbor, as they knew the restaurant and its owner well. Anything found on them concerning any military documents, would present irrefutable evidence at court. On the contrary, they were searching them 15 KM farther for 15 hours, where they were able to “find” military documents.

The very mention of the “Šarić” motel was suspicious. Through contact with numerous officers from the leadership of the military security, I learned that Mr Šarić had contacts with HIS, i.e. the Croatian Intelligence Service and that the building itself was not legally built. That was enough for the Service to easily obtain from him a “favor” concerning Perišić’s surveillance. The VJ embraced this opportunity. Given the fact that the Croatian Intelligence Service was also interested in Perišić, we can say that that was a common mission of the two formerly hostile secret services of FRY and Croatia. One had a goal to overthrow the Serbian Government and the other to arrest Perišić and at the same time to eliminate one of the governments in the region being in direct competition with the government in Zagreb. When allegations that Mr. Šarić was inclined to gambling were added, the mosaic was complete. It is very interesting that one of the waitresses had decided to talk on the topic, but immediately after Perišić’s arrest, she changed her mind. *Nedeljni Telegraf*, No. 371 of 4.6.2001, carried an excerpt from Šarić’s statement made for *Narodni List* of Zadar, which proves what I said. This information was passed on by Mr. Štrbac, the President of the Krajina Information-Documentary Center Veritas in Belgrade.

“Scandalous Interview by Živko Šarić to the Zadar newspaper

A BELGRADE HOTELKEEPER GLORIFIES GOTOVINA AND DENIES THAT SERBS WERE EXILED FROM CROATIA

Serbs have not been exiled from Knin. It was exclusively an organized departure, Živko Šarić, a Serb from Croatia claims for the Zadar paper Narodni List.

Šarić is a hotelkeeper and owner of several restaurants in Serbia, as well as of the “Šarić” motel on the Ibar Highway in which the former Chief of the General Staff Momčilo Perišić was arrested. He had been living in Knin until the Oluja and then he moved to Belgrade.

His visit to Zadar, where in place of his restaurant “Putnik”, he plans to build a business center, Šarić blemished Belgrade and praised everything that is not Serbian, even the infamous General Gotovina.

- He is a Croatian general and a hero. He led the Oluja action in Dalmatia. There were no criminal acts against the Serbs during the action. He is an honest man and soldier.

And there is more about the Oluja.

- Three days before the Oluja it was known that we would have to depart Knin. Even special roads were made for people to withdraw. An exile is not even worth mentioning. When the Croatian Army arrived, they did not harm the citizens. I now that for fact – Šarić claims.

Savo Štrbac, the President of the Krajina Information-Documentary Center Veritas in Belgrade, comments the statements with indignation:

- Šarić had a restaurant and a hotel in Knin. Naturally, immediately after the Oluja, he managed to sell his property. It is obvious that he has come to Zadar to see what he can do with his property there. All this illustrates the current situation in Croatia, where, in order to return his own property, one has to find ways. Poor people, however, are more dignified. As they have already lost everything, they do not want to lose their honor and dignity as well. What irritates people from Krajina the most, is glorifying of Gotovina as a hero. And that is the main slogan of the harangue across Croatia by the Croatian extreme rightists.

- It is sad to hear someone speaking about Gotovina as a hero, Štrbac concludes."

From under the hood, Neighbor referred to diplomatic immunity and the Vienna Convention, and it took them 15 hours to find out who he was. At the hearing by the investigative judge the security guys told him enormous number of details about Mr. Neighbor, which they obtained through the surveillance. They were following him for months and when they arrested him together with Perišić, all at once they did not know who he was. For full fifteen hours. As it is commonly known, Mr. Neighbor was introduced to the Serbian Government by Mr. Montgomery. He took part in lectures about reorganization of the VJ Security service, was present at military training together with other foreign diplomats. He would sit near our generals. And he had a valid accreditation by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Therefore, the service must have known very well who they were arresting, and why. For *Nedeljni Telegraf* of 11.6.2001 to a journalist's question on whether the Russians took part in the arrest, Perišić answered as follows:

- Yes. The Russian Intelligence Service participated in the affair. Time will come when we shall be able to talk about that.

It would be interesting to find out about connections of Ljiljana Nedeljković, the Chief of Koštunica's office, with Russian agencies, as well as with Rade Marković, former Chief of the State Security Service. I have already written about that and journalist Tijanić in the *NIN* No.2759 wrote:

"Had they killed Koštunica, Ljiljana Nedeljković would have carried his coffin all alone. Had they killed her, Voja would have been the President all alone. By its genre, it is a love story. Dramatic, obsessive, tempestuous game of power and secrets, separation and reconciliation, tears and calculations, sacrifice and punishment. Everything, except, it is understood, sex. Aren't they both members of the monastic order, the DSS."

"The structure of this woman forces her to demonstrate her own power as if she herself doubts it. It so characteristic for a sort of intelligent chrysanthemums. The same principle is applied in demonstrating strength: loud drilling of her junior staff, passing of a private note to Koštunica a minute before the commencement of talks with the perplexed Putin, by which act she failed the Russians. Agreements with the "yellows" without media assaults. Open delight and collaboration with the Chief of the Secret Police who is currently tried for murders...."

Bearing in mind the intelligence of the above mentioned journalist, as well as that he has always been well informed, quite opposite to his former boss, I do not have any reasons to doubt his words.

But let us return to the "Perišić Affair".

While in public there was made a lot of fuss, the Counterintelligence people were doing their best to get hold of the Serbian Government building. Prime Minister Djindjić was advised of the arrest by Nebojša Mandić, Chief of Perišić's office, who said that the Prime Minister was puzzled by the fact that his Vice-President was arrested and nobody knew anything about it. I think that when he received the message he was in company of Mr. Montgomery. He phoned the Chief of the BIA, the Security and Information Agency, to ask him about the arrest, and he said he knew nothing about it. When we know that the Deputy Chief of the BIA, the Security and Information Agency, was Bracanović, than we stop wondering why the Prime Minister did not get the right and timely information. I would not be surprised to learn that Bracanović liaised this action with Aco Tomić, the Chief of the KOS, the Counterintelligence service. Aco returned this

favor at the time of Prime Minister's assassination, bearing in mind that Bracanović was a close friend of Legija, by giving a guarantee that the Army would not interfere in case of assassination of the Prime Minister. In addition to the Ibar Highway, Stambolić and Ćuruvija assassinations, Bracanović must have known about preparations for Perišić's arrest and plans to overthrow the Serbian Government.

Official charges have been filed against Bracanović for participation in assassination of Prime Minister Djindjić, and the indictment read as follows:

The accused Aco Tomić, Borislav Mikelić and Dragan Vujičić,

In 2002 they have joined together in a conspiracy organized by the late Dušan Spasojević and Milorad Luković Legija, referred to in paragraph 1 of the indictment, so that the accused Aco Tomić on several occasions made contacts with the late Spasojević and Luković, both at the VJ Directorate for Security building in Kneza Miloša str., and in his own apartment where he had given them details of tapped conversations, and in addition to discussions held about the current political situation, he told them that, after the arrest for espionage of general Perišić, whose immunity had not been lifted by Parliament, that all members of the Government should be arrested and a coup d'état should be carried out, that they should stick to their political views regarding the regime, or otherwise the country would fall in the hands of traitors, that the special "Kobra" units will not interfere or clash with the JSO, the Red Berets, suggesting to them to transfer Ljiljana Buha, who was held by Spasojević, to a more secure place, and that during a meeting at the VJ Security Directorate he received a gift from Spasojević, a "Nokia" mobile phone with a camera, whereas the accused Mikelić was making contacts and arranging appointments between Spasojević's and Luković, on the one, and Tomić, on the other side, that on several occasions he visited Spasojević and Luković in Šilerova street or received them at his apartment passing to them information on whether Carla Del Ponte had raised the Hague indictment against Legija and Šešelj, whose arrest, as cited, should be spectacular, and the accused Vujičić was passing on information on Spasojević and Luković which he obtained from his contacts with persons belonging to the regime, as well as information on whether the JSO men would be extradited to the Hague and by engaging Mikelić organized meetings of the acc. Spasojević and the acc. Luković with the acc. Tomić."

That some people from the BIA must have collaborated with some people from the KOS in the "Perišić Affair" proves the fact that I have never been summoned by the BIA or the SDB concerning the "Perišić Affair". When I was released from the police custody, I tried to get in contact with the current Prime Minister Živković, and the then Federal Minister of Police, and to pass on to him my knowledge and my assumptions that were well supported by certain facts. Nobody took any care of my appeals. I tried to contact the current Chief of the BIA, and the then high official of the MUP with the help of Perišić and Mandić, in vain. It is incredible that nobody has ever asked me what was I doing in that story. What do I know? Simply, the "patriotic block" was a strong filter and, unfortunately, at that time the minister trusted them.

After my arrest, there were lots of speculations whether I was one of the arrested at the "Šarić" motel on the Ibar Highway or not.

I was arrested about 7 p.m. in front of my house. How clumsy was their work, is illustrated by the fact that they missed my house, my side of the street, they passed by me as I was standing in the street and went to arrest my best man Dragan Leštarić, who lives about 50 meters up the street and on the opposite side. Please note that it is a dead end street and there are only five houses in it. They mistook him for me because he was driving my car. He was lucky, colonel Kljajic knew him, as he was the commander of the "Cobras" who came to take me in for an "informative discussion".

They put me in a BMW in my slippers, and took me to Belgrade. I was not handcuffed or covered with a hood. The same was with Colonel Sekulić. It was strange

that they engaged an anti-terrorist squad for that kind of arrest. When we were leaving my street, I saw some other security men along the road. Of course, the local agents took part in the final operation. Probably it was just because they love their job.

They took me to the VJ Directorate for Security in Belgrade. I saw some people there who had taken part in my first arrest. Technical staff. Going upstairs, I was thinking about questions they would ask me, what would be my answers. I prepared my story in advance. Usually, they start with the following: "We know all about you, you should only confirm." This time they did not apply this pattern, which was known since the time of Krcun. They chatted, almost a friendly chat. I was interrogated by two counterintelligence agents Colonel Ćosić and Colonel Komarčević. They were fair. There was no pressure, no force. I was aware that it would be best to tell them things they already knew about me. I did not have a clue that general Perišić was arrested too. I was aware that I should not tell them anything concerning the Montenegrin Government. Furthermore as the relations between Montenegro and Serbia were improving. I was afraid that in the circumstances, the army could raid the Montenegrin Government. Colonel Komarčević was preparing me as follows:

- Are you a member of a political party?

- No.

- You are not a member of the main board of PDS?

- I am not a member of any party, how can I be a member of any board? -

and I knew that they had nothing on me.

- Are you acquainted with someone from the Government?

- I know Perišić.

- What are your relations with him?

- Good, I was trying to say as little as I could.

- Tell me more.

- I was building his house. I have known him since ninety five. I used to see him at the theater and I was building his house in Koštunići.

What I said about the house, confused them. I assumed that they knew nothing about it and they thought that I would not be able to explain why I was going to see him at his office. After that, one of them left the room, probably to check what I said, and in a while he returned. So far, they did not mention any documents. Time was passing. They gave me a jacket and a pair of shoes, as it was very cold.

- Where were you meeting?

- I would come to see him at the Government or at his home, we rarely met at the building site because the general was very busy. He would receive me for half an hour. He was going to the building site late at night when I was not there.

- How do you know Sekula?

- I know him from the office where I was visiting my brother.

- Has Sekula ever told you about his work?

- No, and I was not interested.

- Was he giving you any diskettes?

- Yes.

- What was it?

- Mostly musical CD's. Once he gave me a diskette with a list of carpentry. It is in my car marked as "Sekula". I eventually had some use of the diskette,

which I took from Sekula when we intended to provoke our arrest in order to shame the KOS.

I repeated all that in a written form. Sekula's statement was identical, as the arrest did not surprise us.

This is how the conversation was led. When they were asking questions about the fundamental matters, I would refuse to answer. I was convinced that they had nothing firm. It was long after midnight, but the colonel was very persistent:

- We have a chain, you are only a link in it. If you agree to testify, we will immediately take you home as if nothing has happened. For us, the counterintelligence, the greatest failure is when we have to raise charges. Cooperation is both in our and your interest, he was insisting.

- I cannot testify in a matter I know nothing about. I told you what I was doing. Take me to a lie detector or put me in custody if you do not believe me.

- Why do you think we are going to detain you?

- It would not be for the first time.

- I am sorry about the last time, the colonel was alluding at the first arrest arranged by the JUL.

That night they tried to bring up the same topic on three occasions, but I refused to comment. I realized that they had nothing at all to charge me with.

The same was with colonel Sekulić. The diskette with the carpentry served us both well. Our stories were identical. What we were doing and it did not concern the army, places we were visiting, people we were meeting. The KOS could only put us in prison together with Perišić. From their questions, it was clear that they were interested only in the Serbian Government and its Vice-President. To be honest, I was not aware at that time that their final goal was to overthrow the Government. There was no other way but to put us in jail. The same police wagon, the same driver, the same streets, everything was just the same as two years ago. My first arrest was ordered by the JUL, my second arrest was due to their fear of evidence I might have held against them. I knew the procedure, I knew the guards. The director of the prison, major Micić was a close friend. We used to work in the same unit. We were roommates in Slovenia. The investigative judge, Zoran Mičić was from the village of Selance near Krupanj. He was a man of integrity. He was well off and did not depend on the KOS cooking. His sentence was one-month term in prison. The guards treated me quite decently, as they knew me from before, from either my first arrest or from frequent visits I was paying to Micić.

I could not sleep all night. It was terribly cold. Then the door opened and there was Micić, the Director of the prison.

- Dear brother, not again? He shook my hand cordially.

He asked me if I needed anything. I needed sleep, nothing else. He told the guards to let me lay down to sleep. That was enough. I slept like a baby. In the morning, we gave our statements to the investigative judge Mičić and he was very decent. He admired the KOS as much as we. I hope that my writing will not harm this honest man. He must have known as well as we did what was going on in the military judiciary administration. However, it was obvious that their task was to convince us to testify that we were passing documents to Perišić. This would be followed by our testimony that Perišić was passing the documents to Neighbor. The next would be the Serbian Government. The KOS was troubled, unable to guess what would have been our

motivation. They could not understand. The press was flooded with articles on our arrest. They competed in exclusivity. The Service had its “duty” journalists who were reporting information from the “well informed sources”. The public was shocked. The press carried the following:

DJINDJIĆ EXPECTS TOMIĆ TO BE REMOVED FROM OFFICE

BEOGRAD (Beta) – Serbian Prime Minister Djindjić declared yesterday that he expects the FRY President Vojislav Koštunica to urgently remove from office the Chief of the VJ Directorate of Security, General Aco Tomić, “bearing in mind the fact” that the Vice-President of the Serbian Government, Momčilo Perišić has resigned.

“For as long as the question of General Aco Tomić’s responsibility has not been resolved in an adequate way, I do not see any possibility for any serious collaboration on the matters concerning national security, with either the FRY President or any VJ institutions,” reads the statement issued by Djindjić for the Beta.

Pavković, unstable as he was, saw a chance to deliver his last blow to Perišić, a rival who had for many years given him a lot of trouble and who he was unable to bring to his office to explain that “the army was acting only within the constitutional framework”. I am sure that Pavković was not for overthrowing of the Serbian Government, as he had established “good collaboration” with the Government, but he was very kin to overthrow Perišić. So everybody had their own interests.

The Vice-President of the Serbian Government, Nebojša Čović, was informed about Perišić’s arrest while he was in conversation with Ambassador of Portugal. He said he thought that Perišić was arrested by the Croatian Police, as in Croatia, Perišić was sentenced to 20 years in prison. Tensions were constantly growing. The Americans were thrown a glove straight into their face. Montgomery said that what we had done with the arrest of their diplomat, had not been done to them by neither China nor the Northern Korea in the last 20 years. The criticism was certainly directed to the “Patriotic Bloc”.

PROCEEDINGS BEFORE THE MILITARY COURT

**“Tracks of those who wield the law by a heavy sword, reek of inhumanity”
Njegos**

Pre-trial proceedings were instituted before the Military Court. Upon being named the investigating judge, Major Mihajlovic was promoted to the rank of lieutenant, and given a flat near the Zvezda football club stadium. At the same time housing problem of Colonel Trifunovic, President of the Military Court, was pending. Since I was very familiar with the military judiciary and had my reliable sources within the judicial cadres, in an interview to *Nedeljni Telegraf* I disclosed all details about granting of military ranks and flats. After that interview the investigating judge was replaced by a new ambitious judge, Captain Vuk Tufegdžic, who was interested in my sources, and mostly in the identity of the person who had informed me about distribution of flats and ranks to judicial personnel taking part in the Perisic case.

When during investigation I asked Teleskovic why the minutes were taken in the Topcider garrison, and not on the spot, he blurted out:

-We were afraid of the US attack.

And then investigating judge wrote down that stupid answer. Who could possibly believe that we would be attacked in the heart of Sumadija, when the time and place of arrest and the people effecting the arrest were hand-picked by the Security Services Department. Therefore the factor of surprise was on their side.

When I asked why Neighbour was detained for 15 hours, despite his diplomatic immunity, I was told that they could not establish his identity, despite finding in his possession forged IDs and passports, obviously ours and with photographs.

Those in attendance in the courtroom burst into laughter.

Of 14 questions I posed to Colonel Teleskovic, judge Vuk Tufegdzic allowed him to reply only to three. Precedent was set by the fact that the whole operation of tailing and arrest was organized by Colonel Teleskovic, who is also a crown witness. I don't believe that he can be objective because of his involvement in the scandal. Namely due to the foregoing he must have a hefty professional ambition to make a success out of that case. All witnesses suggested by the Prosecution a day before giving their testimonies were primed by the Military court.

It is also interesting to note that the aforementioned Colonel Teleskovic took part in the search of the apartment and office of the incumbent Head of Counter-Intelligence Services, Stojanovic, at times which suited General Aca Tomic. Teleskovic took part in a selective examination of cases of flats given to the Yugoslav Army generals, including the case of General Aca Dimitrijevic, former Head of CIS, who had fired the colonel from the Security Services on grounds of his private business activities. Those in the know say that during their friendship General Tomic and Colonel Teleskovic, did little work but a lot of drinking and carousing. Due to the foregoing Tomic ended up in Pristina. If the fact that Perisic was Head of Chief of Staff is also added to the whole story, then it emerges that the "routed patriots" clearly had motives for vendetta.

Material seized in Perisic's cabinet had over 11,000 pages. It was handed for expert analysis to the Security Department of the Military Academy.

General Mucibacic did the expert analysis of the degree of confidentiality and authenticity of the said documents. He and his two assistants received 150,000 dinars for that job. Although material was very copious, over 11,000 pages of diverse documents, analysis was done swiftly. It bears saying that a thorough analysis exacts reading of contents of those documents. If the general had read everything, which would have been impossible given the deadline for the completion of task, he could have found everything I wrote about, mostly cases of blatant abuses and criminal activities among the Yugoslav Army ranks. Moreover he could have learnt about heavy criminal offences committed by the general cadre. Had he done all the foregoing he would have been duty-bound as a citizen, and a judicial expert, to inform of those offences the Military Security Services and the Military Prosecution. The fact that he failed to do that, indicated that he was covering up those offences. The then in force Penal Code of the FRY stipulated a three-year prison term for the cover-up of offences:

Article 199

“An official who fails to report a criminal offence which he found out in his line of duty, and punishable under the law by a five-year prison term or a more severe sentence, shall be punished for that mishandling or oversight by a prison term ranging from three months to three years.”

General Mucibabic, as a judicial expert, opted for a cover-up, though he was awarded only by a small amount of money for his job. Perhaps honourable Supreme Military Prosecutor, Colonel Petkovic, shall react after reading this text. He used to take part in the meetings at which members of the military prosecution team and judicial experts were tasked with arresting some people, staging their trials, and deciding on the length thereof. We shall see. He is currently focused on his attack on Perisic, for that attack is the best defence of the Milosevic era “achievements“, and his was Milosevic’s stooge. General Mucibabic’s analysis of confidentiality and authenticity of the aforementioned documents, from which this book stems, did me a great favour for I have no longer to give oaths and prove that everything I wrote is true. But let me repeat, General Mucibabic wrote a study on the accuracy of those documents, and handed it to the prosecution. So he deserves 150,000 dinars from me too. Currently a major pressure is brought to bear on the prosecution to convict General Zika Vujcic, who used to be the first financier of Chief of Staff. I expect him to admit that he was offered a post of adviser to Head of Chief of Staff of the Yugoslav Army and rank of colonel –general, so that his position could be filled by another, more loyal officer.

Let us go back to the Perisic scandal.

Ambassador Montgomery grew very resentful of the CIS treatment of their diplomat. I am surprised by his exaggerated reaction, for the US diplomacy failed to separate the wheat from the chaff in DOS, and took a balanced, but uncritical view of politicians protecting the military and police holdovers from the old regime. And there were many such holdovers in the federal and republican administration. Firstly, personnel changes could have been effected in a record time, without wasting much time and incurring too many expenses. That would have been the first task to tackle if we had wanted to become a normal country. The US Administration brought to bear much pressure on our government to accept the Hague ultimatums. It also pressured the government to compel those suspected of crimes and the transfer of bodies to Batajnica, to find and dug out those mass graves. That was a double sacrilege. In such an abnormal, and illogical situation, it was only logical to expect that “patriots” would refuse to effect self-arrests and self-hand-overs to the Hague Tribunal, and that they would make concerted efforts to topple the government through various organized actions. I know with certainty that Americans were warned of such course of developments, but you’d had better ask them why they had such a naïve grasp of the then situation.

Protest of the US Ambassador

BELGRADE (Beta)- The Yugoslav Foreign Affairs Ministry communicated that the US Ambassador to the FRY, William Montgomery, yesterday lodged a verbal protest to the Federal Foreign Affairs Ministry, because of the arrest of an US citizen, his 15-hour long detention and refusal of the authorities to allow him to contact the US Embassy.

The Ministry also noted that in co-operation with authorized bodies it would look into the case, and assessed that “the event may have a negative impact on the relations between the two countries.”

The state-run Radio Belgrade quoted unofficial sources from the government of Serbia as saying that Perisic was arrested on grounds of “disclosure of military secret”. AP agency has quoted the statement of an unnamed high official of the Yugoslav government to the effect that “Perisic was arrested because of suspected espionage activities.”

That source, according to the AP agency, also said that “Perisic was arrested while handing important confidential military documents, showing a link between the former Yugoslav President, Slobodan Milosevic and war crimes, to the US diplomat.” Milosevic is currently standing trial in the Hague Tribunal on charges of commission of war crimes in Kosovo, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Croatia.”

I knew that we were facing a major uphill struggle, because daily politics got embroiled in the whole affair. Politicians called on generals to explain what was going on, and why the state was engulfed into new problems with the US Administration. General Aca Tomic refused to attend a meeting scheduled by his superiors. For him the only and absolute authority was Kostunica’s cabinet. “Patriots” have found a new boss. Conflicts were in the offing. Controversial CIS’s film almost found its way to the big screens in local movie-houses.

Head of services refused to screen the film allegedly showing Perisic handing over the material. It was a black and white picture and rather blurred. Transcript followed incomprehensible speech. After the emergence of the film some DOS leaders suddenly began to trust CIS. If the film was an element of the judicial evidence, it had to be obtained under the law, that is, if the court so required and approved.

The FRY Constitution clearly spells out who has the right to secretly shadow and bug individuals. And Head of Chief of Staff was not vested in such an authority. Though “independent” military prosecution knew that too, they nonetheless included thus (unlawfully) obtained material into evidence and registered it in the judicial documents.

And the Constitution lays down:

Article 32:

“ Confidentiality of letters and other correspondence is inviolable. Federal act may prescribe that a departure from that regulation is possible if the court so decides, deeming that departure from the rule necessary for institution of criminal proceedings or the defence of the FRY.”

The showing of that film was permitted only to the parties in the judicial process. What if it was doctored, edited ? What if the suspect was not guilty? How could those self-proclaimed legalists watch that film without the court’s approval? How many people saw that film (those who took it for viewing were not registered in the court’s documents)? If the film at the time was not considered documentary evidence, but was nonetheless shown to many people, then it could not have been registered in the court’s documents. Many probably saw it in private screening sessions. It was shown to DOS

leaders, and they have publicly commented it. Sekulic and I have not seen the film in our official capacity, although we were suspects and had the legal right to see it. When we asked the judge to see the film, he told us that we were not in it. And we had to believe him. Those who saw it also told us that we were not in the film. The open question is: why CIS failed to obtain the order, in compliance with the constitutional procedure, adhered to by the services even in much more naïve cases. That question is also interesting in view of the fact that CIS rules over the military judiciary, and thus could have got whatever it wanted to get. Why have they given up on their own evidence? No-one could reproach them for anything had the basic postulates of services and legal norms been complied with. I don't want to be Perisic's lawyer, if he is guilty he shall be punished, but I don't believe a single word uttered by CIS and the military judiciary. And I have given you my arguments for the foregoing. CIS could not get the court order even from the military judiciary if it wanted to edit the film. Perhaps therein lies the reason for my and Sekulic's absence from the film. In other words it is easier to insert public figure into a film, for there's an abundance of legal, video and audio recordings related to them. Video recordings of anonymous personalities like me and Sekulic all near non-extant.

I knew that we had to adjourn the trial at any cost. Security Services department and its agents had to be prevented from finding a truth about our role and contacts with the Montenegrin government before 5 October. I was in an absurd situation. I imparted intelligence in order to save the saveable, and at the same time I was under the threat-and am still under the threat- of a five-year prison sentence for the act committed out of most human motives, for the act from which the whole nation benefited. Even general Perisic told the judge that I gave him information out of purely patriotic motives. My services did not the Serb government a single dinar or favour. Had the government been more shrewd they could have used that material for predicting the next moves of the "patriotic block". I shall be tried by the Milosevic era holdovers, and the irony of the fate is that the trial shall take place under auspices of the new authorities for whom I have indirectly worked. At the time I could not obviously tell anything to people from CIS. Lieutenant Sekulic was then unaware that intelligence was forwarded to the Serb opposition via Montenegro, but he knew that it was intended for the then opposition, now, the incumbent authorities.

The office in which we were interrogated by the interrogating judge during the pre-trial proceedings was very small in size, it had about 15 square metres, and there were at times 10 of us in it. Everything was easier for us after replacement of judge Mihajlovic, because he was a chain smoker, and totally disregarded appeals of non-smokers amongst the suspects and defence attorneys to air the room.

Vuk Tufegdzcic acted more like a prosecutor than an investigating judge. He was very self-assertive, and sarcastic. He knew who to side with. Obviously his pick were the prosecutors and not suspects. He did not allow witnesses to respond to questions which could uncover the truth and he failed to write down in the minutes the accurate answers of witnesses. When both I and my lawyer once raised an objection, he rebutted:

-Are you objecting to my hairstyle? and with a cynical smile on his lips, ran his finger through his short hair.

.....

Security services had their favourite journalists. To them all the trial-related info were given. During a hearing we met *Ekspres* journalist Niciforovic in the Military Court corridor. He had the privilege to walk around the court as if it were his own backyard.

When we refused to make a statement, Niciforovic, visibly angry, threatened to write whatever he fancied. And the following day the following headline was splashed on *Ekspres* front-page: “Threesome admitted everything in 90 minutes”, though we defended ourselves by dint of the right to remain silent. Thus he fabricated his whole article. He was always “on duty” in the courtroom when we were giving testimonies and moreover loudly commented every word of ours. My impression was that he was summoned by the court in the same way we had been summoned. Espionage indictment against Perisic, and disclosure of military secret indictment against me and Sekulic were published by the banned *Nacional*. We were forbidden to give out details, while the others were disclosing ad verbatim whole parts of documentary evidence. Who and for which reasons gave them that evidence? Why the evidence was given to *Nacional* we had learnt only after Djindjic’s assassination. CIS marketed the news through a female journalist in Bosnia, who later passed them to the Montenegrin daily *Publika*. Through that feature they tried to create bad blood between us, for they portrayed Lieutenant Sekulic as Tomic’s man, as a mole assigned to break up the espionage network. Operation was then accordingly called “The Trap”. I knew that it wasn’t true for Sekulic at the time was not familiar with details of operation, and therefore could not act as the CIS mole. CIS was the last institution for which he would have agreed to work. But, Perisic somehow accepted the logic of that lie. I had to explicate to him in detail the purpose of such coverage. Had Djindjic not been killed, we would have never learnt the whys and wherefores of such articles about the non-existent operation “The Trap” in *Publika* of Podgorica.

Similar was the coverage of *Nacional* which was more interested in reaping financial benefits from such articles, than in professionalism. The one who gives most money, can expect to see his lies published. *Nacional* editors and staff were probably guided by the same pecuniary interest when they first ran the Perisic case news, and then, in the end, the indictment. And how come that everything was leaked only to *Nacional*? Not a single tabloid wanted to run our disclaimers. The omnipresent journalist Milovan Brkic turned up in the middle of my press conference in Belgrade’s Media Centre. He somehow managed to push his way through those in attendance, came to the rostrum, took a mike and asked me some questions which were obviously drafted by the people I knew. Today that “renowned journalist” is editor-in-chief of *Nacional*, the tabloid banned during the operation “Sword”. In his book “The Sun General”, colonel Ljubisa Stojadinovic wrote that on 5 October he met Brkic “who then did not know which services he was working for.” Months after the conference I used to see him telephoning from public booths, turning around and whispering. He cut a ludicrous figure, but he reminded me that I acted in the same way when I was telephoning to Montenegro. Brkic was also arrested during the “Sword” campaign.

The biggest lie ever published during the Perisic affair was the one related to my cousin, Colonel Milovan Vlajkovic. He was Chief of Perisic’s cabinet, while Perisic was discharging duties of Head of Chiefs of Staff of the Yugoslav Army, and later of Ojdanic’s cabinet. He is currently a military attaché in the Yugoslav Embassy in Vienna. The print media implied that Lieutenant Sekulic carried secret documents to Vienna, that

Vlajkovic was a member of PDS and similar. *Nedeljni Telegraf* refused to run my disclaimer, by saying that the denial had to be made by Colonel Vlajkovic. He, on the other hand, as an active officer, could not make a public statement without a prior approval. I know with certitude that he tried to do that through some Army channels, but the Army at the time was not interested in such a turn of events. Months after our arrest, he was also tailed whenever he came to Yugoslavia.

In the meantime I met General Pavkovic in "Amigo" restaurant in Dedinje. He then confirmed that he was in the dark about Perisic's arrest and recounted me the evolution of the whole affair.

I met him only because I wanted to know what had really happened before and after our arrest. And this is what he had to tell me:

- I signed the order on tailing of some persons since the suspicion was rife that all the intelligence was originating from Chief of Staff. We did not know who took them out and how that operation was carried out. Contrary to rules, I was not informed of identity of recipient of that leaked intelligence nor of the course of tailing. I did not even know that Perisic would be arrested. When I came to my office, a day after your arrest, I asked Colonel Kljajic, commander of "Cobra" about the news, and he told me that General Perisic was arrested the night before. I was really surprised at hearing that piece of news. Upon my further inquiry, he said that Perisic was arrested on Tomic's order. Then I phoned General Aca Tomic and asked him why he did that. He replied in cold-blood: "I did what I did." He also told me that Kostunica was not informed of the arrest. Then I tried to reach by phone President Kostunica at the airport, but his plane had already left for Spain. Afterwards I called our Embassy in Madrid and asked them to tell Kostunica to call me as soon as he landed. In the meantime I received a call by Head of Security Services of the Yugoslav Army, General Tomic. He told me not to call the President, for he had already been informed of the recent event. Actually with Kostunica on board was also Rade Bulatovic, the president's national security adviser, one of the masterminds of the Perisic affair, and he had already done the pertinent briefing.

I have in my possession statements of the implicated security officers to the effect that they were ordered by Tomic personally not to inform anyone, not even me, of Perisic's arrest.

If security officers who did the shadowing of Perisic were forbidden to tell anything about that operation to General Pavkovic, Head of Staff, then it is clear that the whole affair was constructed for the sake of bringing down the government. Had they been successful in their intent, Djindjic would have survived, but the country would be anew in the grip of sanctions and isolated.

But let me go back to that conversation with Pavkovic. We talked for about an hour and a half, but my questions were not related only to the Perisic affair. It would not be correct to expose those personal remarks and observations of his. He is undoubtedly an intelligent officer, who knows his oversights and errors better than we who write books like these. I am sure that he is aware of every mistake of his, and there were many of them. Hence I was not surprised by the conciliatory tone of his letters from the prison.

I had a similar meeting with General Djakovic, former Head of Security Services of the Yugoslav Army in his flat in Francuska street in Belgrade. The conversation transpired in a friendly atmosphere. In line with his profession and many years of

experience in the security services, he asked many questions, and gave few answers. I was satisfied with my conversations with Pavkovic and Djakovic because I think that they were both to a large extent sincere. They allayed all my suspicions that Perisic was imparting any intelligence data to Americans.

I would not like to recount my conversation with Djakovic, for it was very similar to the one I had with Pavkovic. They both told me about the notorious army raid into the Bureau of the government of Serbia in June 2001. I had heard of that raid earlier, before the scandal was made public. But then I simply was not convinced of the veracity of that story.

I can anew conclude that the military courts are a state in a state. Namely, under the Constitutional Charter they were dismantled or abolished together with the Military Prosecution in August 2003. Despite the foregoing they still operate, hold trials and mete out sentences. The building in Ustanicka street in Belgrade which had housed the Military Court was handed over to the Justice Ministry and it is now the seat of a Special Court. It is obvious that some military jurists totally disregard our Constitution. This semi-private court is looking for a “financier and protector” and shall represent a real challenge for some future politicians in any upcoming “privatization.”

I must underline that only the people involved in distribution of intelligence from Chief of Staff knew the real truth about me and Lieutenant Sekulic. Furthermore I regret the fact that I was not able to disclose all the relevant information and facts to my close friends and relatives, including my late brother Goran. I avail myself of this opportunity to apologize to them for the foregoing, and hope that they shall understand me.

IN LIEU OF A CONCLUSION

“With his works a man pictures himself”
Schiller

The victory of the DOS on 5th October 2000 was not followed by a revolution of the kind essential for our nation, instead, a revolutionary changeover took place only in relation to the position and the role of the coalition. The DOS was formed to overthrow the Milošević regime and for this goal it was supported by the people, by intellectuals and by the West, but it was not prepared to take over the rule in order to build up a new state and to establish new standards, very thoroughly, in order to speed up the democratic processes. Plainly, the DOS was astounded by the speed with which the Milošević Empire was falling apart. Countless holes kept opening in the state administration for which to fill the DOS did not have adequate staff. Poor compromises pregnant with new problems were made, resulting in the forming of a chain of lobbies which used the democracy to screen off their greed and scandals. The DOS, composed of numerous miniature parties, was the right response to Milošević’s tyranny, but not to the post-Milošević recovery of Serbia. The tardiness in the bringing of essential new laws and the non-defining of matters on which a national consensus should have been achieved (borders, Kosovo, transition, Constitution, the Hague tribunal etc.) became the main sources of conflicts instead to become a magnet which would gather together the best that Serbia could offer. Vanity, greed, and slow pace in the cleansing of the former staff burdened with scandals, made the already difficult situation even worse. There were

no new ideas to be brought and applied by new officials, therefore any political solutions on hand were unfruitful. All along, while success was measured by elimination of Milošević's hideous laws (the smuggling of fuel and cigarettes, assassinations, inflation etc.) there was an illusion that the reforms were successful. When Serbia required more than just donations, and that is to define cooperation with the Hague and to establish the rule of the law, we came to a halt. The citizens were quicker in forgetting the misery they were leaving behind, than the government in providing the promised prosperity. Once upon the time we were overjoyed when the inflation was not growing in a billion percentage per day and when the bombs stopped falling on our heads and now we are discontented with the length of time required for our admission to Europe.

As I am not a politician, I am not expected to and have no habit of fawning, in the least to my own countrymen, I am of a strong opinion that the responsibility is on the people themselves. The people elected Milošević, the people endured the inflation, the people went to wars and were eventually bombed. Those are the facts, regardless how bad it may sound. What we have endured, no other European nation would endure. And what we do today, supporting and reviving the same ones who pushed us to where we are now, is the best proof for my claim. If the German people were the most deserving for their resurrection from the ashes of fascism and building up of a progressive, modern state, then the Serbian people are the most deserving for everything that has happened to them and for the position they are now in.

One of the basic principles of any reform is a reform of the staffing. And there was our greatest failure. Wherever the Milošević staff was replaced, reforms were successful. Reforms were greatly delayed in the security services and the judiciary. The situation there is still most critical. When we could not move any further without replacements in the army, the judiciary and the police, Prime Minister Djindjić was assassinated. As we could not resolve accrued murders from the last decade, as the Hague began to keep checking on us, as we were taking corpses out of the Danube, we recollected Milošević's meetings of support and have devaluated almost everything we thought might become a foundation of a new Serbia. We have become hostages of Milošević's generals and the resurrected anti-Hague lobby dressed in new uniforms and lined up in front of a monument where the first demonstrations were held on 9 March 1991. When dictators turn to democrats, it is as confusing for the people as when the democrats, in order to please the people, organize such meetings. The DOS exhausted its internal resources by making irresponsible hasty moves, and the West assisted them, in their belief that anything wearing a sign "democratic", democratic it really is.

On everything written down on the previous pages of this book, the Montenegrin Government was being informed from 1992 and from 5th October 2000 the Serbian Government was being informed either by me or my friends.

Minister Vladan Batić was given this book immediately before it was published and thanks to his support, a meeting was arranged with the Special Prosecutor, Mr. Jovan Prijić. I must admit that Mr. Batić had no doubts concerning either the authenticity of the facts or the responsibility of the main performers in our drama. A high official of the Directorate of Security is acquainted with this material, I handed to him all the documents referring to abuse within the army. According to information I hold, Mr. Prijić requested an explanation from the KOS as well as a confirmation of authenticity of the book and the documents. After reading the book, the Directorate of Security was

panic-stricken. I think that Mr. Prijić took the book to a wrong place to seek confirmation of genuineness of the documents. It is the same as if we asked Legija to arrest Milošević or to testify in the case on Ibarska Highway or the assassination attempt on Vuk Drašković. I am not aware if anything were done regarding this matter, as far as I know, nothing has been done. I am left with an ultimate possibility, to approach the public, but not in order to get the criminals punished, as that is what the courts are for, but so that in future events like this are labeled as they deserve.

When I finished the book, it took me a long while thinking about its conclusion. Maybe I did not know how to put on paper what I wanted to say, but I knew about who I wanted to write and what message will be sent to all normal citizens of Serbia and Montenegro. I will write about an honourable officer who has never asked for any favors in return for his glorious act and who passed a Golgotha because he was not indifferent to abuse and criminal acts performed by those ones who should have been the polestar of the nation and the state. His troubles are still continuing as I am writing this book. As you would expect, he is Colonel Miodrag Sekulić, Chief of the Informatics at the office of the Chief of the General Staff. If there is any guilt on his part, than it is in that he was not made of disgrace and hypocrisy, he could tell black from white, a catastrophe from a success, a chance from a failure. He was not inspired by crimes but by good deeds, he would not give up his honor for a rank. He shared the destiny of all officers who were reluctant to sacrifice the foundations of humanity and morale for a handful of false glory and lies. He could not passively watch court jesters playing the kings. His mother never taught him to wrap other people in black naming tragedies as accidents, as if he did so, he would spit at his roots. Good marks in his job qualified him for a job in which he was in everybody's way. He is now in a position to be accused by someone whom he was helping the most, and whose verdict would be a sentence for generations who, between servitude and sacrifice for a just cause, would choose the former. That is his guilt! To sentence this honorable man would be the same as sentencing of all normal people in Serbia and Montenegro. I avail myself of this opportunity to invite Prime Minister Djukanović, Prime Minister Živković and President Marović as proved democrats to lift the anathema off this honorable man. Your struggle would have no sense, no effect had there been no people like Colonel Sekulić who was risking his and his family lives and was ready to sacrifice himself in order to help Serbia and Montenegro to become what they are today. I expect all the responsible and people of integrity to say loudly how important for this nation was the man who was prepared to sacrifice everything to save what was almost lost, helping people he did not know to lead this country into a company of democratic states. He was attending meetings of the VJ General Staff, he was watching and listening where it was all leading to. What should have he done in those difficult times? To push a racing car to an abyss or act as a hero who had courage that other did not to do everything in his power to put a stop to Milošević's tyranny and prevent events in which some other mothers would weep after their lost children.

We cannot, dear gentlemen, due to everyday political events, step over the bodies of the living people, or we shall become our own victims.

The "patriots" have done their best to present the 5th October as a product of illiterate criminals who have brought the DOS in power, and there was no one to deny that and tell them that intelligent and educated officers, descendents of thousands alike

from the Serbian history, have seen where the Milošević junta was leading them and have clearly demonstrated their patriotism and love for their fatherland. They were the “Apis-like” figures who have asked neither fame nor promotions after the change of the regime. They have remained where they used to be while Milošević’s generals and colonels have raised to the skies wishing one thing only – a revenge to those people who were different, in order to present their shame as a great struggle for the benefit of their people and state. The revenge is inspired, before all, by their fear of evidence of what they were doing in the last decade. Colonel Sekulić deserves a special place in our recent history, and Montenegro should be honored to attach a medal to a great chest of this great man. I wish to thank other officers who have been of assistance to me directly and indirectly, who are also persecuted for fear that they could begin to tell what they know.

The value of Sekulić’s sacrifice is even greater bearing in mind that although he knew what he was doing, he did not quote Serbian or Montenegrin governments as he was aware that it was exactly to what Aca Tomić and alike were looking forward. He did not say a word when he was suspended and his pay was halved two years ago, when his quasi-friends were turning their heads away or when his promotion was stopped although due to his term of service and the best marks he was receiving during his career, he deserved a promotion. A doctor of informatics to be, endured the harassment with stoicism and dignity as it is expected of such a human mountain. Any less than that, I would not expect.

Finally, I would like to thank all those politicians who supported me to endure with the writing of this book and they will recognize themselves in this line. With this book I have reduced a pressure within me caused by vampire-like ideologists of Milošević’s patriotism never coming down from front pages and pre-electoral billboards.

There is just one more thing I would like to know and that is how is Branko Krga feeling when he reports to the “domestic traitors and foreign mercenaries” and why anybody accepts reports by such a man?

Thank you all for your support and patience.

ADDENDA

Addendum NO. 1

PRESS RELEASE ON SENTENCES TO MEMBERS OF OSA GROUP

The Military Court in Niš has imposed sentences on six residents of Kruševac Members of the OSA group given prison sentences ranging from 1.5 to 5 years Gajić, Pavlović and Đurđević sentenced to 5 years each, Vukadinović and Milanović to 3 years each, Zdravković to 1.5 years, Mališić acquitted

NIŠ - The Military Court in Niš on Friday sentenced Kruševac members of the Serb Liberation Army (OSA) to a total of 22.5 years in prison.

Boban Gajić, Milutin Pavlović and Radovan Đurđević were sentenced to 5 years each. Miodrag Vukadinović and Ivan Milanović were sentenced to 3 years each and Zoran Zdravković to 1.5 years.

Milutin Mališić, a Kosovo Serb from Peć, was acquitted after the military prosecutor dropped the charges against him for lack of evidence. The court ruled that

Vukadinović, Milanović and Zdravković be released from detention and that Gajić, Pavlović and Đurđević be kept in prison.

The Kruševac group were tried on charges of setting up the OSA in Kruševac at the middle of last year for the purpose of committing the criminal offences of terrorism, sabotage and undermining the constitutional order with a view to changing the constitutional order of the FRY, overthrowing the highest state organs, installing a king and establishing a monarchy.

The military prosecutor charged the Kruševac group of preparing to assassinate FRY President Slobodan Milošević and General Nebojša Pavković and recruiting men from Bosnia and Germany for this purpose. At the principal hearing on the 22nd the court examined eighteen witnesses.

The defendants denied the charges, saying the OSA intended to limit its operations in Kosovo in order to protect the Serb holy shrines and Serbdom. They said they had no weapons and that terrorist actions in Serbia were out of the question.

In his closing argument Belgrade lawyer Jovan Pavlović, a counsel for the defence, called the Kruševac group an 'out-of-tune orchestra' whose initial patriotic idea of helping the Kosovo Serb had given rise to all kinds of dreams and stories, a group incapable of any serious undertaking, let alone bringing down the constitutional order of the country.

Đurđević's counsel, Belgrade lawyer Đorđe Kalanj, said that drastic punishment had been imposed for mere 'verbal offences'.

'I consider that the defendants were charged on the basis of rumour and hearsay, that they were not seriously intent on any of the thing charged against them,' Kalanj said. 'These men fared ill merely because they had no political party, no leader to back them up, no one in government to protect them.'

The president of the court panel, Colonel Vukadin Milivojević, says this was not a political trial. The group was charged with criminal conspiracy to overthrow the constitutional order of the FRY by the force of arms, he says.

Lj. Jovanović

ADENDUM No. 2

SENTENCE OF JOURNALIST MIROSLAV FILIPOVIĆ CARRIED BY THE
POLITIKA DAILY

Politika

Vreme No. 500, 5 August 2000

Journalist Miroslav Filipović Sentenced on Charges of Espionage by the Military
Court in Niš

Court Endorses a Political Verdict

“Some parts of what you have published may be true. We do not deny a possibility that atrocities in Kosovo and Metohija might have been committed at random, but it is an absolute lie that the Army has committed these atrocities. It is a grave dishonesty which can cause disturbance of honest citizens who care about this state and

the army,” Colonel Miladinović said in his verbal exposition of the verdict reached in the case of the journalist of the “Danas” and the Agence France Presse (AFP), Miroslav Filipović.

You tolerate murders and arrests of your colleges, you tolerate your colleges to be pronounced spies. Wake up, raise your voices. Slavko announced that they would come to knock on your door, Jova Ćuruvija, brother of journalist Slavko Ćuruvija, the victim of an unsettled assassination committed in the center of Belgrade, states in his public “appeal”.

A motive for his pouring of bitterness in public was the verdict of the Military Court in Niš, which on 26 July sentenced to 7 years in prison the correspondent of the Belgrade daily *Danas* and the France Press Agency, journalist Miroslav Filipović. The verdict is based on a criminal act of espionage and spreading of false information. According to the verdict, Filipović was involved in espionage. As a journalist, he would get hold of “secret” military documents, which, actually, were already published in the media, he would include them in his articles, duly sign his name and publish them in the media. Regardless on whether Filipović, when writing his texts observed the rules of the journalists profession or perhaps made some oversights, which in all normal countries would be sanctioned by civil courts on the basis of laws on information, to everybody possessing a bit of common sense such a “public” spy would be very “suspicious”. But this is not the case with the Military Court in Niš. For it, everything was clear at once. It does not succumb to absurd.

A PUBLIC SECRET: Hence, Filipović has become the first journalist in FRY whose political sentence was endorsed by a court. Independent journalists were often accused of being “murderers”, “spies”, “foreign mercenaries” or “extended hands of the NATO”. This political somnambulism, which can easily compete with Kafka’s *The Trial* or Kovačević’s *Balkan Spy*, eventually has an epilogue at court. Thus, Filipović got every chance to become one of the symbols of a paranoid attitude by the current regime and the judiciary toward the independent media. Unfortunately, all those journalist who were killed, arrested, kept in custody, whose media were forbidden and who were subjected to other draconian measures in accordance with the Law on Information, stand the same chance.

The president of a five-member court council of the Military Court in Niš, Colonel Radenko Miladinović, stated that the council, the members of which were also Colonel Božidar Minić and Captain Zdravko Djordjević, has brought an “irrefutable conclusion” that Filipović committed a criminal act of espionage under Clause 128, paragraph 1 of the Federal Criminal Code concurrent with spreading of false information under Clause 218 of the Criminal Code of Serbia. It has therefore decided to sentence him for the first crime to 5 years and for the second to 3 years in prison, i.e. to a 7-year term in prison.

“Filipović is guilty of espionage, as from 1999 to May 2000 he was getting hold of secret military documents in order to pass them on to foreign agencies like the British Institute of War and Peace Reporting and AFP. He collected and passed on documents on the territorial jurisdiction, number of troops and filling of the VJ units by mobilization on the territory of Montenegro and Sandžak. He also collected secret military documents on the VJ units in Montenegro and on those ones which were moved from Kosovo and Metohija, however he has not passed them on, but was keeping them

on the hard disk of his computer, which was confiscated during a search of his apartment”, Colonel Miladinović said.

He added that the court has “irrefutably concluded” that the data Filipović published were true and secret, and as such “forbidden to be passed on, in particular to foreign organizations”. Besides, he confessed that many of the “secret documents” published by Filipović had already been published in other media, but the court has still decided that it was “espionage” as he had collected them in a “considerable number”. “The punishment for the criminal act of espionage is from 3 – 15 years in prison. We have decided that the punishment should be on the lower margin, as the documents that Filipović was publishing are not a top secret. They are documents of a lower degree of confidentiality and they could not cause consequences which would endanger the state and the army.” Colonel Miladinović confessed.

NOT PREMEDITATED: The President of the Council, however, stated that the Council has decided to sentence Filipović to a maximum punishment for spreading of false information as he “published grave lies about the VJ in his articles for the British Institute, the AFP and the daily ‘Danas’ in order to cause disturbance of the population, endanger public peace and order and diminish the faith of citizens in the relevant state institutions.” He said precisely that the “grave lies” in Filipović’s articles relate to his statements that “VJ was committing atrocities in Kosovo and Metohija” and “was shelling at random Albanian villages” and that “reservists were killing Albanian women and children”. According to what he said, it is a lie that after the war “FRY was sending in secret its Para-police forces to Kosovo in order to provoke conflicts between the Serbs and the Albanians” and that “some towns in Sandžak are surrounded with tanks”, as well as that the “Serbian regime exerts uncontrolled pressure on the Albanian population in Preševo, Bujanovac and Medvedja.”

“Maybe some parts of what you published are true. We do not exclude a possibility that atrocities in Kosovo and Metohija were committed at random, but is a lie that the VJ was committing those atrocities. Those are grave lies can cause disturbance of honest population who care about their state and the army.” Colonel Miladinović said in his verbal exposition of the verdict.

In the final plea, Captain Aleksandar Kaličanin requested that Filipović be punished in accordance with the law. One of the lawyers of the defense, Zoran Ateljević requested discharge as the “indictment against Filipović is ungrounded and was not proved in the procedure.” “Filipović acted exclusively as a journalist and in his articles most often he was quoting data already published in other media which he therefore could not consider as “secret military documents,” Ateljević told the press and added that to prove a criminal act of espionage it is essential to have a premeditation and his client did not have it.

During the trial written statements of three witnesses from Kraljevo were read stating that they were occasionally discussing with Filipović the VJ and the last year’s war in Kosovo and Metohija. “Filipović told me that by writing about atrocities in Kosovo by certain individuals he was trying to clear the collective blemish of the Army,” one of the witnesses, Vuk Mimović declared. The President of the Court Council abandoned a hearing of the absent witnesses, i.e. two policemen who had searched Filipović’s apartment in Kraljevo, confiscated his hard disk and permit for armament, and Gordana Igrić from the British Institute of War and Peace Reporting, for which Filipović

had written the disputable article on the basis of which he was accused of espionage. “Witness Igrić has advised in writing that she cannot attend as she is in London,” Colonel Miladinović said.

RESPONSE: The main hearing in the case against Filipović was closed for public in the part when the defendant was talking about “strictly confidential data”. About twenty journalists of local and foreign media, including a team of the American CNN, were waiting in front of the courthouse in the company of three to four fully armed military policemen. At the entrance of the “Stara Šivara” building, occupied by the Military Court since the building in which it used to be situated, was damaged during the last year’s NATO bombing, all journalists were asked to show their identity cards and they were searched. They also had to pass a metal detector test for weapons.

The Military Prosecutor in Niš, Colonel Stanimir Radosavljević raised charges against Filipović on 14 June this year. He was arrested on 8 May in his apartment in Kraljevo, on 12 May he was released from custody of the Military Court in Niš and on 22 May investigation was incited and he was taken to pretrial confinement. Against Filipović’s arrest and trial several journalists association, both local and international, filed protests. After the arrest, he was put forward for an international award for journalism in the area of human rights awarded by the Amnesty International. He was proclaimed the journalist of the year and the European No.1 journalist, and was awarded the “Staša Marinković” award by the daily *Danas*.

When the sentence was brought, the European Union, the US Administration, EU Commissioner for International Relations Chris Paten, the representative of the OSCE for Freedom of Press, Reporters Without Frontiers, The International Federation of Journalists, NUNS, ANEM, Otpor and a number of opposition parties filed harsh protests. The Niš Board of the GSS invited all independent journalists not to report on the VJ until release of the sentence. “Has the VJ had any military secrets since the Dayton Agreement, which made possible for the NATO forces to inspect barracks and list every piece of armament, from a bullet to a tank?” they asked.

The daily “Danas” has collected several thousands signatures by journalists who request the FRY President Milošević to release Filipović of the sentence. At the same time, the Parliament of Serbian Citizens called the journalists, opposition parties and non-governmental organization to commence protest meetings as from 6 August before the prison where Filipović is imprisoned until he is “released to freedom”. The Editor of the TV “SOKO” from Soko Banja, Nebojša Ristić, who had already served his 11 months sentence on the charges of spreading false information, i.e. he stuck on his front window a pamphlet “Free Press – Made in Serbia”, said: “Undoubtedly this regime will not last as long as Filipović’s verdict.”

It would be nice if the man were right. Still, his forecast could be just an optimistic thought unless journalists, the opposition and citizens wake up and seriously organize themselves. Failing that, there will be more murdered, arrested and convicted for espionage. And they will knock on everybody’s door.

Zorica Miladinović

Addendum. No. 3

Upon my request journalist Miroslav Filipovic wrote this article for my book.

Miroslav Filipovic: Forty Months Later

Hostages to Despair

Who in Serbia opposed Srebrenica, who was ashamed of Strpci, who was repulsed by Vukovar? Who dared name instigators, commanders and executioners of those atrocities, who urged that such bad people, if they can be called people at all, be confined and shown to tourists... No-one! And why is it so? Because our fellow-nationals who have committed terrible atrocities and crimes unprecedented in this region are still considered local heroes. And as long as they are venerated, as long as criminals-heroes are at large, and scot-free, we, as people, shall be deemed criminals and remain confined to a larger or smaller prison.

Several months ago, in spring of the year 2000, due to an odd set of circumstances I became the bitterest enemy of Slobodan Milosevic and of his army, such a dangerous enemy that they arrested me and sentenced to a long prison term. They did not do that to any politician, barring Vuk Draskovic. Obviously the whys and wherefores of my recent fate require much more space than I have at my disposal, but I would like to hint at least at some elements of that sad and dangerous privilege of mine.

In May 2000 several security agents raided my apartment, and after a brief search, arrested me before eyes of my wife and son. Two days later I was informed that I had been arrested because of spying activities for France and England and spreading of misinformation about Kosovo crimes of the Yugoslav Army. In late July 2000 I was convicted and sentenced to 7 years in prison by the Nis military court. The trial itself lasted less than an hour. On 10 October 2000 I was released by a decision of the Supreme Military Court after a regular appeal procedure. In mid-December 2000 I was acquitted by an official decree of the FRY President and also exempted from further criminal prosecution. Those are the facts.

The reasons of my arrest

I was arrested and indicted because several foreign print media ran a series of my texts in the course of the year 2000. All the texts appeared under the by-line of Miroslav Filipovic. Contents and topics thereof were different, but all dealt with developments in the country. And, thank God, there were many developments at the time. I described them to the best of my knowledge, and endeavoured to be objective and well-informed. As I have already said my themes and topics were different, but I was the first journalist to tackle and moreover, describe them. I was the first journalist who covered the horror of freezer trucks manned by our soldiers and used for ferrying bodies of dead Albanians, I was the first journalist who disclosed to foreign public opinion locations of Albanian-administered detention centres in which abducted Serbs were held. My scoop was also the rebellion in South Serbia and killings of civilians in Kosovo. I was also the first journalist to experience a genuine “paradox”.

Namely while I was in the Nis military prison, the Yugoslav Foreign Affairs Ministry posted on its official web site my article on Serbs held in the Albanian detention centres.

What has happened in fact ?

Serb army throughout its existence waged many wars and engaged in many battles, majority of which it did not want or provoke. Some wars and battles were lost, but the most important ones were won. Both as a loser and winner Serb army was always a symbol of heroism, knightly conduct, and highest military and human honour. At important military academies world-wide feats of our glorious dukes and generals, as well as humanism and bravery of our soldiers and our people as a whole, were studied. So many wars have been waged since 1804, and only in recent wars Serb soldiers were demonized as arsonists, rapists, killers.

What happened in the last war? Who had pushed Serb army and Serb people in the venture which brought such a terrible shame upon them?

In spring 1999 Serb army waged an unwanted war. But instead of being praised for its bravery and heroism, it was vilified and demonized for having committed atrocities and heinous crimes. No matter how much we refuse to accept that our boys did very ugly things, charges are very grave, they are plentiful and they come from important places. Who compelled Serb army to lose reputation built painstakingly and for decades by our glorious ancestors? Who is the main culprit for the fact that feats of the incumbent Serb generals are now studied in the Hague instead of being the subject-matter of textbooks in the international military academies?

The fact is that above all representatives of Serb people committed heinous crimes in Kosovo. Independent expert teams have dug out several thousand corpses of Albanian civilians in Kosovo. Among those corpses, were also bodies of young children and women. Those experts have also counted tens of thousands of torched Albanian houses. And without a shadow of a doubt those crimes were committed by Serbs. The fact that they most perpetrators wore police or army uniforms that not change an iota the overall gruesome picture, and badly marred reputation.

Who is to be blamed for those events? We have heard too many accusations related to Slobodan Milosevic and his collaborators-stooges, and even to a vague culprit called Milosevic regime. It would be much easier if they were the only ones to be blamed, for three years after DOS's take-over of power we would have clear evidence of their guilt, their admissions, trials of criminals originating from our own milieu, we would have national lustration, purification of our milieu. We could say that the monstrous regime of Slobodan Milosevic had made it possible for the worst breed of individuals to occupy top positions in the army and politics, if in the aftermath of the regime's downfall we had arrested them, we had tried them, we had asked our victims to forgive us, and we had created a new society in which it would not be possible to have the repeat of the recent armed conflicts by sheer orders issued by similar individuals. Had the foregoing happened we would have been able to inculcate only Milosevic and his regime.

But three years on nothing of the aforementioned had come to pass. Thus we can only draw a conclusion that Slobodan Milosevic is not the only one guilty of crimes which Serbs have committed against other peoples. The other very self-defeating conclusion which we must draw is that the conduct of the incumbent authorities does not

preclude the repeat of those crimes. For who guarantees and with what non-feasibility such a repeat, such a re-enactment ? Policemen, killers of Albanian children, have been promoted, and officers who

besieged Albanian villages and pounded them with a heavy artillery fire have received medals and some stars have been added to their shoulder-straps. Thanks to makeover of those forces in September 2000 DOS was brought to power and then those turncoats were publicly and in advance pardoned.

So we are all guilty. But as we, as a society, still have not taken a clear stand on very evident war crimes, which were committed by us, Serbs, then it is only normal that the whole world considers the entire Serb people criminal people, and compels them to share the burden of consequences of such conduct of theirs. .

My story

First news of those ugly things done by our boys in green and blue uniforms reached me in the aftermath of the “Vukovar operation.” Fortunately or unfortunately one of the elite, armoured brigades was stationed near Kraljevo. And for that matter the brigade which was usually first deployed in any conflict. And precisely that brigade was the first one deployed in the war in Croatia, and later in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Its soldiers, normally calm Sumadija or Morava locals came back from battlefields with terrible stories about hundreds of people killed, pigs eating remains of children’s bodies, children being crushed by tanks, a terrible and unnecessary war initiated by Red Tzars, the war in which their and our people perished ignoring the objectives and identity of masterminds of such a violent war.

Days passed, months passed but Tzars, especially our own Red Tzar, were merciless, tireless. Our boys came and went, and with each return from battlefields their stories about a heavy human toll, about deaths of their most humane and merciful pals, became more terrifying.

Our boys returned from the last war....and they changed. Some managed to remain normal, to survive, but some lost that battle for normalcy and life. Milan killed himself, Rade said good-bye to his wife and children, sat on a railway track, lit a cigarette and waited for the express train. Dragan killed his wife and then committed suicide. Why did they do it? Perhaps good, old-fashioned sons could not live with memory of what they had witnessed or perhaps even committed. Who knows? They could not live with the nightmares full of red dwarfs and gremlins who sat every night on their chest and kept showing them cut off heads of boys and girls, girls’ ears with gold earrings, gold fiancé rings on cut off fingers, pulled out from a greasy and blood-stained sack...However time heals everything ...so as the months passed we started forgetting atrocities of the war.

Have we all forgotten all those war atrocities?

Perhaps all those atrocities would have been deeply buried in our mind if in early spring 2000 many able-bodied locals in Sumadija and Pomoravlje had not received call-up papers for “a military exercise.” Rumour had it that we were about to invade Montenegro. Again?! But the authorities were merciless. Police cars cruised the length

and breadth of Sumadija and Pomoravlje, its villages and alleys, picking up mobilized reservists, and ferrying them bloodied from roughing-up sessions and tied up like bundles to the nearest garrisons. As if on a command, the whole area staged a revolt. Veterans quickly organized all males. Military team which was picking up recruits in Pomoravlje village Stubal, escaped beating by a hair's breadth. On both sides there were many trigger-happy males. The whole village turned out in force and forced the military team to flee. Then a protest of reservists flared up.

During my frequent get-togethers with those calm people from Sumadija and Pomoravlje I noticed that they had already forgotten almost all horrors of Kosovo war, barring images of dead children, which oft recurred in nightmares of those who had children. They used to tell me: we fought three wars and in all three we killed children. No more! We shall not kill Montenegrin children. They also told me that out of 150, 000 reservists engaged in combat in Kosovo, only hundred of them committed crimes. Catch them and try them. We shall not bear the mark of a crime-riddled army and criminal people.

Then I wrote an article titled "Children's tears against Milosevic". It took me a year to write that article based on a story which I had heard in June 1999 from a 25-year old man, veteran of four wars. The best driver of "84" in the whole army. As the war had only ended, and a large number of a state of war decrees was still in force I could not recount that story. Then my colleagues, Helen Popovic from Paris *Liberacion* and Yolanda Yayuemet from Geneva *Le Temps* came to see me. They slept in my Kraljevo house and I told them the terrible story. The next day we visited that young man and after pleading us to quote him as an anonymous source, he once again gave his testimony. Several days later both papers ran a terrible story of a "Serb reservist called Boris". The world was shocked.

Liberacion ran it on 12 July 1999 under headline "Nightmares of a Serb soldier" and sub-heading "Tank driver recounts atrocities committed in Kosovo in March-April period." Here are some most emblematic excerpts from that story:

"He told us that the worst things happened the day after.... We were ordered to attack a village in the vicinity of Klina, a suspected hideout of terrorists. But, it was in fact a retaliatory action. Only local civilians stayed behind in the village. One reservist killed 30 or so women and children. I witnessed his shooting-spree. His friend allegedly died in a NATO attack the night before. And that was his motive for the massacre. I was so repulsed that I began screaming like mad. My co-driver tried to calm me down by saying that I did not do anything, by telling me to think of my wife and son and of going back home. But I was brain-dead, like a vegetable." "He added that he witnessed other atrocities. In April his unit re-deployed in the area of Djakovica took part in a successive ethnic-cleansing of many villages, three times jointly with forces of one of four kinds of police operating in Kosovo."

Tank driver went on to say: "After a brief shelling, our soldiers entered a village and started killing, torching, raping and looting. They did not make a difference between terrorists and civilians, for our soldiers they were all Albanians. At the end of cleansing campaign trucks came. Corpses were put in freezer trucks, and the booty was placed in vans. And I witnessed all that." He added that nothing and no-one could compel him to go to war again. This semi-farmer, semi-worker, and a tank driver thus concluded: "They are telling us that we have won. My only victory is my survival."

I was very much surprised when several days later excerpts from that story, via SENSE agency were carried by daily "Danas" and then the story was posted on Democratic Party site. And that was all. Afterwards the story was forgotten.

In fall 1999 Simon Chinn, producer of the British "Channel 4" came to Yugoslavia with intention of making a 9- instalment serial on Kosovo crisis. The first episode was to be devoted to spring 1998 developments and the last one to return of our ashamed boys from Kosovo, a year later. Simon toured the whole Serbia and filmed stories of reservists and other witnesses. When he came to Kraljevo I recounted him four pertinent testimonies. To make the long story short, after editing the final, three-hour long version of that serial included also testimonies by General Pavkovic, the then Commander of the 3rd Army and of my acquaintance, the tank driver, this time around named Drazen, and with a blurred image of his face.

February and March 2000 developments in a sense re-activated me and prompted me to write the article "Children's tears against Milosevic."

My article caused a veritable shock in London. It was the first ever text from Yugoslavia to describe so graphically the bad things done by our "boys." Milosevic still had much clout and his position was unassailable, so it was probably a folly or a gesture of utter recklessness to write such an article. My editor Gordana Igric, who was really concerned about my fate, offered me to run the article under a pseudonym. I refused, not out of courage, but out of knowledge that my mail was regularly checked by the secret police. "Tears" appeared under the by-line Miroslav Filipovic, were headlined "Serb Officers Relive Killings."

Later it turned out that I would not had so much trouble if the text had not been first run by London *Independent* (only later it was posted on the INJPR web site). Texts on web sites may be read or not, but those in large-circulation *Independent* had most certainly been read. That happened on 2 April 2000, and two days later the article's contents were strongly and vehemently denied by the Information Services of Chief of Staff. I read that disclaimer in "Danas" and felt very uneasy.

Several days later I received a phone call by Grujica Spasovic, my editor from *Danas*. He sounded very scared and upset. He told me that I was probably out of my mind when I wrote that article. He added that the situation was very serious and could become very dangerous for me and *Danas*. He forbade me to sign my articles destined for INJRP as a journalist of *Danas*.

Well, his fear was certainly contagious. Both Slavica and I grew suddenly scared. We completed check-ups, I left my parents in Ivana's flat, and Slavica and I went to *Danas* premises. By then Gruja had taken a softer stance. He told me a story, that initially seemed like a fable to me. However I later learnt that there was much truth to it. My text allegedly widened a rift between the international power-brokers, those who were pro and those who were anti-Milosevic. Allegedly the pro-Milosevic lobby in the US Administration prevailed, because the pressure so far piled on Milosevic was not yielding results. They were about to embark upon a new round of talks with Milosevic, when my text knocked-out all "Milosevic men" in the CIA.

On Wednesday I left my father in the Military hospital, and on Thursday I saw a colleague of mine who had information from the secret police. Agents were closely following my journalistic activities. They assessed the last article very negatively, but one

of important police agents allegedly stated: “ It is good for our state security services ...finally someone is writing about the army crimes, and not only about ours.”

My colleague said: “This might end well for you, unless you write a similar article. Be wise!”

Though I have tried hard not to irritate them with my writing, I failed. I wrote and published several light-weight “pro-Serb” articles, of which the most interesting was the one about Albanian-administered detention centres for Serbs. The then Foreign Secretary Zivadin Jovanovic posted that article on the Foreign Ministry official site. The text was published on 14 April under headline “Serbs Languish in Kosovo Jails”. But my next text was very irritating for the officialdom. It was titled “Montenegro Ante Portas” and was posted under headline “Generals Jump Ships” on the INJPR site on 26 April. It spoke about former Yugoslav Army and Yugoslav People’s Army generals exodus to Montenegro and on Milosevic intentions to provoke a bloodshed and a civil war in that republic.

My good father died several days earlier, so I did not have time to follow commentaries on my text. But others did it. I later learnt that the text angered Milosevic very much. He immediately called his state security men, ordered them to read the text and then interrogate me, mostly because of my obviously reliable sources within their ranks. Later those agents told me that I was lucky for having angered only him, and not his wife. Namely, had I made her mad there would have been neither arrest, or trial, but...

As I was busy with the funeral and had to take care of my mother too, I failed to notice that the net around me was closing in. However I had a premonition that they would come to arrest me. I instructed Slavica and children what to do in case of my arrest. I wrote another text for the INJPR site and then Monday, the 8th of May came.

Slavica and I were returning from the cemetery. It was the first Monday after Easter. As I was still under the shock caused by the loss of one parent, I did not notice the two young men approaching us. Then they stopped us, checked our IDs, introduced themselves, and asked us to take them to our flat.

In fact Slavica and I were relieved to see them. In fact we welcomed them. Their arrival was an anti-climax of a long and eerie wait. They entered the flat, saw our younger child, and told us that they had to wait for “the rest” of the team. And it turned out that “the rest” were another six agents. Only then they told me that they had the court-issued search warrant.

They went to my room, switched on the computer and started browsing through my files. An agent was checking my files against a list of proscribed articles in his hand. I immediately realized that situation was much more serious than I had initially thought. It dawned on me that they had broken into my flat while I had been attending to my dying father in Belgrade and thoroughly checked the entire data bank and searched my room. This current gesture was just a formality, a parade for the court. They brought in also some citizens whom we immediately recognized as their snitches.

When they finished their job in my flat they took me to the police, to the state security office. And interrogation started. They told me it might go both ways, that is, be either long or short, easy or difficult. Everything depended on my “cooperativeness.” I said I would sign all their reports, but they insisted on a testimony written by my own hand. And so we started the process. They dictated and I wrote. The whole night long.

Next afternoon they filed criminal charges against me to Kraljevo district court, and took me to the detention unit of that court. When that judicial instance declared itself unauthorized for the proceedings, on 11 May I was transferred to a detention unit of Nis military court.

Much later I learnt that everything had been pre-arranged. Kraljevo district court was tasked with detaining me and ordered by the prosecutor to declare itself unauthorized for processing my case and subsequently handing it over to the military court. In fact Milosevic, in my case, needed to exert an absolute control over the judiciary in all stages of the proceedings. Such a control was not feasible in Kraljevo, not because of honesty of the local judges, but because of my reputation, protests of a large number of citizens which lasted throughout spring, the stance of the opposition local authorities and the media which sided with me. Various services were not sure that they could carry out the order of their boss, so they transferred me to Nis, to the Military court of the 3rd Army which was very experienced in trumping up charges and framing of Albanians. Judges of that court were so arrogant and wielded so much power that in some cases they did not even try to frame-up the suspects and stage-manage their trials.

On Thursday I found myself in the Nis military-investigating prison. My inmates, with whom I immediately struck up friendship were Nedzmedin Ajzajaj, convicted of terrorism and sentenced to 13-years in prison, Semsudin Kurti, a military fugitive from Kosovo, and Bobi, a short Montenegrin, who unlawfully extended his military leave. In late afternoon one of detainees brought us some food, that is, fresh fruit. The most beautiful cherries and strawberries I have ever seen. On the newspaper they were wrapped into it was written "For Filipovic from the "Wasp" group. So I learnt that in the same prison were members of that well-known group, who in a framed trial had already been sentenced to five years in prison.

On Friday, after lunch, a cell guard opened the door and told me to get ready. When I asked him what was happening, he told me I was going home. Dumb-founded I stared at him, and then he warned me. With my stuff still unpacked I said good-bye to my inmates and went to register myself with the guard on duty.

What had in fact happened?

A veritable judicial scandal had happened. My "release" was due to the pressure brought to bear on the court by the high-ranking military officers. And their "immunity" was preserved, while the military prosecutors were "punished." According to General Pavkovic in my case they forgot to adhere to formal procedures in the early stages of proceedings.

But let us go back to spring 1999 developments.

My first close encounter with security services happened during the NATO campaign in Yugoslavia. Few months earlier I began working for AFP. In May 1999 with a group of citizens (I was then living in Kraljevo) I founded a Forum of Free Citizens of Kraljevo Municipality, which with a Civil Forum founded by Verica Barac in Cacak made a linchpin of the civil resistance to Milosevic-pursued war policy. And that action of mine has obviously attracted attention of both services, the military and civilian. Out of blue my old acquaintances, collaborators of those services, were eager to renew friendship with me. And we resumed our friendly relations, though we all tried to do correctly our job and also to make gains from the renewed contacts.

But after the signing of the Kumanovo Treaty, in Serbia, notably around Kraljevo revolts of bigger units flared up. First there was a revolt of the 125th brigade, then of the 37th,

then of some parts of Kragujevac artillery brigade, and finally, some parts of the 252nd armoured brigade also rebelled. Kraljevo was in a state of shock. Rebelled reservists in armoured vehicles blocked all access road to Kraljevo. Even locals were not allowed to cross over the barricades. Citizens immediately sided with reservists, and took them food, drinks, cakes, and passed in conversation with them night after night. Obviously due to abundance of hard liquor incidents erupted too. The arrest of one reservist by the police could have had very serious consequences.

Upon hearing the news of the arrest of their mate, one armoured vehicle from the barricade at the Ibar bridge, moved towards a 100 meter distant police station. It reached the very stairs of the building. The crew was ready to effect an assault. Machineguns and cannons were aimed at head of police and other police officers. Situation was very tense. Obviously the reservist was immediately released and shortly afterwards the military security team headed by General Aleksandar Vasiljevic arrived in Kraljevo. Situation was diffused, revolt was quelled, ten reservists were arrested, one of them who had fainted during interrogation in the Army House had to be taken to a hospital... and so on and so forth.

Now let me tell you how General Geza Farkas on 1 July 1999 informed the meeting of Chiefs of Staff of my work:

“Correspondents of foreign media, notably of Yugoslav citizenship, are closely following protests of reservists and measures taken by Yugoslav Army to quell them. Of particular interest is the conduct of Miroslav Filipovic, journalist from Kraljevo, correspondent of France Press, who in his contacts with a security agent asked the following questions: Is there any truth in allegations about many disgruntled servicemen in the army? Is it true that a group of servicemen are ready to forcibly dislodge the incumbent authorities? Is it true that the combat hardware of the 252th brigade was intentionally left in Kursumlija, lest it proceeded its return to Belgrade in a combat order?

Is it true that there was only enough fuel in the tanks to make them arrive up to Kraljevo? Is it true that soldiers realized that they had been sent to a plunder mission in Kosovo?

How accurate is his information relating to discontent among higher-ranking officers, notably, battalion commanders? Is it true that they plan a coup? The same journalist at a Cacak rally floated the thesis that 23,000 reservists from Kraljevo had to resolve their justified claims by force of arms?

My second meeting with him took place, as I have already mentioned, in May 2000. I must now admit then at the time I disbelieved that the army was actively involved in my arrest, and I even made public statements to the effect that the army was in the dark about that event. The foregoing was confirmed in my first meeting with Pavkovic, in spring 2001, when he said something like this: “It was a big error. Had I known about such plans you would not have been arrested and convicted.” He even reproached my Slavica with the following words: “Madam, you should have contacted me to help resolve the whole matter, instead of allowing your innocent husband to languish in jail.” But the truth was completely different. The top military leadership knew about my arrest and moreover ordered it.

Prosecutors who shilly-shallied were accorded a stick and carrot treatment: early retirement or new flats.

Here are some excerpts from the session of Chief of Staff of 22 May 2000. They are related to Pavkovic's vexation at conduct of Colonel Radosavljevic, a military prosecutor from Nis, who had released me ten days earlier from the jail:

"I am now ready to sign the retirement order for that man in Nis. I shall tell him that when I see him on Friday....they are disobedient, instead of representing interests of the army they are more interested in respecting the law, and their interpretations thereof...That Radisavljevic is really misbehaving...It took us a while to persuade the police to intervene, to check the mail of that Filipovic guy, who e-mailed an army-bashing interview and other similar articles, sent them to all and sundry... that guy disclosed many secrets, military facts and figures...went as far as to say that the army, or his source, an unnamed lieutenant, practically committed genocide against Shiptari in Kosovo, that he witnessed mass killings of 800, 900 Shiptari, that we used cannons to kill them, ...he even alleged that we killed civilians, and not terrorists, that our tanks crushed civilians. That was his story, and then he was arrested, and a 150-pages indictment was filed against him, but instead of a quick decision on institution of proceedings against him, that prosecutor was somewhere in the field, could not care less, and then suddenly decided to release Filipovic.

The victim of "Filipovic trial" was the then Supreme Military Prosecutor, Major General Svetomir Obrencevic, not for deeming me innocent, but for insisting too much on a consistent implementation of principles of competence under which I, on count of spreading misinformation, had to be tried by a civilian court, and as regarded espionage charges....well, see for yourself. Here is his expose:

"Supreme Military Prosecutor as instructed by the Security Department conducted consultations with General Vasiljevic. An thanks to that event I learnt about existence of that Filipovic. Namely I was given material, I read it, and then suggested the following: once it is assessed and confirmed on the basis of this material that Filipovic carried out actions detrimental to the state interests, he should be apprehended by regular police and handed over to an investigating judge of a civilian court. It is evident that Filipovic committed violations spelled out in Article 157 and insulted the state, under Article 218. Only two things were questionable. Firstly, did he have any accomplice among our people? General Vasiljevic could not provide any answer to that question at the time. And secondly, what is the quality of military intelligence downloaded from Internet? I was told that those data were not so important, actually that they could have been easily gleaned even by reading daily press. Sir, yesterday for example, "Politika" ran the name of that brigade...

As far as I know we shall have to hand over once again this case to civilians, because we cannot change the law. We can procrastinate, we can challenge their competence, but then the Federal Court may rule in their favour. For the real authority or competence is of key importance. We can change something in our scope of competence, but the real state of affairs is exactly as I have mentioned.

But General Pavkovic did not want to give in:

"I wanted to add something to Obrencevic's expose. I think that in this Filipovic case disclosure of military secrets is of secondary importance. Of primary importance is the manner in which he divulged intelligence compromising the Yugoslav Army. Namely

he said that he interviewed several persons, senior servicemen, commanders, who told him that our soldiers in Kosovo killed over 800 Shiptari children and women, that they allegedly knew that there was no need for the army's presence in Kosovo, that there were no terrorists, that tanks were used for killing civilians. That was the focus of his interviews. If he exposed only inaccuracies, he should be held accountable, but if his information was correct, he should prove it. Therein lies the problem...It was very hard to persuade the Interior Ministry and the State Security Services to arrest that Filipovic, and they handed a 150-page indictment against him to the prosecutor...but then the prosecutor shilly-shallied for the next 24 hours...did not know what to do...and then the President called me to tell him something that I did not know. That is the gist of the matter."

General Obrencevic took the floor once again:

"Filipovic is lying about everything and it is evident from the material. He sold his soul, he is a miserable snitch. He harmed himself, when he as a Serb, a man with a Serb name and surname, wrote that kind of stuff for foreigners...But his writing was clearly harmful for the army too. Unfortunately we cannot protect the army's reputation if the perpetrator is not a military person. Let us demand amendments to the act, we may even succeed in that attempt. I tried with Aca Vasiljevic to find something that could latch him on us, connect him to the army ... but to no avail. Hence the whole case would have to be handed over again to the civilian judiciary."

The problem was resolved by the wise words of the Defence Secretary General Ojdanic:

"He is ruining reputation of all of us. You can imagine what kind of person he is...the kind of person obviously able to accuse the army of such terrible things. In my mind he should not leave his prison cell alive...let him prove what he said. You know what kind of effect such notorious lies uttered by the citizen of this country, on top of everything a competent man, can have on the international public opinion?"

Epilogue is more or less known, General Obrencevic was replaced and two months later, in less than an hour, I was sentenced to 7 years in prison. The court did not allow me to produce my evidence on crimes, for, as it explained "we received from the 3rd Army and Command of Pristina Corps relevant papers confirming non-involvement of any soldier in crimes committed in Kosovo."

The judge told me:" What do you want? Can't you see that the people are denying the commission of crimes. These papers also bear their stamp. You say they did, they deny it. The court is here to establish the truth."

The court appraised the truth and for spreading misinformation, the maximum, three-year prison term was I was meted out to me. And since they have managed to find connection between me and the army, just as Obrencevic had hoped, for espionage I was sentenced to five years. In totting up the years, they "awarded" me one year, so I was sentenced to a total of 7-years in prison.

The court admitted that I learnt all the military secrets, sold to foreigners, from the "domestic press and Internet", but nonetheless sentenced me to five-year prison term. It acknowledge that "what he wrote about the army crimes in Kosovo may be true," but nonetheless sentenced me to a three-year prison term.

Outside the campaign for my release was gaining momentum.

New authorities are not really new.

I sincerely believed that the campaign would be a short one, that people guided by their hearts and emotions would quickly lose energy, and in view of non-response of the authorities, and despite all the stir caused by the media, would give up on my case. Such would have been the denouement had it not been for an enormous uphill struggle put up by my Slavica, my children and my editors in London. Slavica's motives were clear, while my editors in London realized first that they were responsible for my predicament, and second, that my case was reaping them both financial and media prestige benefits in the Western market. Namely that market was rejoicing in the fact in Serbia a journalist finally had dared say the truth, a privilege which they have had for ages.

However I quickly noticed that despite the vocal support of colleagues, public figures, and citizens, and even politicians, the latter avoided siding with my texts, and even failed to mention them. My impression was that domestic general public opinion and politicians defended me only because I was arrested by Milosevic. Very few people had in fact read my articles. Everyone protested against my arrest and trial, but no-one said that I was right, and that it was no longer proper to hush up crimes committed by members of armed forces against Albanian civilians, and for which the top officials of Yugoslavia and Serbia were responsible, and thus indicted by the Hague Terminal, and because of which Serb state and its people were demonized and confined to a shameful ghetto.

At the time I had a lot of sympathy for politicians, for I knew they faced elections. None of them would have succeeded in upping his rating or garnering more votes by urging admission of war crimes and their public condemnation. As I wanted the opposition to emerge victorious, I did not desire their solidarity with my texts. Anyways, such a gesture would not have been wise. But I was also irritated by the fact that none of my articles, which produced my arrest and prison term, but also many praises and accolades, had appeared in the national press. Only Podgorica "Vijesti" ran "Children's Tears against Milosevic." But I also understood my colleagues. I was convicted because of those texts, so they knew well that they had better avoid incriminated articles. I thought that if they published them they be also felled by the scythe wielded by Milosevic.

Though at the time I understood their motives for not running my texts-Milosevic was still "alive"- I cannot understand why three years after the downfall of his regime, those very texts are yet to be published by the Serb print media. In view of the foregoing I can draw only one conclusion: politicians did not avoid the theme of Serb crimes against Albanians and public condemnation thereof because of their fear of Milosevic and loss of votes. The same holds true of editors of national print media.

During my imprisonment and notably after my release my texts were translated into nearly all international languages. They were posted on over 2,000 Internet sites world-wide. In Japan, in the US, in Canada in African countries, in India, in Pacific and Atlantic islands.

The whole planet was reading those 15 texts. I think that I can say that Serbia is the only country in the world which failed to publish them. Moreover I think that they shall be never published in this country. And not out of fear. I cannot believe that any newspaper would be held accountable for publishing any of those texts. "Staleness" of the texts, to put in the media terms, cannot be either the reason thereof. I believe that the texts are still interesting by the general media criteria. If I discard jealousy of my

colleagues, to which I have been exposed in the past, the only other motive for non-publishing of those articles may be unwillingness of politicians and the entire nation to face up to the suffering which we have caused to innocent people and peoples and their most vulnerable population categories, women and children.

There is perhaps another phenomenon, if that is the right word for the following: for my texts I received several prestigious awards, notably, from Belgrade's daily "Danas" the Award for Journalistic Courage and the British Net Media's "European Internet Journalist of the Year 2000." I won the latter on the basis of votes given to me by a jury composed of editors of all the European virtual media. And finally, my work was crowned by a prestigious recognition, the "British Press Award for 2001", which proclaimed me the best Internet journalist in the cradle of the Fourth Estate, Great Britain. That award is an equivalent of the US Pulitzer Award and is unofficially called the British Oscar for journalism. That year the award ceremony was held in London "Hilton Hotel." In competition were 820 journalists for 23 awards, and the jury was composed of 80 most prominent editors of British newspapers. In such a fantastic competition I was the first non-Brit to win the said award. And finally in 2001 I was also the winner of the award of the German Press Association for the Freedom of Press.

Thus I was the first and the only Yugoslav or Serb to be awarded with an Oscar for Journalism for his texts. When I add that Oscar to my other awards, I may well claim the title of the most awarded journalist in history of Serb journalism. If rules of journalism were followed in this country, those awards should make me and my texts very hot items in domestic media circles. My texts left such an indelible impression on "cold Brits" that they, in justification of their choice, wrote: "Members of jury identified him as a very brave journalist who makes us all proud of our profession." All but journalists and editors of Serb print media.

The President

During my prison days Slavica and my editors were contacted by numerous, unknown people. Through *Danas* I received several thousand letters of support. People were offering my words of sympathy, solace, some offered help, the others-money. They all believed my stories, they all knew that my stories were just part of a terrible truth about terrible events that took place in Kosovo. Reservists from Kraljevo and nearby localities offered to give court testimonies about the army and police misconduct in Kosovo, to recount their unease and dreams. They were ready to effect blockade of Kraljevo, to stage a protest march to Nis and prevent the ignominious trial.

On the other hand I was surprised by conduct of some politicians. I shall here quote only three letters connected to my case. The first is an open letter addressed to me by Vojislav Kostunica, then "only" President of Democratic Party of Serbia. That letter was published on 30 August 2000 in *Danas* under headline 'Filipovic does not deserve to be in prison.'

"Miroslav Filipovic was sentenced to a draconian prison punishment, and I, as a jurist, protest against it. Filipovic most certainly is not a spy. That serious charge in this case is mindless for it was related to texts publicly run. Thus I condemn Filipovic's imprisonment, and notably the length of the sentence.

I am a democrat so have faith in sacrosanct human rights and freedoms. In line with my belief 15 years ago I was one of the founders of the Committee for Defence of Freedom of Speech and Expression. That Committee protested against arrests and imprisonments on grounds of written word and stands exposed. Thus we defended the Belgrade 6-Vladimir Mijanovic, Pavlusko Imsirovic, Miodrag Milic, Gordan Jovanovic, Dragomir Olujic, but also Vojislav Seselj. Dobrosal Paraga, Alija Izetbegovic, Janez Jansa, Franjo Tudjman, Vladimir Seks and Gojko Djogo. We defended all of them, though we did not necessarily agree with the stands for which they had been convicted. All those individuals did not have anything in common, barring the fact that they paid with imprisonment their written and uttered words.

I cannot agree with what Miroslav Filipovic wrote and the manner of his writing. Any text which aspires to be a documentary evidence must be based on certified data from reliable sources. Some claims from Filipovic's articles, notably the one of responsibility of the Yugoslav armed forces for causing death of 800 Albanian children are the fruit of his striving towards sensationalism. Many journalists behaved thus irresponsibly towards readers in the past decade. The same holds true of the journalists war profiteers, and members of that profession who were not war profiteers.

I thus condemn Filipovic's sentence and I really think that he should not be in jail. At the same time I am nor ready to agree with the stance that Filipovic had been convicted for disclosing the truth. In a truly legal state, Filipovic would not have been put in jail for his texts. And at the same time in a truly legal state, unlike this one, characterized by moral and spiritual collapse, he would have done his best to check the veracity of his information prior to making it public."

That latter made me very sad. All letters which I received meant a lot to me, above all those written by Slavica and children. I read letters of other people, they gladdened me, but as you may well know, letters of unknown people don't have the same effect...Voja's letter however saddened me. I resented the fact that he called me a war profiteer, a sensationalist, an irresponsible man and journalist, and even a liar, for in jail I have confirmed my knowledge, and realized that the events I had described were children's games in comparison with what our soldiers truly did to Kosovo civilians. For months I kept hearing terrible stories and now Kostunica calls me names. A year after the Kosovo campaign the UN experts dug out thousand corpses of killed Albanians, and there was ample evidence in the shape of reports on hundreds of torched villages, hundreds of thousands of torched Albanian houses, and he called me a sensationalist.

I also received letters from some priests who were in Kosovo during the NATO campaign. Those honourable fathers kept diaries in which they described sins of our soldiers and policemen. Those diaries often mentioned killings and rapes of Albanians, dead children and torched and looted Albanian houses and shops. Our politicians including Kostunica have never commented those events, let alone condemned them, but they called me a liar and profiteer.

One of the most beautiful letters of support was written by Father Sava from monastery Decani, a monk who during the whole NATO campaign and operation "Horseshoe" witnessed many terrible events and wrote them down in his diary. In the eyes of father Sava, in the eyes of that honourable and competent witness of Kosovo events, whose honesty should never be doubted, I have never been a profiteer, a liar. On the contrary!

Here are excerpts of Father Sava's letter to *Danas*:

“The only sin and guilt of Miroslav Filipovic is his professionalism and his resolve to speak up about those difficult truths which should have wakened the slumbering conscience of Serb people and their indifferent intelligence...For a conscientious and responsible journalists there are no taboo topics but only an obligation towards the truth and readers which should be informed about developments and also provoked to fight more resolutely for the truth. Miroslav Filipovic is of that breed of journalists and his reports have always been very professional and objective, but also provocative in a positive way, because they represented a challenge to the general public to take a firmer and less vague stand on controversial issues of our everyday life, not to treat them as sensations, but rather as serious problems for which we all share responsibility, because of our silence and passivity. Final words are yet to be said about those recent developments. We face years of profound, general questioning of our motives, changes of opinions, and repentance.”

Those words of Father Sava made me realize that God belonged to everyone, to me, to Kostunica, to Father Sava, and that we all were entitled to have our own stands. Under pressure of a succession of events I forgot Kostunica. But then one day Slavica brought me a letter. It was a reply of my son Sasa, and 10-year old boy, to Kostunica. Sasa asked “*Danas*” to run that open letter of his, but Gruja refused his plea, by maintaining that the letter would lessen the chances of opposition at the forthcoming elections. Perhaps now it the right time to reply to Kostunica, through the words of my son:

“Dear Mr. Kostunica,

I would first like to express my gratitude for your condemnation of my father's arrest and imprisonment. I am quite sure that you have known my father for a long time, since the time he worked for *Ibarske Novosti* from Kraljevo, and you, Mr, Micunovic and Djindjic led a united Democratic Party. Thus you surely know that he did not do what he had been accused and convicted of, and that is why I want to thank you for standing by him, and defending him. But there is one thing that I failed to grasp. It concerns your text in *Danas* of 30 August. Namely the context of your words suggested that you in fact thought that Miroslav Filipovic disclosed fabrications in some of his texts, notably the one about killings of Albanian children. Mr. Kostunica, are you aware that Filipovic was tried for spreading misinformation, and received a three-year prison sentence for that offence? Are you selectively condemning imprisonment of journalists? No-one can be compelled to defend and espouse someone else's stands, but even you shall not be able to keep forever under the cloak of Greater Serbia and Serbhood the relevant truths. If you are not sure of what you say, then don't argue that my father wrote falsehoods. Also don't make any claims to the contrary. And above all please don't consider Miroslav Filipovic a war profiteer.

In Kraljevo many people are having nightmares with recurring images of the things they saw in Kosovo. And you Mr. Kostunica, unlike my father, have not had any contacts with them. My father's texts are not sensationalistic, he is not a war profiteer, his texts are only reproductions of what he has heard from numerous reservists. Miroslav thought that by recounting their stories he would protect the army, as an institution, from

crimes committed by individuals. And that those facts should not be hidden. And dear Sir, Miroslav Filipovic exposed only the truth. Certified information. It is up to you to believe him or not. And please don't defend my father for being convicted because of his texts, when by some claims of yours you are condemning him as a man. I hope that you as a future president shall have to declare how you intend to defend the public word. The way in which you have condemned Filipovic's imprisonment does not bode well, for you have done exactly what you accused my father of doing-you have exposed something that has not been certified.

What are we talking about?

In a series of crimes-related questions, one must be singled one. Namely, have organized crimes been committed? Has anyone ordered crimes against Albanians?

After a series of talks with a large number of reservists and army officers and even with General Pavkovic I was definitely convinced that the Yugoslav Army was not ordered to commit crimes, nor those crimes, if committed by some servicemen, were condoned. I have seen a large number of judicial files in the Military Court of the 3rd Army in Nis. Added to that during my conversation with high officers of the army security services I was told that the army was instituting criminal proceedings not only against perpetrators of war crimes, but also against those who treated inhumanely civilians, and during such treatments even caused their deaths.

But one security officer told me that they had decided to drop some cases, after a substantive polemic whether those case should be pursued in view of the nature of offences.

What can be said about conduct of police units, engaged in operation "Horseshoe"? I don't think that the police was ordered to kill Albanian civilians. However they did it. On the basis of what I have learnt about their actions on the ground, one cannot allay a nagging doubt they that were in advance exempted from any responsibility by their superiors. On the other hand the very goal of operation "Horseshoe" was criminal, though some may think that it was nationally justified and necessary, at least as much as massacre against Armenians in Turkey, in early 20th century.

Existence of the plan for that operation was several times mentioned and then quickly denied. I learnt of that plan in early 70's when a group of Serb Communists grew concerned about the fate of Serbs after Tito's death. They worried about preservation of Yugoslavia and its communism, and pondered the ways to protect the nation from an Albanian invasion. Then the plan "Horseshoe" was masterminded. It was composed of many horseshoes, representing and reflecting the exact number of Albanian villages. According the plan all those villages were to be besieged by formations spreading out in the shape of a horseshoe, with only one opening towards Albanian, to enable locals to pack up their things and flee to that country. Villages would be then torched and property looted or destroyed. At the opening of each horseshoe documents and money of locals would be seized. Some of them would be detained. By and large in that way hundreds of thousands of people would be expelled from Yugoslavia and forced to flee to Albania. Destruction of houses and the ensuing cruelties would discourage many to try to effect the return. Even if we had to allow repatriation of Albanian people, we would allow the

return only of those of our choice. Behind the back of the then formal Serb authorities, Serb squads were formed. They attacked Serbs in Kosovo and their property and thus raised inter-ethnic tension.

Milosevic accepted that idea, and it was morphed into an operational plan during his rule. But in order to put that plan in place he needed at least a local conflict or a bigger war. Dress rehearsal was enacted in early 90's in settlements on the right bank of Drina. Then Bosniak locals were forced to leave their homes and that part of territory was ethnically cleansed. As the plan could not be implemented in peacetime, NATO campaign was considered manna from heaven.

Thus the framework for "Horseshoe" was created, but also an alibi for the killings. 150,000 people invaded Kosovo. Elite tank units were cleansing entire villages. The civilian toll depended entirely on the mercy and humanity of the commander in field. Police was bereft of those "humanitarian dilemmas." After three months of wanton destruction the myth of the crime emerged, and was confirmed. Serbs became the worst criminals, or rogues of late 20th century.

Had we not been able to resist?

Can we now resist? Of course we can. We may, for example, follow the example of Germany in which it still considered improper to tell jokes about Jews. We could have resisted, but he hadn't. Mostly, because of Serb intellectuals.

Faced with the fact of the need to morally condemn crimes we committed against other peoples, and also to try perpetrators of those crimes, Serb intellectuals concluded it was best to ignore and disclaim them. Without crimes there is no need to take a stand on them. If there are crimes, then they must be condemned, appraised and punished. And the foregoing would lead to a local Serb Nuremberg. But an average Serb intellectual does not even want to take into consideration collective trials of war criminals. Thus Serb intellectuals fully deserve their fate, best described by the following statement of former president Milosevic, made at one of numerous rallies: "For me, an academician in Serbia is equal to a peasant." We have wrongly transposed it to the sphere of electorate, namely that one academician, like one peasant, has only one vote. But the gist of the matter is quite different, intellectuals like academicians, have long ago ceased to be leaders of the people.

Namely a commoner starts defending himself from any dangers when it becomes certain, when it begins to jeopardize him, and when it is usually late for him to put up a successful defence. Individuals who lead people are duty-bound to notice that danger well in advance, to draw attention to it, and if necessary neutralize it before it is too late. That is why people choose their leaders and front men and vest them in corresponding authority. Were it not so, what would be the difference between common people and their leaders? Leaders have authority, they are bowed to, they are respected, they are followed, among other things, because they should predict any danger threatening the people's future. If leaders fail in that task of theirs, people reject them as incompetent, lazy bones.

And that has exactly happened, like many times in the past. But the topic of this article is the most recent occurrence. Not a single national institution attempted to prevent Serb people from committing crimes, and it is particularly hard to find an institution

which stayed away from war-mongering. Why did not the Academy of Sciences, the Church, University, political parties condemn those crimes. What happened with the Church's decision to make public files of Serb crimes in Kosovo? On behalf of Serb people it announced repentance and a plea for forgiveness from our victims. Who stopped those attempts? Who told Our Holy Patriarch and our top church dignitaries not to rock the boat? Has that cowardly renunciation made the Church an accomplice to our crimes?

Long time ago Milosevic was called the Balkans butcher by the West and compared to Hitler. But Germany on the eve of WW2 is not exactly comparable to Serbia in early 90's. When Hitler got mad, when Germany became a wild beast, the country was abandoned by many prominent intellectuals, scientists, artists. Milosevic's Serbia was not abandoned by Otto Streisser, Stremberg, Marlene Dietrich. On the contrary, many prominent intellectuals were willing to serve him, though they knew that on his orders, by his approval and to his knowledge, every day hundreds of innocent people were killed by Serb hands. To ask them to speak up now, is tantamount to asking them to admit their culpability.

Who in Serbia opposed Srebrenica, who was ashamed of Strbci, who was repulsed by Vukovar? Who dared name the instigators, commanders and executioners of those atrocities? Who urged that they those individuals, if they can be called human beings, be confined and shown to tourists? ...No-one! And why is it so? Because our fellow-nationals, citizens of the state of Serbia, and members of Serb people, who have committed atrocities and crimes unprecedented in this region, are still considered heroes. And as long as they are venerated, as long as our criminals-heroes are a large and scot-free we, the entire people shall be considered criminals and confined to a larger or smaller prison.

In Serbia there is still nothing resembling a normal reaction by a mature and responsible society and responsible authorities. There are only individual attempts at urging the process of facing. Such attempts gain importance and publicity in total disproportion with their objective reach. And those who make them are often ostracized because of their professional courage. One of those attempts was a modest attempt of mine. That attempt would have passed unobserved and would not made Serbs inch towards much-needed lustration, had there been no clumsily and stupidly effected arrest, trial and prison sentence, or in general, the Filipovic case.

If more similar attempts were made, we could quickly see public admission of terrible crimes committed by our fellow-nationals. Then a democratic potential, which this society clearly has, would compel the authorities, our politicians and judiciary to autonomously find and name the culprits. My uphill struggle, like the one of my like-minded friends is currently doomed. But one day we shall prevail. To make that day come, we must fight today, even if, that fight, and I am aware of that now, includes many failures and our suffering, even a jail sentence.

Perhaps one nice day, Serbs shall be rid of the ill charm which turned them into the Sleeping Beauties, and they shall wake up and follow in footsteps of those peoples who have already completed that unpleasant, but necessary facing process.