DEFENCE
OFFICIAL SECRET
STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL

FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF YUGOSLAVIA
SUPREME DEFENCE COUNCIL

S.P. Numberr <u>7-1</u>

7 June 1995

Belgrade

TO THE FEDERAL PRIME MINISTER

- Mr Radoje KONTIĆ –

Acting on instructions from President of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia /FRY/Zoran LILIĆ, we would like to inform you that the 37th session of the Supreme Defence Council will be held at the beginning of next week, with the following

Agenda:

- Adoption of the minutes from the 36^{th} session.
- Personnel issues and information on marking 16th June Yugoslav Army Day.
- 2. Report on problems in financing the Yugoslav Army /VJ/.
- 3. Regular briefing by the chief of the VJ General Staff on the military and political situation in the region of the former Yugoslavia and proposed measures of importance for FRY's security and defence.

4. Current issues.

The following have been invited to attend the session: Federal Prime Minister Radoje KONTIĆ, Federal Defence Minister Pavle BULATOVIĆ and Chief of the VJ General Staff Colonel-General Momčilo PERIŠIĆ.

You will be subsequently informed about the place and time for the session.

SECRETARY OF THE COUNCIL

Major-General

Slavoljub ŠUŠIĆ

/stamped and signed/

SUPREME DEFENCE COUNCIL

DEFENCE
OFFICIAL SECRET
STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL

SHORTHAND MINUTES

from the 37th session

OF THE SUPREME DEFENCE COUNCIL

- held on 13 June 1995 -

BELGRADE

SHORTHAND MINUTES

from the 37th session

OF THE SUPREME DEFENCE COUNCIL

- held on 13 June 1995 -

The session started at 1545 hrs.

The following were in attendance: Zoran LILIĆ, FRY President and President of the Supreme Defence Council; Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ, President of the Republic of Serbia, and Momir BULATOVIĆ, President of the Republic of Montenegro – members of the Supreme Defence Council; Radoje KONTIĆ, Prime Minister of the Federal Government; Pavle BULATOVIĆ, Federal Defence Minister; Colonel-General Momčilo PERIŠIĆ, Chief of the VJ General Staff; and Major-General Slavoljub ŠUŠIĆ, Chief of the FRY President's Military Office.

(Shorthand minutes taken by Jordan ŽIVANOVIĆ, senior conference stenographer in the FRY President's Office).

The session was chaired by Zoran LILIĆ, President of the Supreme Defence Council.

ZORAN LILIĆ:

I propose that we start working.

For the session today you have been sent the following

Agenda:

- Adoption of the minutes from the $36^{\rm th}$ session of the Supreme Defence Council

0. 8308-0345-8339-EDT.doc/zv

1. PERSONNEL ISSUES

2. REPORT ON PROBLEMS IN FINANCING THE YUGOSLAV ARMY

3. REGULAR BRIEFING BY THE CHIEF OF THE VJ GENERAL STAFF

ON THE MILITARY AND POLITICAL SITUATION IN THE REGION

AND MEASURES OF IMPORTANCE FOR FRY'S SECURITY AND

DEFENCE.

4. CURRENT ISSUES.

Shall we adopt the proposed agenda? (Adopted).

Have you got objections to the minutes from the 36th session of the Supreme Defence Council? (No).

I can conclude that the minutes have been adopted.

Let's move to the first item on the agenda:

1. PERSONNEL ISSUES

I am giving the floor to General PERIŠIĆ.

MOMČILO PERIŠIĆ:

Presidents,

Minister,

In the Yugoslav Army there is a total of 93 establishment posts for generals, we have a total of 52 generals, which means that the total level of manning of the post of generals is 56 per cent. In line with provisions of the Law on the Yugoslav Army and the Decree on the Promotion of Generals, this creates conditions to promote some colonels to the rank of general and some generals to a higher rank.

On the basis of all this, the General Staff at a session, in agreement and with the participation of the minister, concluded the following:

That Dobrašin PRAŠČEVIĆ, Chief of the VJ Inspectorate, should be proposed for the promotion into the rank of colonel-general, as he fulfils all conditions.

However, the general was chief of staff of the 5th Military District at the time of those developments. As you know, he did not do anything there. Afterwards, he pulled out together with the military district and became chief of staff of the 2nd Military District – where General KUKANJAC was. He came to the VJ immediately before that debacle.

Therefore, irrespective of the fact that he fulfils conditions and that he is an average officer, I believe that it would be counterproductive to promote him at present. I propose that he retains his current rank and to promote him before retirement. He was born in 1937.

We were obliged to do this by law and now it is up to you now to make a decision.

SLOBODAN MILOŠEVIĆ:

Let's not promote him!

ZORAN LILIĆ:

Shall we adopt this proposal? (Adopted).

Let's move on, Moma!

MOMČILO PERIŠIĆ:

Regular promotion to the rank of lieutenant-general of Borisav ĐURIĆ, chief of the Quartermaster Service, against whom a criminal report had been filed and hence he has not been promoted for two years. The court rejected the report as he had acted on orders from a senior officer. Now he fulfils all conditions for promotion and therefore we propose him for the promotion to the rank of lieutenant-general.

I also propose Dr Jovan BIJELIĆ, chief of the Military Medical Academy /VMA/, for promotion to the rank of lieutenant-general.

MOMIR BULATOVIĆ:

Hasn't he been proposed?

SLOBODAN MILOŠEVIĆ:

Jovan BIJELIĆ, chief of the VMA, is an exceptional general. He himself said that he would not be an obstacle – behind him is Aco JOVIČIĆ, his deputy. However, according to the establishment he should have the rank of lieutenant general. I propose that we promote him to the rank of lieutenant-general and he can retire at the end of the year, because that's when he will be 65 years old.

ZORAN LILIĆ:

Do you agree with his promotion? (Approval).

MOMČILO PERIŠIĆ:

Moving on, I propose to promote Colonel Mladen MIHAILOVIĆ, chief of the Engineers Administration, to the rank of major-general. He fulfils all conditions. He is an excellent officer.

Further, I also propose for promotion Dušan BANJAC, chief of the ARJ PVO

/Artillery and Rocket Units of the Anti-Aircraft Defence/ Administration.

SLOBODAN MILOŠEVIĆ:

He is a colleague of mine. He used to be commander of the 1st platoon, a 2nd lieutenant, and I was commander of the 2nd platoon!

MOMČILO PERIŠIĆ:

He has made a great contribution to the increase of the PVO defence system, particularly in the procurement of *Igla* /Needle/. He has made a great contribution to the training of Serbs both in the Republika Srpska and the Republic of Serbian Krajina /RSK/.

I propose Dr Novica ĐORĐEVIĆ, chief of the Naval Technical Administration. He was born in Prokuplje.

Dr Aco JOVIČIĆ, deputy chief of the VMA. BIJELIĆ wanted to be pensioned off to leave room for his promotion. However, as you decided that we should promote BIJELIĆ, he /JOVIČIĆ/ should also be promoted so that BIJELIĆ should be able to hand over duty to him later.

Milosav BRKIĆ, commander of the 608th Logistics Base, who has in his work so far contributed to ensuring that everything that the Supreme Defence Council decided to be given to the Republika Srpska and the RSK be sent there. Everything that the Supreme Defence Council decided to send was sent. He worked until 1993 in extremely difficult conditions and he worked extremely well.

Đorđe ĆURČIN, chief of the Department for Operations and Training of the 1st Army Command.

Savo OBRADOVIĆ, chief of the Department for Operations and Training of the 2nd Army Command.

Momir VUKADINOVIĆ, chief of Staff of the Priština Corps, who is in extremely good control of the army, particularly of the border.

Nikola ZDRAVKOVIĆ, naval captain, chief of Staff of the Navy.

Branko PETKOVIĆ, chief of Staff of the Corps of the VJ SJ /Special Units/.

Radomir KRSTIĆ, chief of the Logistics Supply Administration at the Federal Ministry of Defence and

Vuk OBRADOVIĆ, director of the NBJ /National Bank of Yugoslavia/ Army Service, about whom there was a complaint, not about him, but about the bank.

However, the court rejected the criminal report.

SLOBODAN MILOŠEVIĆ:

Vuk is an expert, he has been chief of the Army Service for many years.

MOMČILO PERIŠIĆ:

This about the termination of professional military service has now been dropped.

ZORAN LILIĆ:

It has been dropped both for BIJELIĆ and Enes TASO?

MOMČILO PERIŠIĆ:

Yes.

SLOBODAN MILOŠEVIĆ:

It would not be fair to terminate the service of Enes TASO, because he fought

hard and he is seriously ill. He should not be pensioned off, albeit he is ill, let him stay in active service. He fought fiercely around Sarajevo. He is ill, he has cancer!

ZORAN LILIĆ:

Let's see, before we move further, about these proposals put forward by General PERIŠIĆ.

SLOBODAN MILOŠEVIĆ:

I have no objections to General PERIŠIĆ's proposals, I think that they are good.

ZORAN LILIĆ:

Are there any other proposals?

Minister Pavle BULATOVIĆ has the floor.

PAVLE BULATOVIĆ:

I agree with what has been said about General PRAŠČEVIĆ. I agree with General BIJELIĆ being promoted to a higher rank.

In was not said explicitly when the criminal report was abandoned, because it was said that damage was caused. The prosecutor says that 840,000 dollars worth of damage was caused! The Federal Foreign Currency Inspectorate has issued an order

to compensate the army for the damage. How much he is responsible is probably yet to be seen. Perhaps he should be given the promotion and the termination of his active service should be considered.

As for proposals for the promotion of colonels, I have the duty to say something about BRKIĆ. Criminal proceedings have been instituted against him; an investigation has begun. The investigation has been in progress for a few days now. I think that at present we should wait for the results of the investigation and then make a decision on his promotion.

As for Vuk OBRADOVIĆ, it is true that the court rejected the criminal report. The court rejected it as an unfounded request. I think that, with this, conditions for his promotion have been met.

MOMIR BULATOVIĆ:

I agree with the proposals. One thing, I don't understand: why do we propose somebody first and then not propose him?!

SLOBODAN MILOŠEVIĆ:

He proposed him in keeping with the law – he reached the age and completed the years of service for the rank. Otherwise, I do agree with you – you are right!

MOMIR BULATOVIĆ:

While accepting this list I would like to add Rumenko DIŠOVIĆ, commander of the Užice Corps. Former commander of the corps had the rank of general and DIŠOVIĆ was also in the corps at the time.

SLOBODAN MILOŠEVIĆ:

Do you know him?

MOMIR BULATOVIĆ:

I know him. He is an exceptional officer. That is one proposal.

Also, I would like to propose for promotion Colonel Milorad PERIŠIĆ, commander of the Podgorica Military District. That could be a promotion with his departure from active military service.

These are my proposals.

MOMČILO PERIŠIĆ:

DIŠOVIĆ is an extremely able guy in all respects, apart from not being communicative with the socio-political community to the extent that he ought to be. But, he is increasingly opening up. I agree, I completely agree with the proposal, but he hasn't yet fulfilled the conditions. We could promote him exceptionally.

SLOBODAN MILOŠEVIĆ:

Moma, what is he like as a corps commander?

MOMČILO PERIŠIĆ:

He is a good corps commander, but does not have enough "good manners" yet for communication with the socio-political community. As a soldier and an expert he is extremely good.

SLOBODAN MILOŠEVIĆ:

I think that we can accept President BULATOVIĆ's proposals.

MOMČILO PERIŠIĆ:

Does that also refer to PERIŠIĆ?

SLOBODAN MILOŠEVIĆ:

If he has fulfilled conditions for retirement and Moma believes that he did a good job, I have nothing against.

MOMČILO PERIŠIĆ:

He is the commander of the military district, he is exceptional, but it wouldn't be good to promote him and keep him in the army.

ZORAN LILIĆ:

That means that PERIŠIĆ will be promoted and pensioned off!

MOMČILO PERIŠIĆ:

That means that the two of them would get exceptional promotion.

I would like to say something about BRKIĆ. His deputy concluded an agreement with a company from Slovenia – to deliver 34 tyres for the T-84 tank. These tyres arrived in Hungary, but could not be delivered. In the meantime he ruined ten companies in Belgrade. In keeping with his official authority BRKIĆ instituted proceedings for the prosecution of this man who is currently in prison. I have been promised that the goods will be transferred from Hungary here as soon as possible.

Another thing, this happened before I started working with you and therefore I don't know what happened before, that base transferred thousands and thousands of tonnes of materials there. Many things have not been resolved in terms of issuing orders. It was only in March 1993 that at this level we issued orders. That was during war in the general chaotic situation and he was unable to provide documents for all that.

I think that it would be a great pity if we did not promote him. He has a high volume of work and there is always a possibility of something happening, but he established that this one did not institute proceedings and now is prosecuting him.

SLOBODAN MILOŠEVIĆ:

I have received reports on him saying that he really is an exceptional officer, very dedicated, very thorough and serious. I think that we should not make any obstacles for his promotion.

ZORAN LILIĆ:

He has had the rank of major-general since 6 June 1994.

That means that we shall promote him? (Approval).

We have already had such examples. Once the investigation is complete we shall see what will happen, although this is not good either – we cancel promotions and then the investigation shows that they are not guilty!

PAVLE BULATOVIĆ:

I would like to propose that you think about the exceptional promotion of Dr Sava KOVAČEVIĆ and General DIMITRIJEVIĆ.

MOMČILO PERIŠIĆ:

Both of them have deserved their promotions. However, there are other people like them, but that would be an "inflation" of exceptional and other promotions. I think it would be good for them to wait until New Year to be promoted. Because, Dr Sava KOVAČEVIĆ has not spent a certain period of time in his current rank, although he is very good and definitely deserves it. But, there are other people too, and we would slightly disturb people's system of values.

This also goes for Aca DIMITRIJEVIĆ, although he is also working very successfully.

SLOBODAN MILOŠEVIĆ:

I have heard, everybody is saying, that Sava KOVAČEVIĆ is an exceptional officer.

ZORAN LILIĆ:

I think that we should promote him.

SLOBODAN MILOŠEVIĆ:

I would like to support Pavle BULATOVIĆ's proposal.

Second, according to the establishment, /chief of/ the Centre for Military Higher Education is a colonel-general, his deputy is a colonel.

MOMČILO PERIŠIĆ:

I agree, but that would be a slight "inflation".

ZORAN LILIĆ:

OK, we have accepted Pavle BULATOVIĆ's proposal.

OK, let us conclude; let's see what we have decided?

SLOBODAN MILOŠEVIĆ:

We have decided everything that's been written down.

ZORAN LILIĆ:

Nevertheless, I would prefer to repeat it all.

Dobrašin PRAŠČEVIĆ shall not be promoted before retirement.

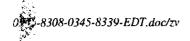
Borisav ĐURIĆ, chief of the Quartermaster Service, shall be given regular promotion to the rank of lieutenant-general.

Major-General Dr Jovan BIJELIĆ, chief of the VMA, shall be promoted also to the rank of lieutenant-general.

The following shall be given regular promotion to the rank of major-general or rear admiral: colonels or naval captains Mladen MIHAILOVIĆ, Dušan BANJAC, Dr Novica ĐORĐEVIĆ, Dr Aco JOVIČIĆ, Milosav BRKIĆ, Đorđe ĆURČIN, Savo OBRADOVIĆ, Momir VUKADINOVIĆ, Nikola ZDRAVKOVIĆ, Branko PETKOVIĆ, Radomir KRSTIĆ, Dr Vuk OBRADOVIĆ, Rumenko DIŠOVIĆ – exceptional promotion to the rank of major-general and Milorad PERIŠIĆ to the rank of major-general and to be pensioned off.

Dr Sava KOVAČEVIĆ and Major-General Aca DIMITRIJEVIĆ shall be given exception promotion to the rank of lieutenant-general.

That would be all.



Let's move to appointments.

MOMČILO PERIŠIĆ:

Appointments.

We propose Major-General Radosav MARTINOVIĆ for chief of the VJ General Staff for operations and staff affairs. So far he has been chief of the 2nd Army Staff. Both President BULATOVIĆ and the /defence/ minister know him. He is an exceptional person. We thought of bringing him to the General Staff for a while and then returning him to be commander of an army somewhere. If everything goes well he could even be chief of the General Staff.

SLOBODAN MILOŠEVIĆ:

There should always be at least ten candidates for chief of the General Staff. A soldier who does not have the ambition to become general is not a good soldier!

MOMČILO PERIŠIĆ:

Moving on, Nedeljko ĆOPIĆ would become assistant chief of the General Staff for land forces; currently he discharges the duty of assistant chief of the General Staff for operations and staff affairs.

We propose Branko PETKOVIĆ for chief of the Infantry Administration; he has so far been chief of Staff of the Corps of Special Units.

We propose Vlade NONKOVIĆ for assistant chief of the General Staff for the Navy, who currently discharges this duty as acting assistant chief.

We propose Nikola ZDRAVKOVIĆ, who is currently chief of Staff of the Navy, for chief of the Maritime Affairs Administration.

We proposed Aco JOVIČIĆ for the chief of the VMA, but as BIJELIĆ is staying, he will continue as deputy chief of the VMA.

Milorad OBRADOVIĆ, commander of the Podgorica Corps, would replace MARTINOVIĆ as chief of the 2nd Army Staff. OBRADOVIĆ is an exceptionally aspiring man.

We propose Tripko ČEČOVIĆ, chief of the VJ Military Academy, for commander of the Podgorica Corps. He is a war participant. He determined the western borders of the RSK, because he was commander of the Benkovac Brigade. He is an exceptional person.

We propose Tomislav MLADENOVIĆ for chief of the Department for Operations and Training in the 3rd Army, instead of the late BOJOVIĆ, the brother of this general /as printed/.

We propose Sava PUSTINJA for assistant commander for logistics of the RV i
PVO /Air Force and Anti-Aircraft Defence/ Command – if we agree – because he is
currently assistant minister for military economic affairs.

We propose Milan RADOVIĆ, commander of the Navy Fleet, for chief of Staff of the Navy.

Miloje PAVLOVIĆ, currently naval captain and chief of Staff of the Navy Fleet, has been put forward as commander of the Navy Fleet.

Vidoje PANTELIĆ, who is currently assistant commander of the 1st Army, should replace Sava PUSTINJA as assistant federal minister for military economic affairs.

Major-General Geza FARKAŠ, who is assistant commander of the 1st Army for military territorial organs, has been put forward for chief of staff of the Civilian

Defence Sector of the Federal Defence Ministry. During the war he was extraordinary.

SLOBODAN MILOŠEVIĆ:

That is our only general who is Hungarian and who fought honestly and fiercely.

MOMČILO PERIŠIĆ:

He knows that area best. Thanks to him a majority of Hungarians and a majority of army conscripts from ethnic minorities in Vojvodina were good soldiers.

Moving on, we propose Dr Aleksandar IGNJATOVIĆ, currently assistant commander for legal affairs of the 3rd Army, for chief of the Legal Administration. He was one of the candidates for president of the Supreme Court, but he is young and was not successful.

Major-General Radovan ANĐELKOVIĆ should continue as chief of the Inspectorate.

We had also thought about relieving Ismet KRASNIĆI of his duty, but have now decided to give this proposal – this means that KRASNIĆI should continue discharging the duty that he has done so far.

Appointments by decree to current duties:

Nebojša PAVKOVIĆ, chief of the Operations Organ in the Priština Corps. He is an exceptional person. We were looking for a man when it was necessary to go to Kosovo and he volunteered.

Further, Dr Sinića BOROVIĆ /appointed as/ chief of office of the chief of the General Staff. He is a very respected expert even outside Yugoslavia, and

Dr Svetislav RISTIĆ /appointed as/ chief of the Legal Administration of the VJ General Staff. He currently discharges that duty. Fifteen years ago he had a traffic accident and he had a report /filed against him/ 10 years ago. However, we don't have a better doctor.

These would be appointments.

ZORAN LILIĆ:

We have heard proposals for appointments by decree to current positions.

Who wishes to take the floor? Pavle has the floor.

PAVLE BULATOVIĆ:

Endorsing everything that has been said about General PANTELIĆ, I would give priority to General KADIJEVIĆ, who has so far been chief of the Administration for Researching Weapons and Military Equipment in the ministry. I think that the man has mastered the job and doesn't need time to take over these duties.

I would like to put forward General TERZIĆ for the Civilian Defence Sector.

SLOBODAN MILOŠEVIĆ:

Please don't put him forward! Now you have really gone too far! He doesn't even come close to FARKAŠ!

PAVLE BULATOVIĆ:

There is no reason to doubt the appraisal of FARKAŠ. But in this position we need a man who will maintain contacts with governments, with local self-government

and companies. I am not sure whether he will be accepted in these milieus given that he is Hungarian?

SLOBODAN MILOŠEVIĆ:

KERTES is also Hungarian, FARKAŠ is also Hungarian!

Geza FARKAŠ is a man of truly high moral principles and an exceptional person.

PAVLE BULATOVIĆ:

As for the appointments by decree, I would propose to appoint by decree the director of the Military-Technical Institute. So far in the former Yugoslavia these were three posts for generals. This is now a single Institute whose director is not a general.

I would also propose to appoint by decree the president of the Supreme Military Court and the supreme military prosecutor. The fact is that the newly-elected, actually newly-appointed, president of the court and the prosecutor do not formally fulfil the conditions, but I presume that this is one of the motives for these people do their jobs as best as they can. We can say, if they are successful maybe they will become generals, if they are not successful they will not become generals!

I would also like to propose that if we accept to appoint by decree the chief of office of the chief of the General Staff, to give the same right to the chief of office of the minister of defence.

MOMČILO PERIŠIĆ:

First, for the Military-Technical Institute, we have not determined in the establishment that this should be the post for a general. If you conclude that an establishment post be opened, then this could go. However, if we cause "inflation," we shall create conditions whereby we shall be unable to appoint anyone by decree until we pension some people off. The average age has been lowered from 58 to 52, which means that in the forthcoming period we shall get a "bottleneck".

Therefore my proposal would be to consider at one of the forthcoming sessions whether we need more posts for generals. We are now in harmony with world standards in terms of the number of generals in relation to the number of soldiers. Maybe there is a post of general of lesser importance somewhere else, let's abolish that one and open this one here?

The president of the Supreme Military Court, neither by law nor by decree – the person in question – may be appointed by decree, because he does not have a PhD, he has not completed the school of national defence. Therefore, we cannot do that, because we would degrade the rank of general. Plus the fact that the people have only just assumed their duties. Let them have a year to prove their worth and then we can talk. This refers to OBRENČEVIĆ.

We have to take into account the capabilities of these people that we appoint by decree, where and to what positions we shall appoint them in the future. For KOVAČ we could find a post in the Yugoslav Army tomorrow.

PAVLE BULATOVIĆ:

He will retire.

MOMČILO PERIŠIĆ:

\$\frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{2} \frac

22

It is very awkward when you appoint a person by decree and then he cannot get the rank through any fault of his own!

PAVLE BULATOVIĆ:

General VELIČKOVIĆ asked for him.

MOMČILO PERIŠIĆ:

But not as a general.

SLOBODAN MILOŠEVIĆ:

I think that we can observe the criteria outlined by General PERIŠIĆ and not go beyond the framework that they have. I believe that this logic should be respected, because we do not gain anything, but devalue it a bit in this way. The army has its rules!

MOMIR BULATOVIĆ:

I think that what Minister BULATOVIĆ said is important. If there are no obstacles, that KADIJEVIĆ should have this post of assistant instead of PANTELIĆ. I would endorse that.

Let us see whether TERZIĆ is a favourable solution compared to FARKAŠ?

SLOBODAN MILOŠEVIĆ:

No!

MOMIR BULATOVIĆ:

We have to treat some things at the principled level: if we appoint by decree the chief of office of the chief of the General Staff, then I believe that this should apply to the chief of office of the minister of defence.

SLOBODAN MILOŠEVIĆ:

Fine, but then it has to be a person that fulfils the conditions to be appointed by decree. Otherwise, I agree in principle.

MOMIR BULATOVIĆ:

We have raised the issue of the appointment by decree of president of the court and the prosecutor once. Which are the advantages and disadvantages of the court president and the prosecutor having the rank of colonel, rather than general?

ZORAN LILIĆ:

We have opened establishment posts, but the problem is that neither of them fulfils these criteria.

I also believe that director of the Military-Technical Institute should have the establishment post of a general.

MOMČILO PERIŠIĆ:

I agree!

ZORAN LILIĆ:

Fine, but this should be resolved at the level of principle –chief of office of the chief of the General Staff and chief of office of the minister of defence.

The only remaining contentious issue is whether KADIJEVIĆ should be appointed instead of PANTELIĆ and TERZIĆ instead of FARKAŠ?

SLOBODAN MILOŠEVIĆ:

Please don't touch FARKAŠ!

ZORAN LILIĆ:

OK, we shall leave Geza FARKAŠ, what shall we do with PANTELIĆ and KADIJEVIĆ?

We can leave that for next session.

MOMČILO PERIŠIĆ:

Please let me tell you something, to make it easier for you to make a decision. PANTELIĆ is assistant commander of the 1st Army, he has a master's degree in technical sciences. He is a man who has a great influence on people. KADIJEVIĆ comes from the Imotski area. He is an introvert person and does not have a master's degree. In contacts with directors in the commercial sector I have noticed that they have certain reservations towards him, because of his last name.

SLOBODAN MILOŠEVIĆ:

Why "because of his last name"? Is he a relative of General KADIJEVIĆ?

MOMČILO PERIŠIĆ:

I am saying that this is why there is an aversion, because of his last name. That is why we have made these proposals. But it will be as you decide.

PAVLE BULATOVIĆ:

For me, KADIJEVIĆ is a better candidate. He is already in the job, he knows the job. I think that he is a person of good character. The president had an opportunity to see a report from his Libya visit with an expert group. He completed the job, he has always completed every job. He had some disagreements with General PUSTINJA and therefore could not show all his capabilities.

MOMIR BULATOVIĆ:

That means that he is an expert, but is not communicative?

PAVLE BULATOVIĆ:

I doubt that KADIJEVIĆ is an introvert person and that he does not maintain communication with special purpose enterprises.

ZORAN LILIĆ:

We have two possibilities: either to choose one of the candidates, or to leave it for ten days or so and then see what to do?

SLOBODAN MILOŠEVIĆ:

What is PANTELIĆ now – assistant commander?

MOMČILO PERIŠIĆ:

Yes, he has a master's degree in technical sciences, he is a mechanical engineer. KADIJEVIĆ is working at the minister's office. Should it be so,

KADIJEVIĆ would continue in his current capacity and they would have to work together. Conversely, if we appoint KADIJEVIĆ there, then instead of KADIJEVIĆ we would have to find a new solution.

PAVLE BULATOVIĆ:

We shall find a solution.

SLOBODAN MILOŠEVIĆ:

Pavle, you personally know KADIJEVIĆ and you are working with him?

PAVLE BULATOVIĆ:

I would take him at my own responsibility.

SLOBODAN MILOŠEVIĆ:

Good, let's do what the minister wants, particularly if he fulfils conditions. We allow all our ministers to choose their assistants.

ZORAN LILIĆ:

Fine, we have completed this, we are leaving Geza and appointing KADIJEVIĆ.

MOMČILO PERIŠIĆ:

I would like to emphasize another issue here, which is not part of this. It is necessary to have a deputy minister in the ministry who is the best general. We would have to resolve that.

SLOBODAN MILOŠEVIĆ:

I agree!

MOMČILO PERIŠIĆ:

I think that we would have to resolve that issue at one of the forthcoming sessions.

ZORAN LILIĆ:

The minister has prepared a new staffing specification and we will solve this issue within that framework.

RADOJE KONTIĆ:

Deputy minister is not part of the staffing specification. If you want to replace him you should also appoint him.

ZORAN LILIĆ:

I can conclude that we have accepted proposals by the chief of the General Staff for new appointments and that we have accepted a proposal from the defence minister to appoint Radojica KADIJEVIĆ as assistant defence minister for logistics of the 1st Army, while Geza FARKAŠ should stay as proposed.

I think that we can conclude that the establishment post at the level of the Military-Technical Institute should be that of a general.

Minister BULATOVIĆ and General PERIŠIĆ should resolve the matter in principle, i.e. they should harmonise the establishment posts for chief of office of the chief of the General Staff and chief of office of the minister of defence.

SLOBODAN MILOŠEVIĆ:

We can appoint this chief of office of the chief of the General Staff, because he fulfils conditions. I believe that there are no reasons for this not to be resolved in principle as proposed.

ZORAN LILIĆ:

I also think that there is no reason why there should be any differences here.

SLOBODAN MILOŠEVIĆ:

When you find the person propose him!

ZORAN LILIĆ:

Fine, we can conclude this.

PAVLE BULATOVIĆ:

What about RISTIĆ?!

ZORAN LILIĆ:

There have been no objections? It has been proposed that he should be appointed to the current post by decree. We rejected that last time.

Minister BULATOVIĆ and General PERIŠIĆ should resolve the matter in principle, i.e. they should harmonise the establishment posts for chief of office of the chief of the General Staff and chief of office of the minister of defence.

SLOBODAN MILOŠEVIĆ:

We can appoint this chief of office of the chief of the General Staff, because he fulfils conditions. I believe that there are no reasons for this not to be resolved in principle as proposed.

ZORAN LILIĆ:

I also think that there is no reason why there should be any differences here.

SLOBODAN MILOŠEVIĆ:

When you find the person propose him!

ZORAN LILIĆ:

Fine, we can conclude this.

PAVLE BULATOVIĆ:

What about RISTIĆ?!

ZORAN LILIĆ:

There have been no objections? It has been proposed that he should be appointed to the current post by decree. We rejected that last time.

SLOBODAN MILOŠEVIĆ:

Pavle, do you have objections?

PAVLE BULATOVIĆ:

I have no objections, but I know that he is in the judiciary, that will cause reactions.

ZORAN LILIĆ:

There have been many petitions, letters, all sorts of things!

SLOBODAN MILOŠEVIĆ:

Let's wait a bit for this to clear up a little.

ZORAN LILIĆ:

Moma, can we have a complete report on RISTIĆ, let's not solve this now in haste.

Do you agree with that? (Approval).

That means that RISTIĆ shall be erased from this list.

Let us now move to the 30th and 40th Personnel Centres.

MOMČILO PERIŠIĆ:

The Main Staff of the 40th Personnel Centre has proposed to verify the promotions of Milan ČELEKETIĆ to the rank of lieutenant-general and Dušan LONČAR to the rank of major-general.

Given that they are guilty for the situation over there, the General Staff has assumed a stance that these should not be verified.

ZORAN LILIĆ:

Do we agree? (Approval)

MOMČILO PERIŠIĆ:

The Main Staff of the 30th Personnel Centre has put forward 12 generals for promotion, actually to verify this. Of these 12 generals we propose only six: General-Major Dorde DUKIĆ to the rank of lieutenant-general; Milan GVERO, an extremely positive person who is the cohesive force between the Republika Srpska Army and us; Radivoje MILETIĆ to the rank of major-general; Zdravko TOLIMIR, who has been much criticized, primarily by President KARADŽIĆ, because he stands in their way of exercising their in-depth influence.

We do not propose Stevan TOMIĆ, who is an SDS /Serbian Democratic Party/ member.

We propose Jovan MARIĆ /to be promoted/ to the rank of major-general.

We do not propose Dragomir MILOŠEVIĆ who is commander of the Sarajevo Corps and who is also an SDS member.

We do not propose Budimir GAVRIĆ who is also an SDS member.

We propose Božo NOVAK who is chief of RV i PVO.

We do not propose Mićo GRUBOR, Mićo VLAISAVLJEVIĆ and Milutin SKOČAJIĆ.

Also, the 30th Personnel Centre has put forward two people to be pensioned off: Dušan KOVAČEVIĆ and Bogdan SUBOTIĆ. In keeping with the law we cannot

propose them for retirement, but we suggest that they be on disposal for six months and after six months they will automatically be pensioned off.

ZORAN LILIĆ:

I think that we can accept this.

Let us move on, Moma!

MOMČILO PERIŠIĆ:

Given the situation in the 40th Personnel Centre and the great need for commanding officers, they have put forward a proposal that in the future Yugoslav Army officers – who are under obligation – go in line with service requirements, not on a volunteer basis.

Now we have the following situation: when I sent the first contingent, 32 of 48 officers went. When I sent the second contingent, only three officers of the 66 who said they would go actually went!

All that happened in western Slavonia and in other areas happened because of the lack of officers.

If you agree I propose that these people should be specially motivated and transferred in line with service requirements?

If we send someone in line with service requirements he can complain, and he would be right formally and strictly legally. But, what do we need officers for if they do not wish to defend their birthplace? How will they defend Ulcinj, for instance, or some other place in the future?

I have no other solutions, apart from heading the column and doing what I can!

MOMIR BULATOVIĆ:

Given the dramatic situation, I think that we cannot abandon the volunteer basis. It is evident that if we start forcing people that they will complain, and according to law they will be right!

ZORAN LILIĆ:

Let us keep the volunteer basis, and General PERIŠIĆ will find a way!

SLOBODAN MILOŠEVIĆ:

It is difficult to reconcile these two things, but we would have to reconcile it in those brackets "that there is a danger of some of them starting to complain". Then that would be completely counterproductive. /as printed/

MOMIR BULATOVIĆ:

They are completely right as far as the law is concerned, but if they were patriotic, they would volunteer to go.

MOMČILO PERIŠIĆ:

Perhaps we could limit it, for example, to six months or one year.

In total, we have 2,368 people who were sent to the former JNA /Yugoslav People's Army/ from the Republika Srpska and the Republic of Serbian Krajina; of that, Army Commander Milan ZEC; we have no other – he is as he is. I think that he is good. We have three corps commanders; we have five chiefs of administrations; we have 10 commanders of regiments and brigades; 22 commanders of detachments. All

these people have stated that they would volunteer to go and have signed their
statements.
SLOBODAN MILOŠEVIĆ:
Were they all asked?
MOMČILO PERIŠIĆ:
They were all asked.
SLOBODAN MILOŠEVIĆ:
Those who were asked and don't want to go there should not be here either.
MOMČILO PERIŠIĆ:
I agree, but what can I do with them, law does not allow me to throw them out.
SLOBODAN MILOŠEVIĆ:
You can pension them off.
MOMČILO PERIŠIĆ:
We have to find a way. Maybe you can authorise me and if they sue me I will
resolve it.
SLOBODAN MILOŠEVIĆ:
You should avoid being sued, that can be avoided in a conversation.

MOMIR BULATOVIĆ:

Is it true that the police of the Republic of Serbian Krajina last night picked up six officers?

MOMČILO KRAJIŠNIK: /as printed/

I also heard it this morning but I did not have time to check it up.

SLOBODAN MILOŠEVIĆ:

They shouldn't do that.

MOMIR BULATOVIĆ:

Shall we abide by the volunteer basis and General PERIŠIĆ should find a solution to have the sent there.

ZORAN LILIĆ:

Fine, we have agreed about that too.

Moma, we have this proposal for the change of rank groupings.

MOMČILO PERIŠIĆ:

I believe that you have read it. That is your legislative decision, that is within your competence.

ZORAN LILIĆ:

Do we accept this? (Approval).

Momo, let's move to the MILITARY-POLITICAL SITUATION

MOMČILO PERIŠIĆ:

You know what diplomats have done so far. There are fresh indications now – a single negotiator has been appointed who will talk with all the warring sides and who will offer corrections to the maps, as far as I have been able to find out, specifically for the Republika Srpska, primarily being guided by the situation that the Republika Srpska can survive.

He will have many associates; among others, he has asked for De la Presle who will probably get involved. I have suggested that he should take more people from the warring sides. After he enters the arena we could conclude that the world diplomacy is moving in the direction of preventing the spread of war.

However, we are concerned about military measures. The following military measures have been taken:

Rapid intervention forces, somewhere around 16,000 people, are being brought in. According to military experts, they are coming to protect UN forces which are threatened, in order not to do so by air force, as it is ineffective due to the lie of the land and so on. There are two keys for the use of air force: so far the commander of the forces has been able to invite air force according to his own estimate, but this will now be raised to the higher level of decision-making. Should it be so it would be good.

However, what we are afraid of is that the forces which have already been brought in are being deployed in three areas – all on the Muslim-Croatian side: one in Kiseljak, one in Zenica and one group in Zagreb. This speaks of a certain bias of these forces in favour of the Muslims and Croats and against the Serbs. I have asked De la Presle that in the future these forces be deployed also on the Serbian side.

Another problem that gives reason for concern in the military sense is the increase in the military potential. In total, with the UN forces deployed in the former Yugoslavia so far, there are now around 60,000 people, well-armed and well-equipped, which is equal to a national army of a country with a population of between 10 and 12 million citizens. That is a credible force which includes many NATO members, which could be an introduction into bringing NATO forces to this area, which would be legitimate spreading of the NATO.

We are concerned about the increasing support from the armed forces of the neighbouring countries, primarily Croatia, the Muslim-Croatian federation and Albania in particular, which this year alone performed 18 exercises, including 11 at the national level, others were multi-national and bilateral. That represents a new danger.

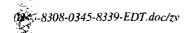
Also, all our neighbouring countries have joined the Partnership for Peace programme.

In addition to these forces, in the Adriatic there are around 40 battleships, including three aircraft carriers, one helicopter carrier, two submarines and two seaborne assault carriers with 2,000 marines. There are also around 300 combat aircraft.

Exercises in the Black Sea, with the participation of Bulgaria and Turkey, finished recently.

All this shows that the military presence around our country is increasing, which threatens FRY's security.

The Croats, encouraged by the international community's weak condemnation of their aggression against western Slavonia, are preparing an offensive, and have already started it in Livanjsko Polje. I have information that Serbian forces checked



them on Mt Dinara. They have captured Mt Šator, Mali Šator and Veliki Šator, by which they approached the Drvar-Bosanski Petrovac road. There is a danger of them severing the road in the forthcoming period which could put the RSK in an extremely dangerous situation. They have synchronised their actions from here (showing on the map) with actions of the 5th Corps, with a tendency to link up.

If the Republika Srpska and the RSK offer firm resistance, they will most probably carry out an aggression against Banija and Kordun, in order to link up with the 5th Corps.

They continue to strengthen their armed forces – they have R-300D missiles, of the *Patriot* quality, which they bought either from East Germany or from the Ukraine.

The situation is similar with the Muslims. Their actions are in tight correlation with Croatia's actions. This division towards the corridor near Orašje and Croatia's forces from Orašje are synchronizing activities.

They have a tendency of spreading from Mt Treskavica towards the enclave of Goražde and are further advancing towards Jajce and Donji Vakuf.

The Croats have so far managed to capture around 504 square kilometres, to kill around 1,000 people and to expel 20,000 people.

On the territory of the Republika Srpska the Muslims managed to capture 304 square kilometres, without increasing the number of expelled people, because these are predominantly uninhabited areas: Vlašić, Majevica and the pass between Velež and Prenj. If they continue at this pace there is a danger of the Republika Srpska being significantly threatened. If they establish a link with Goražde it would also be dangerous for us.

All this has an impact on the FRY, actually on FRY's security in two ways: the positive thing is that with your diplomacy, your wise policies and adequate military measures we have managed to prevent the spread of war to our area.

The negative thing is that forces in our surroundings are becoming increasingly strong and that the Republika Srpska and the RSK, because of a decreasing number of people, may face a situation in which the population will leave their territory en masse, they may reach a critical limit, and after the critical limit you know that there would be an avalanche of refugees, which could significantly destabilise the situation in the FRY. For example, in the Republika Srpska, we are losing a platoon of soldiers daily – between five and 10 soldiers are killed every day, between 25 and 30 are seriously wounded, which means that they are put out of action. If we multiply it with 356 days, one year, that is 9,000 people, or ten brigades. That manpower can never be replaced.

All this threatens FRY's security. Three conclusions can be made:

First, peace should be established as soon as possible. This is something that has to be worked on to a maximum degree. That is the only and the right way out.

Second, a conclusion should be made that, if the Republika Srpska and the Republic of Serbian Krajina prevent the loss of territory and the population from moving out, this will increase or decrease FRY's security /as printed/. In this connection it is necessary for the international community to lift the sanctions as soon as possible.

How much we can help them to come to their senses, you are all aware of it. I hope that recently they have learnt their lesson and have become more cooperative, but I am still not sure whether they will accept the plan voluntarily.

The level of Yugoslav Army's combat readiness. The level of manning in the Yugoslav Army is 67 per cent. This disproportion in the lack of manning with active military personnel has arisen because conscripts between the age of 18 and 21 are doing their military service, we cannot call up the reserve force, because that it very expensive. However, the current manning for the present threat to FRY's security is sufficient to protect /the country/ and prevent any surprise by the measures that we have taken.

The undertaken measure of combat readiness is that part of the Yugoslav Army units went out into the field and set up camps on 5 May.

I think that in the forthcoming period it would be necessary to take the following measures:

First, because of stepped up combat readiness, our daily spending - outside the budget, outside what has been planned – has increased by around 100,000 or so. That means that since 5 May around three million dinars have been spent outside the budged, outside what had been planned. We have rationalised and reduced it from 100,000 to 34,000 daily. I ask for this to be compensated for in some way.

Second, it is necessary to ensure normal payment of funds. Our debts are increasing daily. We haven't met our financial obligations in the value of 122,837,000. What is happening? It happened that *Elektrodistribucija* /Electricity Supply Board/ cut our power supply off!

SLOBODAN MILOŠEVIĆ:

Where did they cut your power supply off?

MOMČILO PERIŠIĆ:

It was cut off in the Žarkovo Technical Training Centre, but after I had intervened they immediately reconnected it.

The Belgrade Dairy stopped delivering dairy products and the Subotica-based 29 November /food company/ followed suit, but resumed delivered after our intervention. But these people too have been put in an unpleasant situation, because neither do they have money to pay their workers.

In order not to be in this kind of situation again, it would be good if this organ or the government set priorities for fulfilling obligations.

So far we have spent 45.93 per cent, which is in keeping with the plan, but you can see how much our outstanding obligations are – somewhere around 80 million.

Therefore, we owe around 36 million, and this is because of the outstanding obligations. /as printed/

We ask you to ensure regular payment /of funds/ to us, in order not to come to an extremely difficult situation!

Next, you should allow us to generate income, on the basis of what we have proposed to the government. I have prepared a decision in this respect. By this we would enable our institutions to generate certain income. As a soldier I have always been against this, because if we are a professional army then we should behave as such. But we are forced to do this.

Next, can you assume a stance in connection with sending conscripts to the Republika Srpska and the Republic of Serbian Krajina, what is possible to do. As an institution we cannot be part of that.

We propose that the measures of stepped up combat readiness should remain as they are at present, to enable us – in keeping with an increased threat – to do what you decided before – increase or decrease the level, taking into account as best as possible the security of the country and the rational engagement of forces.

Allow us, as has been the case so far, to offer certain help to the Republika Srpska and the Republic of Serbian Krajina, primarily with spare parts and whatever we can give that will not have an impact on FRY's combat readiness.

Give us assistance to overcome weaknesses in the Republika Srpska and the RSK in order to create conditions for a single army, here I refer to the Republic of Serbian Krajina in particular, because our influence in the Republika Srpska is small.

I would also like to ask you to ensure and help us in connection with the import of what the minister and I agreed. Something has blocked it. That is the debt worth 300 million. This was blocked by two things: first of all, the counterproductive move of the Republika Srpska in terms of capturing Russian officers.

Also, allow us to procure through compensation the F-300 D missiles, which is a very modern anti-aircraft weapon.

Our estimate is that the Republic of Croatia – unless stopped by the international community – will go ahead with the forceful integration of the Republic of Serbian Krajina in its territory. The second estimate is that the Muslims, misunderstanding the deployment of the Rapid Reaction Force, in coordination with them - should the international community allow it - will try to continue with their offensive.

The right solution would be to accept the Contact Group plan. There is a danger here, if the international community is not frank and honest and if it uses the Rapid Reaction Force to bring in NATO and if it uses force gradually to resolve the situation in the Republika Srpska and the Republic of Serbian Krajina, which would significantly threaten FRY's security. You know that in 1908 Serbia and Montenegro

allowed the annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina by the Austro-Hungarian Empire, actually they did not oppose it in order to prevent war, but after a few years the Austro-Hungarian Empire attacked Serbia and Montenegro.

That is all.

RADOJE KONTIĆ:

There is no more logical conclusion than to give the Army – within the approved budgetary funds – what has not been given so far. It has been given 37 per cent, it has not received double that figure. This now stands at 122 million.

ZORAN LILIĆ:

If we cannot provide regular financing given the lack of funds, there is no reason why we should not let them use their capacities more, those that they have as free capacities.

RADOJE KONTIĆ:

Nobody prevents them from doing so. Eighty per cent of all income goes into the budget.

They have written this proposal here which cannot be put into practice.

MOMČILO PERIŠIĆ:

I can't have the army outside the law - I don't know what to do.

RADOJE KONTIĆ:

Please give us concrete proposals, what you want to sell and to whom, and for that we shall adopt concrete decisions. We cannot do this as you proposed, every concrete job has to be approved by the Federal Government.

ZORAN LILIĆ:

Raja, you and I should formulate a solution for this and let's put if forward.

SLOBODAN MILOŠEVIĆ:

I don't know. Why wouldn't we give him the opportunity to use what he earns?

RADOJE KONTIĆ:

That is possible, but the government must decide that. I say each time: tell us specifically what you want to sell and to whom you want to sell it.

SLOBODAN MILOŠEVIĆ:

Not to sell, but income generated from services.

RADOJE KONTIĆ:

That must be done for the purchase and sale. For this other thing, there are huge illusions – from each job you get 80 per cent. You shouldn't have ordered so much from the military industry, that's where the problem is. We don't have enough funds, that's the problem.

ZORAN LILIĆ:

Let us the three of us sit down and see which formulation could be satisfactory.

RAJA KONTIĆ /as printed/:

At present their passions can be satisfied by the following thing – to drop those illusions from the agenda once and for all – everything that they earn has to pass through the budget and will immediately go to them. When we do that we shall dispel their illusions.

PAVLE BULATOVIĆ:

For instance, the VMA earned an income of 600,000 DM for the treatment of foreigners. This money did not pass through the budget, but I signed an order for the procurement of some things.

RADOJE KONTIĆ:

You had no right to do that, that's your problem!

MOMČILO PERIŠIĆ:

I ask you, as you give me orders, to enable me to do what is not regulated by law.

RADOJE KONTIĆ:

Everything is regulated by law.

The three of us can sit down and agree: I propose that everything you earn passes through the budget and on the same day it will be transferred back to you.

SLOBODAN MILOŠEVIĆ:

Raja, what is important to him is the real state of affairs, not the formal side, money is important to him.

(no short-hand minutes were taken henceforth at the session)

The following statement was adopted at the session: