



Security Council

Distr.
GENERAL

S/1994/674/Add.2 (Vol.I)
28 December 1994

ORIGINAL: ENGLISH

FINAL REPORT OF THE UNITED NATIONS COMMISSION OF EXPERTS
ESTABLISHED PURSUANT TO
SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 780 (1992)

ANNEX III.A
SPECIAL FORCES

Under the Direction of:

M. Cherif Bassiouni
Chairman and Rapporteur on the Gathering
and Analysis of the Facts, Commission of Experts
Established Pursuant to Security Council Resolution 780 (1992)

Principal Legal Analyst:

Mark W. Bennett, IHRLI Staff Attorney

Contributors:

Georgann M. Grabiec, IHRLI Staff Attorney
Diane Silverman, IHRLI Volunteer Analyst
John Stompor, IHRLI Staff Analyst
John Tomasic, IHRLI Staff Analyst
Carson A. Wetzel, IHRLI Staff Attorney
Stacey White, IHRLI Staff Analyst

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I. INTRODUCTION

1. The conflict in the former Yugoslavia has seen the widespread use of paramilitary organizations within the territories of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH), the Republic of Croatia, and to a lesser extent, the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (FRY). The use of paramilitary organizations by all "warring factions" must be viewed in the context of the breakup of Yugoslavia and the structure of the military before the breakup. 1/ In the period of 1989-1991, political ferment indicated that a breakup of Yugoslavia was likely. However, there were no indications as to how the country would be divided. The rise of nationalism and ethnic tension caused Yugoslavs to become concerned for their own safety. This concern over their own self-defence, combined with the rhetoric of nationalist politicians, led many Yugoslavs to arm themselves. Furthermore, uncertainty about the Yugoslav National Army's (JNA) role in post-Communist Yugoslavia led many to conclude that paramilitary organizations were a necessity.

2. The creation of paramilitary groups was further fueled by the wide circulation of stories of atrocities committed by all sides. Serbs, for example, were shown pictures allegedly depicting the Mujahedin forces holding the severed heads of Serb soldiers. All sides viewed themselves as victims, not as perpetrators, thereby creating a desire for revenge and providing justification for their own deeds.

3. Paramilitary organizations exist in several forms. Some are highly-organized groups and operate in several theatres in conjunction with regular military formations. Others are loosely organized and act alone in a single village or on an ad hoc basis. Some of the groups preceded the conflict, others followed it. Still others were formed as the need arose during the conflict. These groups have been organized by the governments or militaries of the warring factions, by political parties, as well as by local police, political, military or community leaders. The members of these paramilitary organizations have been drawn from the regular army, Territorial Defence forces, local militia and police, local civilians, expatriots, and foreign nationals. According to some reports, the paramilitary organizations also include criminals released from prison solely for the purpose of forming these units.

4. For purposes of this report, the paramilitary forces operating in the territory of the former Yugoslavia can be classified into four categories: Special Forces, "Militias", "Paramilitary units", and "police augmented by armed civilians". 2/ Special Forces usually operate with substantial autonomy under the command of an identified leader. They operate in several theatres, and sometimes engage in joint operations with the regular militaries. These groups are supplied, and often trained, by the governments they serve. Many of these Special Forces report solely to senior political officials. "Militias" consist of members of the former Territorial Defence Forces. They frequently operate jointly, in the geographic area from which they originate under the command of the regular army. "Paramilitary units" are forces under the command of a local leader. Their area of operation is often confined to the town or village from which the members were drawn, although they may occasionally operate alongside similar groups in other towns or villages. The "police augmented by armed civilians" are forces that operate within a given county 3/ under local, sometimes political, leadership. These forces frequently act with autonomy, although they are reported to be under the control of the Ministry of Interior or other political organizations. For purposes of this report, groups from these categories will be referred to generically as paramilitary groups, unless otherwise indicated.

5. This report attempts to identify the paramilitary organizations working

in support of all three warring factions in the former Yugoslavia. It also discusses how these groups operate in relation to the regular military command of the respective factions. Furthermore, this report discusses the reported activity of these groups.

6. This report begins with a discussion of the research methodology, and is followed by a brief discussion of the pre-conflict military defence doctrine of the former Yugoslavia. This doctrine, with its reliance on a decentralized command structure and locally-based weapons caches, provided fertile ground for the creation of paramilitary groups. This discussion is followed by a summary analysis of the data. Section II discusses the activity of six of the most prolific paramilitary organizations: the Green Berets and Mujahedin, working in support of the government of BiH; the HOS and troops under the command of Jusuf Prazina, working in support of the Croatian government; and those groups under the command of Vojislav Šešelj and Željko Ražnjatović (nom de guerre Arkan), working in support of the government of Serbia and the self-declared Serb Republics. Section III is a listing of the other identified paramilitary organizations containing all reported vital statistics, and Section IV discusses paramilitary activity by geographic location.

A. Methodology

7. This report is based on information contained in documents and audio and video tapes received by the Commission of Experts and the International Human Rights Law Institute (IHRLI), as well as on information gathered from searches of the NEXIS and FBIS media databases. All of the organizations referred to in paragraph 4 operated in substitution for, or supplementing, a regular military force. 4/ All documents and media reports in the possession of IHRLI were reviewed, and those containing allegations of paramilitary activity were analysed. A large number of these reports referred to paramilitary groups generically (i.e., Serbian paramilitaries or irregular forces). Although these reports were consulted, only those reports referring to a paramilitary organization by name (i.e., Tigers, Yellow Ants), or by specific leaders or group members (i.e., paramilitary forces under Dragan Ikanović), are included in the statistical data below.

8. Information sheets were created for each identified paramilitary organization containing the following information: name of unit, ethnicity, uniform, number of troops, place of origin, area(s) of operation, political affiliation, leader(s), alleged members, source of information, and the alleged activity. These information sheets were then used to compare information on the paramilitary groups in a standardized format.

9. This report is limited by the quality and quantity of the documents received by the Commission. In addition, the Commission was not able to verify much of the information that it received. Consequently, this report should not be considered all inclusive, though it is comprehensive. Subsequent investigation may identify additional paramilitary groups and facts that have not yet been discovered that may bear upon the information contained in this report.

B. Brief military history 5/

10. Stalin's expulsion of Yugoslavia from the Cominform led to fears of a Soviet invasion. These fears resulted in the development of a new military defence doctrine in the former Yugoslavia called "Total National Defence". 6/ This doctrine was designed to defeat a Soviet invasion by mobilizing all of the nation's cultural, societal, and military resources.

The Communist party apparatus was tightly integrated into the military scheme, with the military structures accommodating a "shadow" chain of command responsible to the Communist party.

11. Yugoslav military strategists realized national command, control, and communications facilities were vulnerable. Therefore, they decentralized the system of command and control. The governments of the various republics would participate with the federal government for regional defence.

12. This strategy required universal military service and coordinated training in guerilla warfare. This ensured that cadres of soldiers, trained in guerrilla warfare, would be available nationwide and capable of operating in a decentralized command fashion. Training facilities, weapons caches, and supply stores were placed throughout the country. The military also organized reserve units (Territorial Defence Forces) around workplaces to ensure the wide distribution of weapons.

13. Thus, with the breakup of the former Yugoslavia, trained soldiers were available for mobilization, and weapons and ammunition were also available for distribution to national and local political or military leaders and their followers. These leaders sometimes used these resources to further their own political, military, or personal goals. This, along with the other factors, led to the proliferation of paramilitaries throughout the republics of the former Yugoslavia.

C. Summary analysis

14. This study found that:

(a) There are at least 83 identified paramilitary groups operating in the territories of the former Yugoslavia: 56 are working in support of FRY and the self-declared Serbian Republics; 7/ 13 are working in support of the Republic of Croatia; and 14 are working in support of BiH;

(b) The number of paramilitary groups, and the size of each group, has varied throughout the course of the conflict. The number and size of the groups rise, for example, when the conflict intensifies. The reports received indicate only a rough approximation of paramilitary troop strength. The number of persons in paramilitary groups fighting in support of BiH range from 4,000 to 6,000; between 12,000 and 20,000 have supported the Republic of Croatia; and between 20,000 and 40,000 paramilitaries have fought on behalf of the self-declared Serb Republics; 8/

(c) In addition to the 83 paramilitary groups, there are groups which consist of persons who have been drawn essentially from outside the former Yugoslavia. Three groups specifically mentioned are the Mujahedin (operating with the BiH Army), the Garibaldi Unit (an Italian unit operating alongside the Croats), and Russian Mercenaries (operating in conjunction with the Serbs). There are also general reports of the presence of mercenaries from Denmark, Finland, Sweden, the United Kingdom, and the United States; 9/

(d) Paramilitary activity has been reported in 72 separate counties, 10/ but the vast majority has occurred in BiH. 11/

15. The first report of paramilitary activity occurred in April of 1991. However, Arkan and Vojislav Šešelj began forming paramilitary organizations as early as 1990. The first reported paramilitary operation involved Šešelj's troops in Vukovar County, Croatia. The most active period for Serb paramilitary activity in Croatia was in October of 1991. Those areas

reporting the greatest amount of paramilitary activity in Croatia were Knin, Podravska Slatina, and Vukovar.

16. There were no reports of paramilitary activity in BiH until early 1992. The first reports concerned paramilitary groups supported by Arkan and Šešelj. The activity in BiH was strongest in May and June of 1992 in the areas of Bijeljina, Bratunac, Brčko, Doboj, Foča, Konjic, Modriča, Prijedor, Sarajevo, Višegrad, and Zvornik.

17. Paramilitary groups working in support of FRY, or the self-proclaimed Serbian Republics, have operated in the territories of BiH, Croatia, and FRY. Those groups working in support of Croatia were reported to have operated in both BiH and Croatia, while those supporting BiH have not been involved in operations outside BiH territory. 12/

18. The vast majority of the paramilitaries acted locally, with their operations confined to a single county, or opština. 13/ They operated under the command of a local leader with local command and control. These groups would often coordinate their operations with regular forces or other paramilitaries. 14/ The local groups would then take control of the area after it had been secured.

19. The most active paramilitary groups operating throughout the area of conflict were the Serb groups under the command of Arkan and Šešelj. 15/

20. Reliance on, or tolerance of, paramilitary and special forces served several purposes for the military and political leaders of the respective republics. It clouded the issue of command and control, reduced the chances of being identified, and therefore permitted the greater use of illegal violence. Many of these groups, for example, did not wear uniforms or other conventional military badges or symbols.

21. Involvement of paramilitary groups in the commission of grave breaches of the Geneva Conventions and other violations of international humanitarian law is alleged in the vast majority of the reports in which paramilitary groups are mentioned. The most frequently reported violations are the killing of civilians, torture, rape, destruction of property, and looting. 16/ There is also a strong correlation between reports of paramilitary activity and reports of rape and sexual assault, detention facilities, and mass graves. These types of activities (i.e., paramilitary activity and grave breaches of the Geneva Conventions) tended to occur in the same counties 17/ and evidence the localized nature of the activity.

22. FRY, Croatia, and BiH used paramilitary forces. However, the disproportionate number of paramilitary and special forces of Serbian ethnicity indicates that the Serbs more heavily relied on the use of special forces to accomplish their military and strategic goals. Of 39 counties where Serb paramilitary activity was reported, Serb paramilitary units were operating in conjunction with the JNA in 24 of them. In comparison there were reports for five counties of joint operations between forces operating in support of Croatia, the Croatian Army (HV), and the Croatian Defence Council (HVO), 18/ and reports for only two counties of joint operations between the Army of BiH and forces operating in support of the Government of BiH.

23. The JNA was operating with the highest paramilitary activity in eight counties simultaneously: Bijeljina, Bratunac, Brčko, Doboj, Prijedor, Sarajevo, Višegrad, and Zvornik. Excluding Sarajevo, these counties are within the strategic arc the Serbs need to link all Serbian populations from BiH and Croatia within a contiguous Serbian state.

24. There is substantial evidence that Serbian government or military officials have coordinated, or at least have been aware of, the activities of the Serbian paramilitary or special forces:

(a) Serbian paramilitary units operating in Croatia have worn federal army uniforms and used JNA topographical maps; 19/

(b) There are reports of Serbian paramilitary groups or special forces entering a county at the invitation of local political leaders. In Prijedor, a Bosnian Serb government spokesman explained their use of Arkan: "He is very expensive, but also very efficient";

(c) In 36 of the 67 counties in which there were reports of Serbian paramilitary activity, there was a coordination of operations between two or more groups. In comparison, only six of the 17 counties had reported paramilitary activity in support of Croatia and five of the 11 counties had reported paramilitary activity in support of BiH;

(d) Fifteen of the 55 identified groups operated in more than one county, again suggesting a coordination of activity, compared to five Croatian and four working in support of BiH in more than one county.

D. General observations

25. While paramilitary groups have links to their respective governments, the nature of these links vary according to which agency furnishes funds, supplies, and military equipment to the group. Thus, Arkan is said to have strong links to Serbia's Ministry of Interior. The HOS in Croatia have links to political figures in that country, and the Green Berets have links to the Presidency of BiH. Control of the paramilitary groups is largely a function of the internal politics of the warring factions.

26. Members of ethnic and religious groups, such as Serbs, Croats, and Bosnian Muslims residing outside of the territory of the former Yugoslavia, have participated in the conflict as mercenaries. Some members of these groups, as well as persons of other nationalities, have been paid by the "warring faction" which they supported. 20/

27. In most cases, paramilitary groups have coordinated their activities with the armies of the "warring factions". The groups that have operated with the most independence are the HOS in Croatia and the Mujahedin in BiH. The smaller the group, the greater the tendency to operate outside of the army's control.

28. In many counties, Serbian special forces supported the work of local "crisis committees" when local militia or local police were unavailable. This further evidences the localized nature of most paramilitary activity. In some respects, it also reflects the doctrines of guerilla warfare inspired by Tito's World War II experience.

29. In BiH, Serb paramilitary activity was at its greatest level in the second half of 1992. During this period, immediately after the JNA was officially withdrawn, there was disorganization and confusion within the regular armed forces of the Bosnian Serb Army. This led to a lack of command and control, and it was during this period that the greatest number of violations by Serb paramilitary groups occurred.

30. Serb paramilitary members have been recruited largely from the population of persons between the ages of 18 to 30. This population of young

persons is more capable of violence and less susceptible to control than older age cohorts. Paramilitary members have also been recruited from prisons. It has been reported that persons convicted of violent offences were released to fight in BiH. The Army apparently had the first pick from among these offenders. The others served in paramilitary units.

31. Most of the paramilitary units sustained themselves through lootings, thefts, ransoms and trafficking in contraband. This is especially true of the groups associated with Arkan, as discussed below.

32. The largest number of violations were committed by Serb paramilitary groups fighting in BiH in support of the breakaway Serb Republic. This can be explained, in part, by the following: There are more Serb paramilitary groups than those fighting on behalf of the other warring factions; Serb paramilitary groups have more members than the other groups; Serb paramilitary groups have operated over a wider range of territory, thus they have been in contact with a larger number of potential victims; and the Serbs have pushed a policy of "ethnic cleansing" on a wider scale than the other groups.

II. MAJOR SPECIAL FORCES WORKING IN SUPPORT OF THE GOVERNMENTS OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA (BiH), CROATIA, FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF YUGOSLAVIA (FRY), AND THE SO-CALLED "BOSNIAN SERB REPUBLIC" AND "SERB REPUBLIC OF KRAJINA"

A. Introduction

33. As mentioned earlier, this study identifies 83 separate paramilitary forces operating in the former Yugoslavia. Six of these forces are discussed in greater detail below. These are the Green Berets and Mujahedin operating in support of the government of BiH, the HOS and Juka's Army 21/ operating in support of the Republic of Croatia, and the forces under the command of Arkan, 22/ and Šešelj, 23/ operating in support of FRY and the self-declared Serbian Republics in BiH and Croatia. These forces receive special attention because of the scope and significance of their military operations; their direct links to their respective governments and the regular militaries of those governments; the numerous allegations that these forces have committed "grave breaches" of the Geneva Conventions and other violations of international humanitarian law; and, in the case of Arkan and Šešelj, their political prominence.

B. Forces operating in support of BiH - the Green Berets and Mujahedin

1. The Green Berets

(a) Scope of military operations

34. Reports received by the Commission on the activities of BiH paramilitary units were essentially supplied by opposing warring factions. Their designations may not necessarily reflect those of the BiH paramilitary units. Thus, there is not a single unit called the Green Berets or the MOS, but several units which may have different names, but are identified as Green Berets or MOS. For example, the 7th Muslimanska Brigada is often referred to as MOS. It should also be noted that the Patriotic League was the political organization which organized cells of resistance fighters, many of whom had served in the JNA or seen action in Croatia in 1991. References hereinafter to the Green Berets does not, therefore, specifically identify the real BiH

name of the unit, if any.

35. Most paramilitary organizations working in support of the government of BiH are referred to by others as "Green Berets" or "MOS". It is important to note that several different paramilitary units wore green berets. Therefore, there was no one unit called the "Green Berets". However, the reports of the violations committed by units wearing green berets are combined here under one section. The units wearing green berets were reportedly active in at least 17 counties throughout BiH. 24/ They have often acted with the Muslim Territorial Defence (MTD), and at times with the Croatian Defence Forces (HOS), the Croatian Defence Council (HVO), other Muslim paramilitary groups, and local Bosnians. 25/ They were reported to be conducting operations against the JNA, Serbian military and paramilitary groups the Croatian Liberation Union, and in some instances the HVO. 26/ The total number of Green Berets troops is unknown. 27/

36. The Green Berets appear to be well-armed, 28/ yet there is no clear information indicating from where or whom they received their weapons. It has been reported that Turkey supplied the Green Berets. The Turkish Prime Minister, Suleyman Demirel, denied this during a meeting with then Prime Minister of FRY, Milan Panić. 29/

37. Most of the reported Green Beret activity occurred between April 1992 and June 1993, with the highest level of reported activity occurring between May and September of 1992. These activities were directed by the Patriotic League.

(b) Ties with the Government and regular military of BiH

38. The well-armed Green Berets often acted alongside regular army battalions and often conducted large-scale operations throughout the territory of BiH. This was in furtherance of the government's strategic goals, which implies the government was exerting some command and control over this group.

39. In the 21 October 1992 attack on Vitez, the Green Berets reportedly acted under the command of MTD and their commander Rasim Delić. It was reported that this attack was carried out under the orders of the MTD's Supreme headquarters in Sarajevo. 30/

40. It has also been reported that the units that wear the green berets are loyal to President Alija Izetbegović. Since 1993, the Green Berets are reported to be under the command and control of the BiH army. However, as stated before, several different units wore green berets. Therefore, there is not a single unit per se called the "Green Berets" under the control of the BiH army. Rather, there could be several different paramilitary groups wearing green berets under its control.

(c) Allegations of violations

41. Several reports allege that the Green Berets have committed grave breaches of the Geneva Conventions and other violations of international humanitarian law. The Green Berets have been implicated in the killing of civilians, rapes, the operation of prison camps (in which civilians were unlawfully detained and sometimes tortured or killed), the destruction of property, and interference with humanitarian aid.

(d) Summary of reported paramilitary activity 31/

42. Green Berets were highly active in military operations throughout BiH. Many reports indicate that in the second half of 1992, the Green Berets conducted joint operations with the HVO. In July 1992, both forces launched an offensive on the Dubrovnik-Trebinje front in the south-west section of BiH. 32/ In September 1992, the Green Berets and HVO attacked the villages of Dobrinja, Otočac, Rajlovac, Stup, Vogošća, Žuč, and all suburbs of Sarajevo. 33/ On 10 November 1992, the Green Berets and HVO forces unsuccessfully attempted to join in Gradacac due to the HVO's inability to break through Serbian lines. 34/

43. When conducting offensives against towns or villages, the Green Berets, in some instances, are reported to have targeted schools, residences, and local industries. 35/

44. In addition to military activity against other armed forces, there are also many instances in which Green Berets directed military action against innocent civilians. Five reports describe Green Berets as "picking up" Serb civilians for questioning about the location of Serb camps and weapons. 36/ Serbs were usually taken from their homes to camps or other detention facilities. Torture was often used in questioning. 37/ Those arrested were often kept in detention for unreasonably long periods of time after questioning.

45. There are three reports of women being picked up and taken to camps for the purpose of being raped. 38/ One report states that a young Serbian woman was arrested by two Green Berets and taken to Viktor Bubanj in Sarajevo where she was questioned and raped repeatedly. She only indicates that she was raped by "Muslim soldiers" and does not specifically indicate that the Green Berets were involved. 39/ Another report suggests that the Green Berets in the village of Dzepa converted a house into a rape camp in the months of July and August 1992. 40/ It was also reported that the Green Berets would rape women upon seizing a village. In Bradina, for example, 15 women were reportedly raped in a local school when the village was attacked in July 1992. 41/ Many of these incidents and others are described in Annex IX, Rape and Sexual Assault.

46. There are several reports of Green Berets killing Serb civilians. In some instances these civilians were killed during the attacks of villages and ambushes of transit caravans. 42/ Of particular note is an attack on Bradina on or near 25 May 1992. Eight hundred Green Berets from Hrasnica are reported to have acted with the HVO from Kosovo and Muslim villagers from the surrounding area in a large-scale attack on Bradina. 43/ It was reported that between 3,500 and 4,000 people took part in this attack. Fifty-seven Serb refugees who were in Bradina were killed and buried in the churchyard of an Orthodox Church. 44/ In other instances, Green Berets entered prison camps to take Serbs to be raped or killed. 45/ The most graphic killings are reported to have occurred at the Koševo Stadium in Sarajevo.

2. Mujahedin

(a) Introduction

47. Mujahedin, or "holy warriors", is a generic term for Muslim volunteers fighting in the former Yugoslavia. Many Mujahedin originate from Muslim countries outside the former Yugoslavia. It was reported that the Mujahedin began arriving in BiH as early as June 1992. 46/ Reports on the number of Mujahedin forces operating in BiH vary, but it is unlikely that the Mujahedin

forces have made a significant military contribution to the BiH Government's war effort. 47/ The Mujahedin forces came from several Muslim states and many of them were veterans of the Afghan war. 48/

48. The Mujahedin forces were reported to be under the command of the BiH Army. 49/ However, they frequently acted with independence and their presence is no longer welcomed. 50/ They are alleged to be terrorizing the Muslims they came to protect in an effort to enforce Islamic practices. 51/ Their presence, the Serbs and Croats have argued, is evidence that the Bosnian Muslims intend on turning BiH into a fundamentalist Muslim state. 52/

(b) Scope of military activity

49. Mujahedin forces were actively involved in military operations in seven counties throughout BiH. 53/ The dates of reported activity range from June 1992 through June 1993, with the heaviest activity reported in Travnik, Zenica, and Konjic.

(c) Ties with the Government and regular military of BiH

50. Several reports indicate that the Mujahedin were placed under the command of the BiH Army. 54/ The Mujahedin forces were closely associated with the 5th Corps, the 6th and 7th Zenica Brigades, the 7th Travnik Brigade, and the 45th Muslim Brigade which belongs to the 6th Corps in Konjic of the Army of BiH. 55/ They also allegedly fought alongside the Muslim Police, the Krajiška Brigade from Travnik, units of Kosovo Muslims, Albanian soldiers, and paramilitary groups such as the "Green Legion" and the "Black Swans". 56/

51. Reports also indicate that the Mujahedin had the support of President Izetbegović and his government. 57/ This was demonstrated in the Bihać pocket, where the Mujahedin joined BiH forces loyal to Izetbegović. Together, these forces battled separatist forces who entered into a separate peace treaty with Bosnian Serbs. 58/

(d) Allegations of war crimes

52. Reports submitted to the Commission of Experts alleged that the Mujahedin have been responsible for the mutilation and killing of civilians, rape, looting, the destruction of property, and the expulsion of non-Muslim populations. The deputy commander of the BiH Army, Colonel Stjepan Šiber, has said, "it was a mistake to let them [the Mujahedin] here . . . They commit most of the atrocities and work against the interests of the Muslim people. They have been killing, looting and stealing." 59/

(e) Summary of reported paramilitary activity 60/

53. In Zenica, between 31 August and 2 September 1992, 250 Mujahedin troops allegedly come to BiH from Turkey, Qatar, Bahrain and Iran. These troops worked alongside the Green Legion and HOS paramilitary groups stationed in Zenica. The Mujahedin allegedly also operated a camp at Arnauti. 61/ It was reported that a unit of the Mujahedin, called the "Guerilla", participated in the 16 April 1993 attack on Vitez and attempted to exchange 10 HVO hostages for foreign prisoners held in HVO prisons. 62/

54. The Croatian Ministry of Defence is reported to have provided information about an event occurring in June 1993 -- a joint BiH/Mujahedin unit reportedly attacked Travnik, allegedly forcing 4,000 Croatian civilians and military personnel out of the town. 63/ The Mujahedin allegedly fought alongside the 6th Muslim Brigade from Zenica and the Krajiška Brigade from Travnik. Witnesses stated that they saw Mujahedin operating in small patrols ahead of the approaching BiH troops. 64/

55. According to HVO intelligence, Mujahedin forces arrived in Travnik sometime before June 1993 and came from Algeria, Pakistan, Afghanistan and Iran. The Mujahedin trained at a camp at Mehurići, where they were allegedly financed and equipped by a man named Abdulah, the owner of the "Palma" video store in Travnik. 65/ Once in town, the Mujahedin were linked to the Seventh Brigade of the BiH Army, and were reportedly assembled into units of 10 to 15 men, and moved about on regular patrols. 66/ The Mujahedin created tension in Travnik in the days prior to the attack on 3 June. One witness stated that the Mujahedin directed their actions towards the HVO personnel in town. They allegedly demonstrated, shouted slogans and fired their rifles in the air. 67/

56. Mujahedin allegedly participated in the attack on Maljine in Novi Travnik on 8 June 1993, killing 20 to 30 HVO members and transporting Croatian women and children to the training centre at Mehurići. 68/

57. In Konjic, the Mujahedin were part of a 100 member force stationed at Liscioi and led by Haso Hakalović. The unit was assembled in February 1993 and included some Kosovo Muslims and members of the Black Swans from the Igman mountain region. 69/ Allegedly, Mujahedin troops killed and expelled villagers, and looted and burned homes, when they moved against the Jablanica-Konjic area. 70/ The Mujahedin troops and members of the Black Swans reportedly conducted occasional raids without members of BiH forces. 71/ Reportedly, the Mujahedin volunteers arrived in Konjic in small groups. It was reported that they were from Afghanistan and that they claimed to be students. They were allegedly armed with Hekleri automatic weapons and former JNA equipment. 72/ Some Mujahedin were reportedly former students with no military experience.

58. Mujahedin forces were present in Mostar since early June 1993. They were reportedly stationed in the Šantića neighbourhood on the Muslim/HVO front, where they manned bunkers, usually in groups of six or seven, armed with 7.62 millimetre semi-automatic weapons, machine-guns, and Zolja anti-tank weapons. They were billeted in a building they shared with the Muslim military police on the east bank of the Neretva River. The Mujahedin forces apparently left Mostar on 15 August. 73/

59. FRY reported that the Mujahedin began operations near Teslić in July and August of 1992. Troops from Saudi Arabia allegedly killed three Serbian Territorial Defence members and placed the victims' severed heads on poles near the "Tešanj turret". 74/ Beheadings of Serbs by Mujahedin forces have also been reported in other areas.

60. The Mujahedin were also alleged to be part of the forces that invaded the village of Trusina near Foča on 15 April 1993. According to the report, attackers wore white ribbons on their arms and fought beside Albanian Muslim troops. Twenty-two civilians reportedly died in the attack. 75/ The Mujahedin allegedly performed crude circumcisions upon Serbian police forces, who were later treated by an American surgeon at the Koševo hospital in Sarajevo. 76/

C. Paramilitaries operating in support of the Croatian Government

1. The Croatian Defence Forces (HOS)

(a) Introduction

61. Dobroslav Paraga formed the HOS in 1991 as the paramilitary wing of the Croatian Party of Rights (HSP). The HOS fought Serbian rebels in Croatia and Bosnian Serb rebels throughout western BiH until August 1992. Under General Blaž Kraljević, the HOS established paramilitary headquarters at Ljubuški, BiH, but the HOS reportedly took orders from Zagreb. Local Croats and Muslims, Croatian emigres and foreign mercenaries all fought for the HOS. Muslim fighters reportedly joined the Croatian HOS because its leaders pledged to keep the territory of BiH intact. 77/ According to military analyst Dr. Milan Vego, Muslims made up 30 per cent of HOS forces and at least 50 per cent in the Mostar area in March 1992. 78/

62. The HOS reportedly wore black uniforms bearing the Croatian checkered shield, 79/ that were similar to those worn by the Ustaše of the Second World War. The HOS also were reported to use the Ustaše form of saluting. They carried Kalashnikov rifles, Scorpions, Uzis, shotguns, and daggers. 80/ They detained large numbers of Serbian civilians from Čapljina and Mostar counties at the Dretelj military facilities south-west of Sarajevo and in detention centres situated along the Dalmatian coast. Villages near Bradina and Donje Selo were reportedly targets of HOS ethnic cleansing operations. According to witness accounts, HOS units often operated alongside Muslim Green Berets, who fought in support of the government of BiH.

63. Because of its success in fighting Serb forces throughout the summer of 1992, the HOS gained many new members. However, HOS strength was undermined after General Blaž Kraljević was killed in early August 1992. In an effort to maintain unity, the HVO and the HOS signed an agreement on 23 August 1992, which officially linked the two forces under the banner of the HVO. 81/ By the early months of 1993 when relations between the Croatian and Muslim forces fighting in western BiH broke down, Muslim civilians and former HOS soldiers became a target of the HVO. As a result, camps like Dretelj, which released many of the Serbian inmates imprisoned by the HOS, began filling up with Muslim soldiers and civilians captured in fighting between Muslim forces and the HVO. 82/

(b) Scope of military activity

64. The HOS operated in Croatia and in Konjic, Mostar, Sarajevo, Bosanski Brod, Novi Travnik, and Zenica Counties in BiH. The HOS reportedly ran camps where civilians were tortured, raped and killed. Their detention facilities ranged from metal sheds in Čapljina to large camps like Dretelj in south-western BiH, where 500 prisoners were reportedly held.

(c) Ties with the Croatian Government and with the regular army

65. Formed as the paramilitary wing of the ultra-right HSP, the HOS reportedly trained soldiers at former JNA facilities in Slovenia 83/ and was supplied, in part, by the Republic of Croatia. 84/ There are also reports that HOS units served directly under the regular Croatian army. A Croatian military court tried HSP leader, Dobroslav Paraga, in 1993 for attempting to overthrow the Croatian Government. A Reuters report on the trial stated that the "majority of HOS units were proved to be under Croatian Army Command". 85/ After 1993, the HOS soldiers were integrated into the HVO.

(d) Allegations of war crimes

66. Witness statements, media accounts, and reports from FRY allege that HOS paramilitary units committed grave breaches of the Geneva Conventions and other violations of international humanitarian law in Croatia and in BiH. The HOS reportedly looted, destroyed Serbian property, including 24 Orthodox churches, and killed, raped, and mutilated civilians, including women and children. They also engaged in ethnic cleansing and operated detention facilities where civilians were starved and tortured.

(e) Summary of reported paramilitary activity 86/

67. Reports sent to the Commission of Experts allege that the HOS detained civilians, including women and children, in facilities in Croatia and in BiH. These prisoners were often killed or abused by members of the HOS. An officer, whose name is known but not disclosed for confidentiality and prosecutorial reasons, and other HOS members allegedly kept 40 women confined in a metal shed, which was a former munitions warehouse outside of Čapljina. 87/ An HOS unit and a Muslim paramilitary unit controlled the "Viktor Bubanj" detention facility in Sarajevo, where Serbian civilians were subjected to killing, torture, and rape. 88/ An identified HOS member allegedly interrogated prisoners at a secondary school (perhaps at Ahmići). 89/ A witness alleged that she was taken from her home in Čapljina to a tobacco factory where she was raped by members of the HOS. 90/ From April to October 1992, the HOS ran the Dretelj detention facility, which contained civilians from the Mostar and Čapljina municipalities. 91/ Victims stated that they were subjected to sexual torture, beaten with truncheons and sticks, burned with cigarettes and candles, and forced to drink urine and eat grass. 92/ One victim reported that she was held in a room with three other professional women for 10 days during which time women in the room were raped repeatedly. 93/

68. During the spring of 1992, the HOS and Muslim Green Berets reportedly burned two villages in southern BiH, Donje Selo, and Bradina, and sent the inhabitants to nearby detention facilities. Donje Selo was attacked first. Bradina was attacked on 25 May 1992. The HOS transferred women prisoners to Konjic Sports Hall, where some of the victims were raped. The men were taken to Čelebići camp. The HOS returned to Bradina on 13 July burned the town, and imprisoned all those who remained in an elementary school. Many civilians allegedly died in the attacks. 94/

69. The FRY Mission to the United Nations reported that two Serbian civilians were tortured for a month before being killed at an HOS detention facility at Ljubuški. One of the victims was impaled and burned to death and the other was killed with a knife. 95/

70. In Croatia, the HOS allegedly operated the Lora camp at Split and detention facilities at Tomislavgrad and Metković. All of these facilities reportedly held prisoners from the Čapljina municipality of BiH. 96/

71. Many witnesses alleged that the HOS killed civilians outside of the camps as well, often in the victims' homes or villages. In mid-1992, members of the HOS allegedly killed a man and his daughter outside the B. Lalić school in Novi Travnik. On 6 May 1992, in Majevijske, BiH, members of the HOS allegedly stabbed a man over 100 times, severed his head, spilled his brains and intestines onto the ground, and cut off his genitals and placed them in his mouth. 97/

72. The HOS reportedly looted and stole from civilians throughout the

regions where they operated. Statements report forced entries into apartments and theft of valuables including money, jewelry, and documents. In Kakanj, the HOS reportedly confiscated and rented out apartments. 98/

73. HOS units allegedly destroyed property in BiH and in Croatia. 99/ During the summer of 1992, members of the HOS destroyed 24 Orthodox churches and two monasteries. 100/

2. Paramilitary forces under the command of Jusuf Prazina, alias "Juka"

(a) Introduction

74. According to The Daily Telegraph, Jusuf Prazina, alias Juka, was a racketeer and underworld figure in Sarajevo before hostilities broke out in April 1992. During the war, Juka and his troops are reported to have killed and raped civilians in Sarajevo and Mostar. He allegedly took hundreds of prisoners, looted houses, stole cars, and handed out Mostar apartments to the HVO. According to these reports, he never stopped racketeering; throughout the siege of Sarajevo, Juka reportedly controlled the black market, which included stolen United Nations humanitarian supplies. 101/

75. Juka, who was 30 years old in 1992, admitted being sent to jail five times before the war. He survived an armed assault outside the military hospital in Sarajevo in May of 1992, sustaining injuries which caused him to limp. 102/

76. Juka attained notoriety by using his weapons and small, private army to defend Sarajevo during the Serbian assault. His men were allegedly armed with sawed-off shotguns, Kalishnikovs, Kochs/Hecklers. 103/ Estimates of the number of men under Juka's command during his two year involvement in the conflict range from 24 to 3,000. His troops, called the "Wolves", reportedly wore crew-cuts, black jump-suits, sunglasses, basketball shoes, and sometimes masks. 104/

77. Juka joined forces with the HVO in early 1993. After the formal break between Bosnian Muslims and Croats later that spring, Juka sided with the Croats and fought alongside the HVO in Mostar, where he apparently led ethnic cleansing operations against Muslim civilians. Juka had already been forced off Mount Igman (near Sarajevo) and most of his men jailed in January 1993.

78. Juka reportedly flew from Sarajevo to Zagreb with the assistance of UNPROFOR and French Lieutenant General Philippe Morillon. 105/ He lived for a time in a villa on the Dalmatian coast, given to him by the Croatian authorities, and later moved to Liege, Belgium, where a small Yugoslav expatriate community resided. He was killed there by one of his body guards by two gunshots to the head on 3 December 1993. 106/

(b) Scope of military activity

79. Juka operated first with his own private army in Sarajevo, commanded up to 3,000 men as a BiH Army commander, and later led paramilitary forces in Mostar. In the fall of 1992, Juka reportedly set up a stronghold on Mount Igman from which he attacked soldiers and civilians. He also reportedly ran prison camps including the Viktor Bubanj military facilities and the heliport detention centre outside of Mostar. Many of the prisoners at both camps were reportedly malnourished, physically abused, and killed. Juka was defeated by Zuka in January 1993.

(c) Ties with the Croatian and BiH Governments
and with the regular army

80. Due to his early success in defending Sarajevo, the BiH Government granted Juka a position as Head of Special Forces during the summer of 1992. 107/ Before his appointment to a regular army position, Juka and his men reportedly received arms through the HSP paramilitary organization, the HOS. 108/ In September, he reportedly fell out with the Sarajevo authorities over what he perceived as the failure of commander-in-chief Sefer Halilović's plans for defeating the attacking Serbian forces. 109/ He was asked to resign his position as part of the General Staff after an allegedly threatening confrontation with Alija Izetbegović at his offices in Sarajevo. 110/ His renegade activities involving his private army and his alarming attitude towards the BiH authorities ultimately led them to issue a warrant for his arrest in October 1992. 111/ By January 1993, a Sarajevo radio broadcast stated that Juka was being sought for "permanently working to break up the order and hierarchy in the armed forces of the Republic of BiH". 112/

81. After severing his ties to the BiH Government, Juka reportedly stationed himself and approximately 200 men on Mt. Igman overlooking the city of Sarajevo. On Mount Igman, Juka battled the BiH Army, attacking their headquarters and General Staff. According to The Daily Telegraph, much of the fall and winter witnessed battles between Juka and the BiH Government forces on the mountain. Command on Igman was reportedly split between the regular army and forces loyal to Juka, which included some Muslim soldiers and the HVO. In December 1992, the BiH Government, hoping to break the Serbian siege of the city, reportedly supplied the Mount Igman force with artillery and T-34, T-55, and Leopard-I tanks. 113/

82. After Juka joined forces with the HVO in Mostar, Croatian authorities reportedly supplied him with a villa on the Dalmatian coast where he stayed before relocating to Belgium during the fall of 1993. 114/

(d) Allegations of war crimes

83. Paramilitary forces operating under Juka reportedly operated in Sarajevo and Mostar counties, BiH. Media accounts, witness statements, and reports submitted to the Commission of Experts allege that Juka and his men ran detention facilities for Serbian civilians near Sarajevo and for Muslims at the heliport near Mostar. On Mount Igman, Juka's paramilitaries allegedly hijacked vehicles and detained civilians. Juka's forces reportedly practised extortion, looting, rape, ethnic cleansing, and killing of civilians.

(e) Summary of reported paramilitary activity 115/

84. It was reported that Juka's forces abused their position as the city's defenders to extort money and valuables from residents and raid the city's warehouses and shops. Witnesses stated that Juka's men appropriated apartments and abducted and abused civilians. 116/ One witness claimed that three members of Juka's army and a commander entered an apartment and raped a woman on 30 September 1992. According to the report, the woman died as a result of the attack. 117/ The Washington Post reported that Juka's army looted the Yugo Sport warehouse and stole 20,000 pairs of shoes. 118/

85. As head of the BiH Army's paramilitary units, Juka became the warden of a prison camp set up in the Viktor Bubanj army barracks. The detention

facility became known as "Viktor Bubanj", but was also called "Juka's Prison". Over 200 prisoners were held there and subjected to torture, hunger, and hard labour. The camp commander allegedly committed many criminal acts, including rape and murder. 119/

86. On Mount Igman, Juka beat and stole from soldiers and civilians alike regardless of nationality. He reportedly confiscated automobiles and, according to The Daily Telegraph, beat one fleeing civilian's head against the hood of a car. 120/

87. Juka and his men reportedly conducted ethnic cleansing operations in Mostar after joining forces with the HVO. Juka's forces evicted, imprisoned, physically abused, and killed many civilians. The London Times reported in May 1993, that Juka and his men drove out every Muslim civilian living in Mostar on the west bank of the Neretva river to "deny vantage points to snipers". 121/ Homes were looted and men were beaten up and arrested. 122/ Witnesses stated that sometime before 15 July 1993, Juka's forces allegedly evicted the wealthy Muslim residents of Mostar from their apartments, which were then looted and turned over to members of the HVO paramilitary formations. According to reports, Juka's forces were masked and heavily armed when they surrounded the apartments. They then blocked exits, fired their weapons in the air, and demanded that all Muslim residents evacuate the building. 123/ Witnesses stated that Juka and his men killed as many as 700 people in and around Mostar and that they ran detention facilities for Muslim civilians at the heliport outside the city. 124/

D. Paramilitary forces operating in support of FRY and the self-proclaimed Serb Republic in Croatia and BiH

1. Scope of military operations

88. Šešelj's and Arkan's troops were the most active of all the paramilitary groups identified. Šešelj's troops were reported to have operated in 34 counties 125/ and Arkan's troops in 28 counties throughout BiH, Croatia, and FRY. 126/ The vast majority of these counties are located within BiH. These counties lie within the strategic arc the Serbs need to control in order to link all Serbian populations in BiH, Croatia, and Serbia. 127/ Once linked, the counties could form a contiguous Serbian state.

89. Šešelj began organizing and arming his paramilitary forces in late 1990 and early 1991. The first reported activity of his troops was on 1 April 1991, six weeks before Stipe Mesić, a Croatian, was to become president of the collective head of state of the former Yugoslavia. Šešelj's operation took place in the Vukovar village of Borovo. His troops were sent to the region to protect local Serbs. They surrounded and attacked two local police patrols, injuring five policemen, one critically. 128/ In mid-July, Šešelj's Serbian Radical Party (SRS) announced its intention to form volunteer forces in the Krajina region of Croatia. 129/ In August 1991, in an interview with Der Spiegel, Šešelj said his troops were sent "from Belgrade to the crises areas" in Croatia and BiH. He stated, "If there are 20 to 30 Četniks in every village, this is sufficient to encourage the people there". 130/ Šešelj's troops were allegedly involved in the first paramilitary operations in BiH in April 1992.

90. Arkan's first reported involvement in the conflict came on 28 November 1990. Arkan was present at a meeting of the "council of war" of the Knin uprising. 131/ On the way back from the meeting, Arkan and his three companions were arrested in Dvor na Uni, Croatia. They had several weapons and bombs in their possession. Arkan was tried and convicted, but he was

released from prison pending appeal. 132/

91. It was not until October 1991, however, that Arkan formed the Serbian Volunteer Guard, later renamed the Tigers. 133/ Training centres were established in Tenja and Erdut, Croatia. 134/

92. When fighting began in Croatia, the Tigers were thought to have no more than 200 troops, but their regular strength was said to be only 60. 135/ Although Arkan had more recently claimed that his Tigers had as many as 8,000 men, independent military analysts estimated the number to be closer to 500 to 1,000. 136/ The Tigers are well-armed with tanks, mortars, sniper guns, AK-47 sub-machine-guns, and Scorpion sub-machine-guns. 137/

2. Ties with the Governments of FRY, the self-declared Serbian Republics, and the JNA

(a) Vojislav Šešelj

93. There is substantial evidence that Šešelj and his paramilitary formations have direct links to, or the support of, the Serbian governments and the JNA:

(a) Šešelj has stated that his paramilitary forces have received weapons from the JNA; 138/

(b) The JNA and Šešelj's troops operated in 14 counties simultaneously, suggesting that their operations were coordinated. Some of the reports indicated that they were conducting joint operations, while others alleged that the JNA permitted Šešelj's troops to attack without intervening;

(c) In the BiH county of Kalinovik, the presence of Šešelj's men was reportedly requested to restore order to the local troops by Commander Ratko Mladić;

(d) Šešelj has regularly transported plundered goods from BiH into Serbia, with the apparent permission of Serb authorities;

(e) In his parliamentary campaign in the fall of 1993, Šešelj indicated that the following members of the Milošević government were involved in paramilitary operations: Radmilo Bogdanović, Milošević's reputed second in command who was officially dropped as Serbian interior minister in 1991; Mihalj Kertes, a former Yugoslav deputy interior minister and now a Serbian minister without portfolio; Radovan Stojić, a deputy Serbian interior minister; and Franko Simatović, a senior Serbian secret police commander. Furthermore, Šešelj claimed that his men never acted outside the umbrella of the JNA and the Serbian police. 139/

(b) Arkan

94. Evidence of Arkan's ties with the governments of FRY and with the self-declared Serbian republics, as well as with the JNA, includes:

(a) Serbia's Defence Minister has stated that Arkan is protected by Interior Ministry officials; 140/

(b) Šešelj has stated that Arkan's Tigers were operating under the instructions of Yugoslavia's counterintelligence organization, 141/ a claim also made by Dragoslav Bokan, the leader of the White Eagles; 142/

(c) On 28 November 1990, Arkan was present at a planning meeting of the "council of war" of the Knin uprising. Milan Martić, then secretary of the secretariat for Internal Affairs and now President of the SAO Krajina, was also present at the meeting; 143/

(d) Arkan's forces and the JNA were operating simultaneously in 11 counties;

(e) In at least three counties, Bijeljina, Brčko, and Zvornik, in which the JNA and Serbian paramilitary groups acted together, Arkan was reported to be the leader of the operation. In the siege of Vukovar, Arkan stated that his men were under the command of the JNA;

(f) The "population exchange commission" in the BiH county of Bijeljina is headed by Major Vojkan Djurković. Major Djurković is a member of Arkan's forces;

(g) There are reports of Arkan's forces entering a county at the invitation of local political leaders. In Prijedor, a spokesman for the Bosnian Serb Government in explaining Arkan's involvement, stated: "He is very expensive, but also very efficient"; 144/

(h) In February 1993, in response to accusations that he was planning a coup d'état in Krajina, Arkan stated that he had "been a special advisor to the president of the Republic of Serbian Krajina for a year now". 145/ Arkan's interference in the Krajina government prompted the commander of the headquarters of the Army of the Republic of Serbian Krajina, Mile Novaković, to issue an order for the withdrawal of Arkan's troops from the region; 146/

(i) Arkan, like Šešelj, reportedly has regularly transported plundered goods from BiH into Serbia, with apparent permission of Serb authorities;

(j) The Milošević government has allegedly given Arkan control of formally state-run gas stations because of his success in smuggling petroleum products. 147/

3. Political prominence

(a) Vojislav Šešelj 148/

95. In early 1991, Šešelj formed the SRS. Previously, he had been the leader of the Serbian Freedom Movement, was instrumental in the formation of the Serbian Renaissance Movement, and had finished fourth in the 1990 presidential election under the banner of his Serbian Četnik Movement. The Movement was banned after the election.

96. In June 1991, Šešelj was elected to the Serbian Assembly in a special election to fill a vacancy. Šešelj's campaign was said to be tacitly supported and funded by President Milošević. 149/ In the Federal elections on 31 May 1992, Šešelj and the SRS won 33 of the 138 seats in parliament, making it the largest opposition party. In the Serbian parliamentary elections held in December 1992, the SRS made an even stronger showing. To insure a majority in Parliament, Milošević's Socialist Party of Serbia (SPS) formed a coalition with Šešelj's SRS.

97. In late September 1993, Šešelj challenged Milošević's leadership by calling for a vote of no-confidence in the Serbian government led by Milošević's SPS. This action prompted President Milošević to dissolve the

Serbian parliament and to call for special elections in December 1993. During the campaign, the SPS attacked Šešelj, claiming he was involved in the commission of war crimes. Šešelj was also denied access to the state-run media, in contrast to the intense coverage he had received in previous elections. Šešelj and his SRS suffered a 44 per cent reduction in the number of seats they held in parliament in the December 1993 elections, however Šešelj was re-elected.

(b) Arkan 150/

98. Arkan entered the political arena during the 1992 Serbian elections. Along with three of his followers, Arkan sought election in Serbia's southern province of Kosovo, even though he had no known ties there. Arkan and his followers were elected deputies for the Serbian parliament in the 1992 elections. The elections were boycotted by the ethnic Albanians, who comprised 90 per cent of Kosovo's population.

99. Arkan formed a political party, the Party of Serbian Unity, before the special elections of December 1993. He was thought to have the backing of Milošević--who was no longer supporting Šešelj. 151/ Arkan reportedly spent three million US dollars on his campaign. However, despite the spending, the support of Milošević, and pre-election polls assuring that Arkan and the Party for Serbian Unity would win at least half the parliamentary seats in Kosovo, Arkan failed to win re-election and the Party for Serbian Unity failed to obtain any seats.

4. Allegations of war crimes

100. The forces of Šešelj and Arkan have been accused of committing some of the most serious violations of the Geneva Conventions and other international humanitarian law. Their operations in Brčko led then United States Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger to identify them as possible war criminals. Accusations that Arkan and Šešelj committed atrocities also emerged from within the former Yugoslavia. A month before the fall of Vukovar, in late 1991, an internal JNA memo identified Šešelj's and Arkan's forces as dangerous to "military morale" and stated that their "primary motive was not fighting against the enemy but robbery of private property and inhuman treatment of Croatian citizens". 152/

101. In the 1993 Serbian Parliamentary elections, Milošević, Šešelj and Arkan accused each other of committing war crimes. Milošević's SPS publicly attacked Šešelj, announcing that they considered him to be "the personification of violence and primitivity", that he contributed "to war crimes, abetting war profiteers and criminals", and that he was involved in "crimes committed by paramilitary groups against Moslem, Croat and Serb civilians". 153/ Government authorities arrested 40 members of the SRS on charges of murder, rape, kidnapping, and illegal arms possession. 154/ Šešelj responded by implicating members of the Milošević government in the paramilitary operations and by claiming that the government was attributing crimes committed by Arkan to him. 155/

102. In an overwhelming majority of the counties in which Šešelj's and Arkan's forces were operating, there are alleged killings of civilians, rapes, looting, destruction of property, and prison camps.

5. Summary of reported paramilitary activity 156/

103. As mentioned above, Šešelj's forces were reported to be operating in 34 counties and Arkan's forces in 28 counties throughout the territory of the former Yugoslavia. In many of these counties, Šešelj and Arkan exercised command over other forces operating in the area. These forces consisted of local paramilitary groups, and sometimes the JNA. 157/ In some counties, Šešelj's and Arkan's forces operated under the command of the JNA. 158/ At other times, they operated either independently or in conjunction with other paramilitary groups. The presence of Šešelj's and Arkan's forces was sometimes requested by local Serb authorities.

104. In the majority of the counties in which Šešelj and Arkan were operating, their forces, often in the company of the JNA or other paramilitary forces, would surround the village before entering it. In some instances, Šešelj and Arkan would speak to the local Serbs in the village to incite them and the other Serb forces. 159/ They would often warn the non-Serb residents before entering the village and request that they surrender their weapons. 160/ Because of the reputations of Arkan's and Šešelj's forces, these warnings often prompted non-Serb civilians to leave the village.

105. Upon entering a village, sometimes under the cover of shelling, particularly in those counties where they were operating simultaneously with the JNA, Šešelj's and Arkan's troops would begin their reign of terror. In an overwhelming majority of the counties in which Šešelj's and Arkan's troops were operating, there are allegations of killing of civilians, 161/ rape, 162/ looting, 163/ destruction of private or cultural property, 164/ and prison camps. 165/ In some instances specific individuals were targeted, such as prominent non-Serb leaders or intellectuals. 166/

106. After securing an area, Šešelj's and Arkan's troops would usually turn over control to a local paramilitary group or to local Serb leaders. 167/ In some instances, however, members of Arkan's and Šešelj's units remained and performed administrative functions. 168/

6. Personal histories of Vojislav Šešelj and Željko Ražnjatović

(a) Vojislav Šešelj

(i) Activities before the war

107. Vojislav Šešelj was born in 1950 in eastern Herzegovina. 169/ He grew up and attended college in the BiH capital of Sarajevo. 170/ Šešelj received a Ph.D. at the age of 26, after completing his doctoral thesis on Marxist justifications for war, making him the youngest Ph.D. in Yugoslavia. 171/ He spent one year teaching at the University of Michigan and then returned to Yugoslavia. 172/

108. After returning to Yugoslavia, Šešelj lectured in political science at Sarajevo University. 173/ On 22 May 1984, Šešelj was arrested after police searched his apartment and found an unpublished manuscript of an article criticizing Tito and the Communist Government. 174/ Šešelj was convicted of counterrevolutionary activities and sentenced to eight years in prison. 175/ After 22 months in prison, where he was allegedly beaten and tortured, Šešelj was released. 176/ According to his friends, Šešelj left prison emotionally disturbed as a result of this treatment. 177/ Šešelj settled in Belgrade, joined the leading Serb Nationalists, and began publishing nationalistic books. 178/ By 1990, he had lost the support of

his academic colleagues as he began carrying a gun and interrupting theatre performances he viewed as anti-Serb. 179/ At this time, he began his rise in the Serbian political arena.

(ii) Domestic political activity

109. In 1990, Šešelj became the leader of the Serbian Freedom Movement, one of 11 alternative movements and parties established in Serbia. 180/ In March of that year, Šešelj merged his Serbian Freedom Movement with a faction of the Serbian National Renaissance to form a new party led by Vuk Drašković, and known as the Serbian Renaissance Movement. 181/ This alliance lasted until June 1990, when Šešelj was expelled from the party for his extreme nationalistic views. 182/ Šešelj formed a new party, the Serbian National Renewal, within a week. 183/ His political party changed names again by the end of 1990. The Serbian National Renewal became the Serbian Četnik Movement. 184/

110. In December 1990, Šešelj ran for president of Serbia although imprisoned for recruiting volunteers in Knin. 185/ While his party had no more than 10,000 members, he received 100,000 votes and finished fourth. 186/ Before the election, the Belgrade government reportedly did not take Šešelj and his followers seriously. 187/ However, Šešelj's strong showing and his ultra-nationalist platform resulted in the banning of the Serbian Četnik Movement after the election. 188/ Šešelj went on to form the SRS.

111. By April 1991, Šešelj claimed that the SRS had at least 25,000 members, with about 80 city committees in Serbia as well as Baranja, Western Srem, Slavonia, BiH, Krajina, and Kosovo. 189/ SRS membership was growing rapidly in large part due to the almost daily party promotions and rallies. Oftentimes, they were attended by 3,000 to 5,000 participants. 190/

112. In June 1991, Šešelj was elected to the Serbian Assembly in a special election to fill a vacant seat from Rakovica, a working-class suburb of Belgrade. 191/ Šešelj's campaign was reported to be quietly supported and funded by Slobodan Milošević. 192/ Evidence of Milošević's support was the uncritical, prime-time coverage Šešelj received on the Milošević controlled, state-run television, which, for many Serbs, is the only source of information. 193/

113. As a member of parliament, Šešelj continued his attacks and threats against Albanians, Croats, Muslims, and the West and became more popular. 194/ In the Federal elections held on 31 May 1992, Šešelj and the SRS won 33 of the 138 seats in parliament 195/ making it the largest opposition party. 196/

114. Šešelj and the SRS made an even stronger showing in the Serbian parliamentary elections held in December 1992. A few days before the election, Šešelj stated that the SRS had 100,000 members, but in the election the SRS received over a million votes. 197/ The SRS won nearly 30 per cent of the seats in parliament, twice what was expected. 198/ The SRS gains meant that Milošević would have to form a coalition with it to ensure a majority in parliament. 199/ Šešelj quickly used his political strength to force a no-confidence vote against the moderate Yugoslav Premier Milan Panić. 200/

115. The coalition between Milošević's ruling SPS and Šešelj's SRS thrived 201/ until early May 1993, when Milošević endorsed an international peace plan and seemed to abandon his support of the Bosnian

Serbs. 202/ The Bosnian Serb parliament rejected the plan prompting the Serbian government to cut off all but humanitarian aid to them. 203/ Šešelj, without naming Milošević personally, criticized the government for turning its back on fellow Serbs. 204/ Šešelj led 70 delegates out of the Serbian Parliament when a vote on the plan was scheduled, embarrassing Milošević. 205/ Though the plan was accepted, fewer than 200 of the 636 deputies eligible to vote were present. 206/ The plan was later rejected by the Bosnian Serb population in a referendum. 207/ The future of the SRS/SPS coalition was in doubt. 208/

116. In an attempt to mend the fences between himself and Šešelj, and possibly out of fear of losing control of the nationalist movement, Milošević engineered a vote to remove President Dobrica Ćosić from the Yugoslav Parliament. Ćosić had been criticized for abandoning the Serbian nationalist cause. 209/ Milošević relied on his alliance with Šešelj to defeat Ćosić. Šešelj had long been a prominent critic of Ćosić. 210/ The removal of Ćosić triggered a large anti-government demonstration in front of the Parliament building. 211/ The demonstration, led by Vuk Drašković of the Serbian Renewal Movement, turned violent after one of Šešelj's parliamentary deputies, an ex-boxer, punched an opposition deputy. 212/ Vuk Drašković and his wife were arrested and imprisoned for instigating the riot, and the Serbian Renewal Movement was banned. 213/ With the moderates, Ćosić and Drašković gone, and Milošević's withdrawal of support for the peace plan, Šešelj was clearly the second most powerful politician in Yugoslavia. 214/

117. In late September 1993, Šešelj called for a vote of no-confidence in the Serbian government led by Milošević's SPS. 215/ This action prompted Milošević to dissolve the Serbian Parliament and call for elections on 19 December 1993, rather than see his government embarrassed. 216/ The SPS then began their public attack on Šešelj, announcing that they considered him to be "the personification of violence and primitivity", that he contributed "to war crimes, abetting war profiteers and criminals", and that he was involved in "crimes committed by paramilitary groups against Moslem, Croat and Serb civilians". 217/ The authorities arrested 40 members of the Radical Party on charges of murder, rape, kidnapping and illegal arms possession. 218/ None of those detained, however, were charged with crimes that occurred outside the territory of the rump Yugoslavia. 219/

118. Šešelj responded to the charges regarding his paramilitary activities by alleging that Milošević's government was backing these activities. 220/ Šešelj said: "I have already expressed my readiness to go to the Hague and testify on war crimes, but I don't know how anyone can go to the Hague if Slobodan Milošević does not go". 221/ While denying any involvement in atrocities, Šešelj said his fighters were armed and supervised by Milošević's police. 222/

119. Šešelj indicated the involvement of the following individuals in Milošević's government: Radmilo Bogdanović, Milošević's reputed second in command officially dropped as Serbian Interior Minister in 1991; Mihalj Kertes, a former Yugoslav deputy interior minister and now a Serbian minister without portfolio; Radovan Stojčić, a deputy Serbian interior minister; and Franko Simatović, a senior Serbian secret police commander. 223/ Šešelj said that his troops never acted outside the umbrella of the JNA and the Serbian police. 224/ He said two other groups, the White Eagles and Arkan's Tigers, were also operating under the instructions of Yugoslavia's counterintelligence organization, 225/ a claim also made by Dragoslav Bokan, the leader of the White Eagles. 226/

120. Šešelj's counter-attacks on Milošević were not widely heard within

Serbia, since he was denied access to the state-run media, a situation in sharp contrast to the intense coverage he had received the year before. 227/ Furthermore, Šešelj and the SRS did not hold public meetings before the election because they did not want to create the opportunity for provocations or incidents that might lead authorities to ban the party. 228/ These factors resulted in a poor showing for Šešelj and the SRS in the 19 December 1993 elections. The SRS won 39 seats in the Serbian parliament, a 44 per cent reduction in the number they had held before parliament was dissolved. 229/ In turn, the SPS and Milošević increased their representation by 20 per cent. 230/

(iii) Šešelj's paramilitary troops

121. Tracing the command and control of particular military or paramilitary groups is generally difficult. The task of determining which units are under the control of Šešelj is difficult as well. Šešelj has both confirmed and denied the existence of particular paramilitaries under his control or the control of his party. 231/ The paramilitary groups most often associated with Šešelj are the White Eagles, Četniks 232/ and Šešeljovci, which are estimated to have a combined force of 8,000 men. 233/

122. The name "Četniks" was originally used by Serbian royalist units that fought to restore the Serbian-dominated monarchy after Nazi Germany invaded Yugoslavia in 1941. 234/ Šešelj's Četniks claim to be the heirs of the Četniks who fought in World War II, and Šešelj has proclaimed himself their Vojvoda (Duke). 235/ The command structure of the original "Četniks" was based on small, locally controlled units that were better suited for guerilla warfare. 236/ Šešelj, having written his master's thesis on the theory of guerrilla resistance, 237/ has followed this same pattern. 238/ The name White Eagles was originally used in World War II by the only orthodox anticommunist youth organization that existed at the time. 239/ Many youths were killed for allegedly being members. 240/

123. Šešelj's original White Eagles group was founded in late 1990 by the Serbian Renaissance Movement (SPO), which was the party he formed with Vuk Drašković. 241/ However, Šešelj left this party in June of 1990, and the current leader is Mirko Jović. 242/ These White Eagles are now under the command of a 30 year-old graduate student in Philosophy, Dragoslav Bokan. 243/

124. Šešelj has armed his troops in a variety of ways. 244/ Weapons have been given to his troops by people who have permits to carry them, 245/ and some guns and ammunition have been stolen from police stockpiles. 246/ Šešelj has said that his men bribed former communist officials to sell surplus arms, which were then smuggled across the Croatian border. 247/ He has also claimed to have purchased guns from Croats. 248/ The World War II vintage American Thompson gun was standard issue in mid-1991. 249/ Šešelj claims to have purchased these guns from a European arms dealer, but press reports claim their presence is circumstantial evidence of direct Serbian Government involvement. 250/ Šešelj acknowledges that the federal army has not opposed their efforts, however, he refuses to disclose that he might be receiving any support from Milošević and the Serbian army. 251/

(b) Željko Ražnjatović

(i) Activities before the war

125. Arkan was born on 17 April 1952 in Brežice, Slovenia. 252/ He was the fourth child of a retired air force colonel, and the only son. 253/ At the age of 14 or 15 he allegedly began to support himself through theft and burglary. 254/ At the age of 15, Arkan was incarcerated in a home for juvenile delinquents. 255/ After his release, he left Yugoslavia to travel abroad.

126. Arkan continued his criminal activities throughout Europe. He is wanted in several European countries for crimes ranging from robbery to murder. 256/ The Italian police seek Arkan in connection with the killing of a restaurant owner in 1974. 257/ He robbed banks in Stockholm and Göteborg, Sweden, leaving the bank tellers bouquets of roses. 258/ He was convicted of armed robbery in Belgium, the Netherlands, and Germany. In all cases, he escaped from prison. 259/

127. While travelling through Europe, Arkan also was alleged to be working for the Yugoslavian Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs (SSUP). 260/ In the early 1980s, the SSUP carried out assassinations of nationalist organization members abroad. 261/ Arkan engaged in technical operations such as servicing agents and acting as a courier. 262/ He and Stane Dolanc, head of the SSUP, are repeatedly mentioned in connection with the 1983 murder of the former director of a Croatian oil company, who defected and began publishing books critical of Yugoslavia's Communist Government. 263/

128. When Arkan returned to Belgrade in the early 1980s, his ties to the SSUP remained strong, despite his continued criminal activity. When Belgrade police would arrest Arkan, they allegedly counted the minutes that went by until someone from the SSUP, often times Stane Dolanc, would intervene on his behalf. 264/ He was often seen wearing a white suit in casinos, disco clubs and night spots. 265/ He became a well-respected member of the Belgrade underworld, with a reputation for being a boss with a refined sense of justice. 266/ During this time, he also had a legitimate business in an ice cream and pastry shop located in a wealthy neighbourhood in Belgrade. 267/

129. Before the war, Arkan was most known in Belgrade as the leader of the city's Red Star soccer team fan club. 268/ On at least one occasion, Arkan offered the services of the fan club to Radmilo Bogdanović, a Serbian police minister, to disperse a crowd demonstrating against Milošević in June of 1990. 269/ The offer was accepted. 270/ It is thought that many of the members of his paramilitary group, the Tigers, are members of this club.

(ii) Activities during the war

a. Arrest in Croatia

130. Arkan's first reported active involvement in the conflict in the former Yugoslavia came as early as November of 1990, when he traveled to Knin for a meeting of the "council of war" of the Knin uprising. He was accompanied by the following individuals: Dušan Bandić, a retiree and Četnik commander from Belgrade; Zoran Stevanović, a construction technician from Belgrade; and Dušan Carić, an electrician from Unčani near Dvor na Uni. 271/ This meeting, held in a shack in the village of Golubić, was also attended by Mile Martić,

then the secretary of the SUP (Secretariat for Internal Affairs) of the Krajina SOA; Marko Dobrijević, then the secretary of the Serbian Democratic Party (SDS); and Nebojša-Nešo Mladinić and Dušan Orlović, active organizers of the uprising in the Knin Krajina. The parties discussed how Belgrade would help in organizing and arming the Serbs in Krajina, and specific assignments were given to individuals. On the way back to Belgrade after the meeting, Arkan and his three companions drove into Dvor na Uni after midnight on 29 November. They were allegedly trying to familiarize themselves with the layout of the town so that they could better plan its "liberation". They were stopped by police around 2:30 a.m. and arrested. There were a number of automatic weapons, pistols and bombs in the car. The four were convicted on 14 June 1991 after a 42 day trial. Arkan was sentenced to 20 months in prison, including the six months and 15 days already served. The judge then released all four of the defendants, pending appeal of the convictions. Arkan left Croatia and sent a message from Belgrade that stated, "You will never take me alive!" 272/

b. Breaking United Nations sanctions and other business ventures

131. Arkan not only gained notoriety through his leadership of the Tigers, but also through his business activities during the war. United Nations sanctions against Serbia resulted in unprecedented growth in the Belgrade underworld, in which Arkan is allegedly a leader. 273/ Arkan reportedly made millions of dollars on the Belgrade black market by selling looted goods from the territory his Tigers have captured. 274/ Arkan has also been successful in smuggling oil into Serbia. Reportedly, Milošević had agreed to turn over state-run gas stations to anyone who could get oil into Serbia. Arkan's success in smuggling oil has resulted in his ownership of several gas stations. 275/ It is estimated that for every tanker load of oil delivered in defiance of international sanctions, Arkan makes \$30,000. 276/ In addition to his gas stations and previously mentioned ice cream parlor, Arkan was also reported to own a shopping centre, a detective agency, and a savings bank, all allegedly supported by smuggling operations. 277/ Arkan also promotes boxing matches, 278/ operates a protection racket in Belgrade, 279/ and a private prison used in kidnapping for ransom. 280/ There are reports that Arkan's gang is linked to Milošević's government and the local police. 281/

(iii) Domestic political activity

132. Arkan entered the political arena during the 1992 Serbian elections. Arkan, along with three of his followers, ran in Serbia's southern province of Kosovo, even though he had no known ties there. 282/ Although 90 per cent of Kosovo's population of two million are ethnic Albanians, Serbs have long considered the province as an integral part of their cultural heritage. It was here that the Serbs lost to the Turks in the 14th Century in the Battle of Kosovo Polje, 283/ a defining moment in Serbian history. It was at this battle site, on the 400th anniversary of the battle in 1989, that Slobodan Milošević first declared his policy of Serbian nationalism. 284/ It is feared that Kosovo will be the next major flashpoint in the conflict in the former Yugoslavia. 285/

133. Fueling concerns that "ethnic cleansing" was eminent in Kosovo during the 1992 campaign, Arkan delivered a speech, in the presence of Milošević, swearing that he was an enemy to Albanian infants. 286/ While campaigning, Arkan drove a car with license plates that said "Vukovar" as a reminder of his role in the attack on that city. 287/ His campaign

posters featured a picture of himself in a World War I Serbian uniform, complete with ceremonial sword. 288/

134. Arkan and his three followers were elected deputies of the Serbian parliament in the 1992 elections, which were boycotted by the Albanians. 289/ While a deputy in parliament, Arkan and his deputies always supported government policies. 290/

135. In late September 1993, the Serbian Radical Party, led by Vojislav Šešelj, called for a vote of no-confidence in the Milošević led government. 291/ To avoid embarrassment, Milošević dissolved the Serbian parliament and called for new elections to be held on 19 December 1993. 292/ It is reported that Arkan had advance knowledge of this and got a head start on his political opponents by forming a new political party, the Party of Serbian Unity. 293/

136. Arkan and his Party for Serbian Unity campaigned with zeal. He spent over three million dollars 294/ and held large campaign rallies, complete with Serbian folk singers and fireworks. 295/ In addition to the lavish campaign, Arkan was thought to have the backing of Milošević who was eager to fill the far right void created by his falling-out with Šešelj. 296/ During the campaign, Arkan and Šešelj traded accusations of responsibility for war crimes. 297/ Despite the spending, the reported support of Milošević, and pre-election polls assuring that Arkan and the Party for Serbian Unity would win at least half the parliamentary seats in Kosovo, 298/ Arkan failed to win a single seat. 299/

(iv) The Tigers

137. Arkan formed the Serbian Volunteer Guard, better known as the Tigers, on 11 October 1991, 300/ as a paramilitary group with no party affiliation. 301/ Training centres were established in Tenja and Erdut, Croatia. 302/ The camp in Erdut, on the grounds of a Croatian winery, is a few hundred yards from the UN headquarters. 303/ An UN official has reported that every morning at 7:30 a.m. the soldiers speed march around Erdut with weapons. 304/ The units contain some women, as well as boys 13 to 15 years old. 305/ On 25 March 1994, in a ceremony attended by both Milan Martić and Arkan, the Erdut training facility was turned over to the Serbian Republic of Krajina to serve as a training facility for its special units. 306/

138. When fighting began in Croatia, the Tigers were thought to have no more than 200 men, and their regular strength was thought to be only 60. 307/ Although Arkan has more recently claimed his Tigers have as many as 8,000 men, the number is thought to be closer to 500 to 1,000. The exact number is difficult to determine as regular soldiers sometimes wear Tiger uniforms. 308/

139. The Tigers are well-armed with tanks and mortars and were trained by Radovan Bazda and Arkan himself. 309/ The Tigers have been seen with new sniper guns, AK-47 submachine-guns, and Scorpion sub-machine-guns. 310/ The Tigers have worn three types of uniforms: camouflage, all blue, and all black. 311/

III. OTHER IDENTIFIED PARAMILITARY GROUPS 312/

A. Paramilitary groups operating in support of the Government of BiH

Name of Unit: Akrepi (Uglješ)

Ethnicity: Muslim

Uniform: N/A

Number of Troops: N/A

Origin: N/A

Area(s) of Operation: Konjic County, BiH

Political Affiliation: N/A

Leader(s): An identified man from Konjic, whose name is not disclosed for confidentiality and prosecutorial reasons

Alleged Members: N/A

Source(s): Submission of Permanent Mission of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia to the Commission of Experts established pursuant to Security Council Resolution 780 (1992) (2 July 1993), Annex IV, A New Genocide Against Serbs in Konjic Area, Association of Serbs from BiH - Association of Serbs from Konjic, IHRLI Doc. No. 28401-29019, at 28799.

Letter dated 21 October 1993, from the Permanent Representative of Croatia to the United Nations Addressed to the President of the Security Council, U.N. Doc. S/26617 (23 October 1993), IHRLI Doc. No. 45732-45770, at 45763-45764.

Alleged Activity:

140. According to the Serbian Council Information Centre, the Akrepi killed 11 Serbs and burned 24 houses in the village of Blace on 15 May 1992. 313/

Name of Unit: Alija's Army

Ethnicity: Muslim

Uniform: N/A

Number of Troops: N/A

Origin: N/A

Area(s) of Operation: Konjic, Sarajevo and Livno Counties, BiH 314/

Political Affiliation: N/A

Leader(s): N/A

Alleged Members: N/A

Source(s): Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Second Report Submitted to the Commission of Experts (1993), IHRLI Doc. No. 28401-29019, at 28661.

Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Information on the Aggression of the Republic of Croatia (27 November 1992), IHRLI Doc. No. 3103-3156 and No. 5455-5470.

Alleged Activity:

141. Alija's Army members, along with Croatian Armed Forces (HOS), Croatian National Guardsmen (ZNG), and members of the Yellow Ants converged on Konjic on 26 April 1992. Upon arrival, the units allegedly established road blocks, set up machine-guns in nearby villages, murdered civilians and looted the villagers' homes. 315/

Name of Unit: Black Swans (alias Brigada Zuka, Zuk Brigade or Zuka's Commandos, the Zukini) 316/

Ethnicity: Muslim

Uniforms: Black clothing with a round unit patch on the sleeves. The patch depicts a black swan having intercourse with a supine woman. "Special Unit Army of BiH" is written in white lettering above the picture and underneath in black letters are the words, "Black Swans".

Number of Troops: At least 100

Origin: N/A

Area(s) of Operation: Igman, Jablanica, and Konjic Counties, BiH

Political Affiliation: N/A

Leader(s): Three identified people, whose names are not disclosed for confidentiality and prosecutorial reasons

Alleged Members: Five identified people, whose names are not disclosed for confidentiality and prosecutorial reasons 317/

Source(s): US Department of State, 1993, IHRLI Doc. No. 62613, 62629, 62756-62757.

Letter dated 21 October 1993, from the Permanent Representative of Croatia to the United Nations Addressed to the President of the Security Council, U.N. Doc. S/26617 (23 October 1993), IHRLI Doc. No. 45732-45770, at 45756, 45763-45764.

Alleged Activity:

142. The Black Swans allegedly committed most of the crimes against Bosnian Croats in the Konjic area. 318/ According to reports, the Black Swans arrived in the Konjic area on 1 April 1993. They reinforced Muslim troops, under commander Tulomović and were primarily deployed at the village of Handići, seven kilometres north-west of Konjic. 319/ In negotiations with the HVO, Tulomović denied that the Black Swans were under his control and blamed them for the criminal activity in the area.

143. The Black Swan force established at Handići, allegedly attacked the Croatian village of Čelopeci in early April 1993. The Black Swans reportedly burned three empty buildings and killed two elderly women and one elderly man, cutting off the man's arms and slitting his throat with a machete. Later, the Handići force was joined by Black Swans from Pokojište, who used four or five Croatian civilians as human shields during the attack on the village. At least 70 men 320/ comprised the attacking force. After the action, Muslim forces allegedly prevented Spanish UNPROFOR troops from investigating the activities at Čelopeci. 321/

144. Also in the Konjic region, the Black Swans and Mujahedin troops allegedly launched infantry attacks on the village of Vrci every four or five days and helped run the P.O.W. camp for HVO soldiers at Parsovići. 322/

145. According to a witness from Jablanica, more than 100 Black Swans and MOS forces attacked Doljani on 28 July 1993, the fiercest action in the hamlets of

Krkači, Stupari, and Kosna Luka. Allegedly, the attackers killed and mutilated 24 people, including some soldiers. The witness stated that the corpses' eyes were plucked out, their ears were cut, and their stomachs were slit open. 323/

Name of Unit: Bogdan Gagić's Formation

Ethnicity: N/A

Uniform: N/A

Number of Troops: Thirty-two

Origin: N/A

Area(s) of Operation: Benkovac County, Croatia

Political Affiliation: N/A

Leader(s): Bogdan Gagić

Alleged Members: N/A

Source(s): Report of the Republic of Croatia Pursuant to the United Nations Security Council Resolution 780 of 5 October 1992, IHRLI Doc. No. 2794-2984, at 2804.

Alleged Activity:

146. On 21 December 1991, Bogdan Gagić and the other 31 members of his formation killed nine Croatians and one Serbian in the village of Bruška, in Benkovac, Croatia. Other inhabitants were either killed, tortured or evicted. 324/

Name of Unit: Forces of Hasan Hakalović

Ethnicity: Muslim

Uniform: N/A

Number of Troops: N/A

Origin: N/A

Area(s) of Operation: Konjic County, BiH

Political Affiliation: N/A

Leader(s): Hasan Hakalović

Alleged Members: N/A

Source(s): Letter dated 21 October 1993, from the Permanent Representative of Croatia to the United Nations Addressed to the President of the Security Council, U.N. Doc. S/26617 (23 October 1993), IHRLI Doc. No. 45732-45770, at 45764.

Alleged Activity:

147. According to reports, the paramilitary forces of Hasan Hakalović executed two civilians, ages 60 and 75, in the village of Mrkosovice. 325/

Name of Unit: Hrasnica Forces

Ethnicity: Muslim

Uniform: N/A

Number of Troops: N/A

Origin: N/A

Area(s) of Operation: Konjic County, BiH

Political Affiliation: N/A

Leader(s): An identified man, whose name is not disclosed for confidentiality and prosecutorial reasons

Alleged Members: N/A

Source(s): Letter dated 21 October 1993, from the Permanent Representative of Croatia to the United Nations Addressed to the President of the Security Council, U.N. Doc. S/26617 (23 October 1993), IHRLI Doc. No. 45732-45770, at 45764, 45768. There is, however, no corroboration that this group exists.

Alleged Activity:

148. According to reports submitted to the Commission of Experts, during May 1993, in the village of Zaslavlje, the Hrasnica forces cut off the ears and noses of Zlatka Trlin, Joze Brvenik, and Ante Banović. 326/

149. The Hrasnica forces allegedly desecrated churches, looted houses and mistreated Croats in the villages of Čelebići and Radešine. 327/

Name of Unit: Mecetove Bebe (Mecet's Babies)

Ethnicity: Muslim

Uniform: Bosnian army insignia

Number of Troops: N/A

Origin: Travnik, BiH

Area(s) of Operation: Travnik County, BiH

Political Affiliation: N/A

Leader(s): The leader's full name does not appear in the documents, but he is identified by nickname.

Alleged Members: N/A

Source(s): US Department of State, 1993, IHRLI Doc. No. 62612-62877, at 62620.

Alleged Activity:

150. The Mecetove Bebe allegedly carried out criminal activity, including theft and sabotage in the Travnik area. 328/

Name of Unit: MOS or Muslim Armed Forces.

Ethnicity: Muslim

Uniform: Scarves on their heads, olive fatigues, beards, and often green berets

Number of Troops: N/A

Origin: MOS stationed on the Vjetrenica mountain near Zenica were from Žepče. 329/ Other MOS were from Jablanica. 330/

Area(s) of Operation: Vitez, Zenica, Doljani, and Jablanica Counties, BiH.

Political Affiliation: N/A

Leader(s): An identified man, whose name is not disclosed for confidentiality and prosecutorial reasons. 331/

Alleged Members: N/A

Source(s): Charles McLeod, ECMM, Report on Inter-Ethnic Violence in Vitez, Busovača and Zenica (April 1993), IHRLI Doc. No. 51615-51703, at 51631, 51639, 51640, 51669.

Letter dated 21 October 1993, from the Permanent Representative of Croatia to the United Nations Addressed to the President of the Security Council, U.N. Doc. S/26617 (23 October 1993), IHRLI Doc. No. 45732-45770, at 45752.

ECMM, Facts on the Aggression of the Muslim Forces, (included in a report submitted to the Commission of Experts, author unknown), IHRLI Doc. No. 41225-41250.

Alleged Activity:

151. According to Croats fleeing villages in south-west BiH, 18 civilians were killed by the MOS in Stipića Meadow, near Borovac, on 28 July 1993. Witnesses stated that they were cut down by gunfire when crossing Stipića Meadow while fleeing from Borovac. 332/ The survivors said that they were taken to a small room nearby where they were detained with others, including one HVO soldier who had been shot in the chest. They were given nothing to eat and only water to drink for the day they spent in detention. The prisoners allegedly heard shooting before they pried the bars loose on the windows where they were held and escaped. One of the victims recognized the MOS forces, saying that they were from Jablanica. 333/

152. In the towns of central BiH, in the Vitez and Zenica municipalities, the MOS allegedly looted and burned homes and threatened Croat civilians. 334/ The MOS reportedly acted as police and arrested HVO personnel, who had been released earlier by the army of BiH.

Name of Unit: Mosque Doves (or Pigeons)

Ethnicity: Muslim and some Croatians.

Uniform: N/A

Number of Troops: 150

Origin: Zvornik, BiH

Area(s) of Operation: Zvornik County, BiH

Political Affiliation: N/A

Alleged Leader(s): N/A

Alleged Members: N/A

Source(s): Information Centre of the Democratic League of Kosova, Fighting in Bosna River Valley and Bosanska Posavina, IHRLI Doc. No. 47969-48071, at 48029-48031.

Alleged Activity:

153. Quoting Tanjug, the Democratic League of Kosova reports that in the second week of October 1992, a unit of Muslim fighters calling themselves the Mosque Doves attacked the villages of Pantići and Miloševići, approximately 20 kilometres from Zvornik. Tanjug reports differed as to the number of people killed in the attack. On 12 October, Tanjug reported that 50 villagers, mainly elderly civilians were killed in the attack. A day later Tanjug reported that the victims included 13 civilians and 23 members of Serb forces.

154. According to the reports, the Mosque Doves used "rifles from Hungary and Arabic countries", and included some Croatians and Muslims from the Zvornik area who were trained in the Croatian Adriatic town of Šibenik. The Doves allegedly knew their victims and called them by name. 335/

Name of Unit: Patriotic League

Ethnicity: Muslim

Uniform: The Patriotic League insignia contains Lilies.

Number of Troops: N/A

Origin: The members of the Patriotic League were the original wearers of the green berets. They were largely JNA officers of Muslim religion who prepared for the war once they saw that it was inevitable.

Area(s) of Operation: BiH

Political Affiliation: Patriotic League

Leader(s): An identified man, whose name is not disclosed for confidentiality and prosecutorial reasons

Alleged Members: N/A

Source(s): Croatian Information Centre, Weekly Bulletin, No. 5, 6 September 1993, IHRLI Doc. No. 35746-35751, at 035750.

Croatian Information Centre, A Written Statement, 3 October 1992, IHRLI Doc. No. 14576-14587, at 14581.

Alleged Activity:

155. One unconfirmed and unsubstantiated allegation has been made that members of the Patriotic League were active in Prijedor. 336/

156. The Patriotic League was also implicated in the 25 April 1993, attack on Zenica, in which civilians were killed and imprisoned. According to reports from the Croatian Information Centre, the Patriotic League acted in concert with several other military groups, including the MOS led by Commander Karalić, the BiH army, Third Corps, Brigade 314, and the Green League (or Legion) also known as the Zenica Hoodlums. 337/

Name of Unit: Paramilitary wing of the Party of Democratic Action (SDA or PDA).

Ethnicity: Muslim

Uniform: N/A

Number of Troops: N/A

Origin: N/A

Area(s) of Operation: Odžak County, BiH

Political Affiliation: Party of Democratic Action (SDA or PDA)

Leader(s): N/A

Alleged Members: N/A

Source(s): Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Second Report Submitted to the Commission of Experts (6 April 1993), IHRLI Doc. No. 28401-29019, at 28817, 28952-28953, 28977.

Alleged Activity:

157. Paramilitary formations of the Party of Democratic Action (SDA), together with members of the Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ), allegedly perpetrated crimes against civilians in Odžak County. The reports include allegations of rape, murder of civilians, looting, detention, and forced labour. 338/

158. Allegedly, the SDA received military supplies from abroad, primarily from Croatia. Weapons dealers affiliated with the CDU and the SDA, centred in Odžak and Tarevci reportedly moved freely between Croatia and BiH. 339/

Name of Unit: White Pumas

Ethnicity: Muslim

Uniform: Brown battle fatigues

Number of Troops: N/A

Origin: Bihać, BiH

Area(s) of Operation: Bihać County, BiH

Political Affiliation: N/A

Leader(s): N/A

Alleged Members: N/A

Source(s): UNPROFOR Battle Command Kiseljak, Weekly Summary, December 1992, IHRLI Doc. No. 25661-25667, at 25663.

Alleged Activity:

159. Reporting on clashes in the Bihać pocket, between the Fifth BiH Corps and Krajina militia, United Nations Protection Forces (UNPROFOR) noted the presence of paramilitary units dressed in brown battle dress and assessed them as members of the Muslim organization, White Pumas. 340/

Name of Unit: Yellow Ants

Ethnicity: Muslim

Uniform: N/A

Number of Troops: N/A

Origin: N/A

Area(s) of Operation: Konjic County, BiH

Political Affiliation: N/A

Leader(s): N/A

Alleged Members: N/A

Source(s): Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Information on the Aggression of the Republic of Croatia (27 November 1992), IHRLI Doc. No. 3103-3156 and No. 5455-5470.

Alleged Activity:

160. The Yellow Ants, along with HOS, Croatian National Guards (ZNG) and members of another paramilitary unit called Alija's Army, converged on Konjic on 26 April 1992. Upon arrival, the units allegedly established road blocks, set up machine-guns in nearby villages, murdered civilians, and looted the villagers' homes. 341/

Name of Unit: Zenica Hoodlums/Green League (or Legion)

Ethnicity: Muslim

Uniform: N/A

Number of Troops: N/A

Origin: N/A

Area(s) of Operation: Zenica County, BiH

Political Affiliation: N/A

Leader(s): An identified man, whose name is not disclosed for confidentiality and prosecutorial reasons

Alleged Members: N/A

Source(s): Charles McLeod, ECMM, Report on Inter-Ethnic Violence in Vitez, Busovača and Zenica (April 1993), IHRLI Doc. No. 51615-51703, at 51657.

Croatian Information Centre, Weekly Bulletin No. 5, 6 September 1993, IHRLI Doc. No. 35746-35751, at 35750.

Alleged Activity:

161. On the morning of 25 April 1993, Muslim forces attacked villages near Zenica. Some civilians were killed and others were taken to detention facilities at the former conservatory of music in Zenica. Several Muslim groups allegedly participated in the attack: the army of BiH, Third Corps, led by Enver Hadžihasanović; Brigade 314; The Green League, also called the Zenica Hoodlums; and members of the MOS led by commander Karalić. 342/

162. The Green Legion reportedly operated a prisoner of war camp in the nearby village of Bilimišće. 343/

B. Paramilitary groups working in support
of the Government of Croatia

Name of Unit: Black Legion 344/

Ethnicity: Croatian

Uniform: Black, except for the words "Black Legion" in white letters

Number of Troops: N/A

Origin: Allegedly, the members of the Black Legion are expatriates who lived in Germany before the war.

Area(s) of Operation: Tomislavgrad and Odžak Counties, BiH

Political Affiliation: N/A

Leader(s): N/A

Alleged Members: N/A

Source(s): Inter-Agency Group of the Government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Violations of Human Rights of Women, 6 February 1993, IHRLI Doc. No. 22196-22226, at 22201-22203.

Serbian Council Information Centre, Rape and Sexual Abuse of Serb Women and Children, 15 January 1993, IHRLI Doc. No. 46176-46208, at 46203.

Alleged Activity:

163. Witness testimonies, reported by the Serbian Council Information Centre, name members of the Black Legion as jailers. Allegedly, the Black Legion took prisoners from Split and Kupres and held them in deplorable conditions at Tomislavgrad. Detained women said that they were kept in cellars with no toilets or beds. The witnesses described the members of the Black Legion as wearing black and riding in a black Mercedes. One witness quoted one of the guards as saying that he entered the war to "protect his Fatherland". 345/

164. One witness stated that the "Black Legion" or "Black Shirts" 346/ arrived at a prison camp in Odžak on 16 July 1993, and asked prisoners for gold or money. The witness reported that once she surrendered her money to the Black Legion, she was released. 347/

Name of Unit: Black Shirts

Ethnicity: Croatian

Uniform: N/A

Number of Troops: N/A

Origin: Virovitica County, Croatia

Area(s) of Operation: Grubišno Polje County, Croatia

Political Affiliation: Croatian National Guard (ZNG) 348/

Alleged Leader(s): An identified man, whose name is not disclosed for confidentiality and prosecutorial reasons

Alleged Members: N/A

Source(s): Serbian Council Information Centre, Report on Harassment and Ethnic Cleansing in Western Slavonia, 31 October 1992, IHRLI Doc. No. 46072-46106, at 46075-46080.

Alleged Activity:

165. According to witness testimonies reported by the Serbian Council Information Centre, Black Shirt troops from Virovitica arrived in Grubišno Polje on 13 August 1991, and proceeded to arrest and kill civilians, destroy property, and steal money and valuables from the villagers.

166. The Black Shirts allegedly began their activities in the area by blocking roads and setting up check-points. They also took over police duties and made arrests according to a previously compiled list. Allegedly, 124 people were arrested and held in the Grubišno Polje Hotel. Twenty well-respected men in the community, who were arrested according to the list, were later found dead. 349/

Name of Unit: Paramilitary forces of the Croatian Democratic Union (CDU)

Ethnicity: Croatian

Uniform: Black headbands and fingerless gloves

Number of Troops: N/A

Origin: N/A

Area(s) of Operation: Odžak, Novi Grad and Bosanski Brod Counties, BiH

Political Affiliation: Croatian Democratic Union (CDU)

Leader(s): N/A

Alleged Members: An identified man, whose name is not disclosed for confidentiality and prosecutorial reasons

Source(s): Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Second Report Submitted to the Commission of Experts (1993), IHRLI Doc. No. 28401-29019, at 28800-28825 and 28945-29000.

Alleged Activity:

167. The Serbian Council Information Centre alleged that the CDU financed many paramilitary groups in Slavonia, and that the CDU paramilitary forces were responsible for shelling Donja Dubica on 18 April 1992. CDU forces allegedly killed, raped, and tortured prisoners. They also allegedly evicted Serbian villagers, looted, operated a prison camp called "Tulek" in Bosanski Brod, and used detainees for digging trenches, clearing minefields, and other war operations. 350/

Name of Unit: Paramilitary forces under Mile Dedaković

Ethnicity: Croatian

Uniform: N/A

Number of Troops: N/A

Origin: N/A

Area(s) of Operation: Vukovar County, Croatia

Political Affiliation: N/A

Leader(s): Mile Dedaković, alias "Jastreb" 351/

Alleged Members: N/A

Source(s): Submission from United Kingdom Mission to the United Nations to the Commission of Experts (14 January 1994), IHRLI Doc. No. 56149-56281, at 56202.

Alleged Activity:

168. The commander of this Croatian paramilitary unit is reported to have committed several violations. 352/

Name of Unit: Glavaš Unit or Paramilitary forces under Commander Glavaš 353/

Ethnicity: Croatian

Uniform: N/A

Number of Troops: N/A

Origin: N/A

Area(s) of Operation: Osijek County, Croatia

Political Affiliation: N/A

Leader(s): Glavaš allegedly lived outside of Croatia for many years, 354/ held several positions of authority in Osijek, including Mayor, and was a member of the extreme wing of the Croatian Democratic Community (HDZ). 355/

Alleged Members: N/A

Source(s): Submission from United Kingdom Mission to the United Nations to the Commission of Experts (14 January 1994), IHRLI Doc. No. 56149-56281, at 56202.

Mihajlo Crnobrnja, The Yugoslav Drama 170-71 (1994).

Michael Ignatieff, "Nasty, Brutish and Short: Where the Warlords Hold Sway from Behind the Wheel of a Cherokee Chief", Ottawa Citizen, 11 April 1993, at C1.

"Croatian Public Opinion 'Divided' on Return of Serbs Who Fled", BBC Summary of World Broadcasts, 27 February 1992, at EE/1315/C1/1.

Alleged Activity:

169. Glavaš was the reported leader of paramilitary formations in Osijek. He was responsible for criminal acts, including murder, which were intended to intimidate the ethnic Serbian community and force them to flee. 356/ By the fall of 1993, Glavaš was elected Mayor of Osijek 357/ after serving as the town council president. 358/ There are also reports of a number of violations, such as killings. 359/

Name of Unit: Hawks (Sokoli)

Ethnicity: Croatian

Uniform: N/A

Number of Troops: N/A

Origin: N/A

Area(s) of Operation: Sisak County, Croatia

Political Affiliation: The Hawks are affiliated with the Croatian Ministry of Internal Affairs. 360/

Leader(s): N/A

Alleged Members: N/A

Source(s): Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Report submitted to the Commission of Experts (1992), IHRLI Doc. No. 48266-48301, at 48295.

Alleged Activity:

170. In Sisak during the first half of 1991, the Hawks allegedly destroyed a slaughterhouse and four shops owned by Dragan Novaković. 361/

Name of Unit: Horses of Fire (Vatreni Konji) 362/

Ethnicity: Croatian

Uniform: N/A

Number of Troops: Fifty-eight identified members. According to reports submitted to the Commission of Experts, members of the Horses of Fire were recruited from the 102nd Brigade of the Croatian Defence Council (HVO). 363/

Origin: Odžak County, BiH 364/

Area(s) of Operation: Odžak, Mostar, Bosanski Brod and Trebinje Counties, BiH 365/

Political Affiliation: Bosnian Croatian Defence Council (HVO) 366/

Leader(s): Four identified men, whose names are not disclosed, for confidentiality and prosecutorial reasons 367/

Alleged Members: Fifty-eight named people, whose names are not disclosed for confidentiality and prosecutorial reasons

Source(s): Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Second Report Submitted to the Commission of Experts (1993), IHRLI Doc. No. 28401-29019, at 28539, 28602-28603, 28644, 28704-28705, 28708-28710, 28958-28962, 28965-28967, 28987-28992, 28997-289001, 29007, 29014.

UN Economic and Social Council Commission on Human Rights, Situation of Human Rights in the Territory of the former Yugoslavia (8 February 1993), IHRLI Doc. No. 12606-12649 at 12613-12614, 12630.

Alleged Activity:

171. The Horses of Fire were a special unit of the HVO, 368/ created from the HVO's 102nd Brigade. 369/ The founders of the Horses of Fire included four identified men, whose names are not disclosed for confidentiality and prosecutorial reasons. 370/ These individuals allegedly established concentration camps to house Serbs in the Odžak commune and illegally furnished arms to the Horses of Fire. 371/

172. The Horses of Fire are named repeatedly in reports to the Commission of Experts as perpetrators of ethnic cleansing against Serbian civilians. 372/ Allegedly, the Horses of Fire raped and killed Serbian civilians, and looted and destroyed Serbian property, including Serbian homes, and religious establishments. 373/ Odžak County, on the border of Croatia and BiH, was the target of such attacks between April and August 1992. 374/

173. According to a UN report, in June 1992, members of Horses of Fire locked 16 Serbian women and children inside a house in Novi Grad and set the house on fire. The survivors were forced to jump from windows. 375/ FRY reported that an elderly civilian was killed by the Horses of Fire on 15 July 1992. Reportedly, the victim lay sick in bed when a member of the paramilitary group beat him to death by striking him in the head and chest with a rock. 376/

174. Witness statements allege that the Horses of Fire frequently engaged in sexual assault and gang rape activities. 377/ Prior to defeat by the

Serbs in mid-July 1992, the Horses of Fire allegedly indulged in mass rape, and gang rape of Serbian girls and women. 378/ Witness reports contain relevant details which are not disclosed for confidentiality and prosecutorial reasons. One witness recalled how she was raped and abused in the middle of the night by six members of the Horses of Fire. 379/ In a similar case, 15 members of the Horses of Fire broke down the door of another witness's apartment where she resided with a relative. They were forcibly removed and taken to a location where they were raped by at least seven of their captors. The witness recognized the perpetrators as her neighbours. 380/

175. Witness statements also document an incident which occurred in early June 1992. One member of the Horses of Fire allegedly raped four women and brutally beat another, throwing her to the ground and stomping on her chest and stomach. 381/ Also in June 1992, the Horses of Fire Commander and several of his men allegedly participated in the rape of several women. 382/ In early June 1992, a woman was raped and forced to walk naked through her village. 383/ On the evening of 4 July, nine rapes were reportedly committed by the Horses of Fire. 384/

176. Another report alleged that in July 1992, a notorious criminal and member of the Horses of Fire raped a young girl. 385/ Allegedly, between 8 May and 15 July, several Serbian women from Odžak County were taken prisoner and raped. The women were detained in the village while men were taken to a camp. Reportedly, the Serbian men held at Odžak were forced to rape Serbian women who were brought to the camp. 386/

Name of Unit: The Jokers (Jokeri or Džokeri)

Ethnicity: Croatian

Uniform: Black uniforms 387/

Number of Troops: N/A

Origin: N/A

Area(s) of Operation: Vitez County, BiH

Political Affiliation: N/A

Leader(s): An identified man, whose name is not disclosed for confidentiality and prosecutorial reasons

Alleged Members: N/A

Source(s): Christopher Bellamy, "Bosnian Serbs Adjust to New Order", The Independent, 1 April 1994, at 10, available in LEXIS, News Library, Curnws File.

"Defence Minister Reports on Activities of Croatian Army Units in Bosnia", BBC Summary of World Broadcasts, 1 February 1994, available in LEXIS, News Library, Curnws File.

Catherine Toups, "Bosnia-Herzegovina: Preparing for the Day of Reckoning", Inter Press Service, 15 February 1994, available in LEXIS, News Library, Curnws File.

James O. Jackson, "No Rush to Judgement", Time, 27 June 1994, at 48-51.

Alleged Activity:

177. Bralo (Čičko) Miroslav allegedly commanded a special unit of Bosnian Croat soldiers called "The Jokers". 388/ The Bosnian War Crimes Commission suspects Miroslav himself of killing 20 people. 389/ In one account collected by the Bosnian Commission, a Muslim woman from the area alleged that she was raped repeatedly by Miroslav and other Bosnian Croat soldiers during the month that she was held captive. 390/

178. A resident of Ahmići, a village in Vitez county, reported that the Jokers shelled and occupied the village on 16 April 1993. The witness stated that after the Jokers arrived, a crowd of approximately 20 people, including Croatian neighbours, surrounded the witness' home and shot several of the witness' relatives. Time magazine reported that 107 Muslims died in Ahmići that day. 391/

179. Bosnian Defence Minister, Hamdo Hadžihasanović, identified the Jokers (džokeri) as one of the special units of the HVO which received training and support from the Croatian Army. 392/

180. A report in The Independent described a group known as the Jokeri as gangsters with "fascist inclinations". 393/ The Jokeri were allegedly responsible for attacks in violation of the cease-fire signed by Bosnia's Muslims and Croats in February 1994. 394/

Name of Unit: Knights

Ethnicity: Croatian

Uniform: N/A

Number of Troops: N/A

Origin: N/A

Area(s) of Operation: Vitez County, BiH

Political Affiliation: Occasional ties to the HVO

Leader(s): N/A

Alleged Members: N/A

Source(s): UNPROFOR, Weekly Summary, April 1993, IHRLI Doc. No. 25522-25527,
at 25523.

Alleged Activity:

181. According to UNPROFOR personnel, the Croatian Knights paramilitary group set up a check-point approximately three kilometres north-west of Vitez where they detained a convoy of trucks for several days. Although the convoy was eventually returned, the action was apparently one of many designed to agitate the Muslim population and to increase tension in the region.

182. HVO officials in Vitez said that the Knights were a renegade group which did not follow official military command. 395/

Name of Unit: Medići

Ethnicity: Croatian

Uniform: Police uniforms

Number of Troops: N/A

Origin: Travnik County, BiH

Area(s) of Operation: Travnik County, BiH

Political Affiliation: N/A

Leader(s): N/A

Alleged Members: N/A

Source(s): UNPROFOR, Weekly Summary, April 1993, IHRLI Doc. No. 25522-25527;
at 25523.

Alleged Activity:

183. In talks with UNPROFOR personnel, the HVO said that a paramilitary formation called the "Medići" was responsible for the attacks, kidnappings, bombings and errant artillery fire which were perpetrated upon Muslims in and around Travnik in central BiH during the first weeks of April 1993. The HVO claimed that the Medići were not under military control. 396/

Name of Unit: Sombor Group

Ethnicity: Croatian

Uniform: N/A

Number of Troops: N/A

Origin: N/A

Area(s) of Operation: N/A

Political Affiliation: N/A

Leader(s): N/A

Alleged Members: N/A

Source(s): UNPROFOR, Weekly Summary, 7 December 1993, IHRLI Doc. No. 55366-55368, at 55366.

Alleged Activity:

184. UNPROFOR documents report that the "Sombor" group, allegedly a Croatian organization guilty of sabotage, are being detained in FRY. In December of 1993, the Yugoslav government was considering exchanging the Sombor group for Serbian prisoners of war who were being held in Croatia. 397/

Name of Unit: Croatian Tiger Forces, "Kiseljak Tigers" and "United to Death" 398/

Ethnicity: Croatian

Uniform: N/A

Number of Troops: N/A

Origin: Kiseljak, BiH

Area(s) of Operation: Mostar and Vareš Counties, BiH

Political Affiliation: Occasional ties to the HVO

Leader(s): N/A

Alleged Members: N/A

Source(s): ECMM, Report on Possible War Crimes, Submitted to the Commission of Experts, IHRLI Doc. No. 41151-41170, at 41159.

UNPROFOR, Press Release, 27 October 1993, IHRLI Doc. No. 43929-43930.

Alleged Activity:

185. The Tigers allegedly joined the HVO in Mostar on 1 June 1993. With the Tigers, arrived additional matériel, including 305 millimetre "Slavuj" guns and grenades manufactured at Slavonski Brod. 399/

186. UNPROFOR reports stated that "an HVO unit named 'Tigers from Kiseljak' or 'United to Death'" 400/ participated in the attack on the Muslim village of Stupni Do on 23 October 1993. In a press release dated 27 October 1993 (one day after the UNPROFOR forces were allowed access to the village), UNPROFOR related that the village was attacked by HVO forces and that all 52 houses in the village were burned, that civilians were killed, and that women may have been raped. 401/ Later reports stated that the attacking force contained 300-600 troops, and that 42 civilians were killed, including nine children. 402/

Name of Unit: Vjesta

Ethnicity: Croatian

Uniform: N/A

Number of Troops: N/A

Origin: N/A

Area(s) of Operation: Donji Rakić (County and Country unknown)

Political Affiliation: N/A

Leader(s): N/A

Alleged Members: N/A

Source(s): Interview with Cvijetin Maksimović (Karim Loutfi trans.), IHRLI
Doc. No. 19947A-19947L, at 19947C.

Alleged Activity:

187. Cvijetin Maksimović alleged that he was captured by Croatian forces called "Vjesta" in May 1993. He said that he was held in a detention facility operated by the Vjesta at Donji Rakić. 403/

C. Paramilitary groups working in support
of the Government of Serbia

Name of Unit: Fifth Kozara Brigade from Prijedor

Ethnicity: Serbian

Uniform: N/A

Number of Troops: N/A

Origin: Prijedor County, BiH

Area(s) of Operation: Sanski Most County, BiH

Political Affiliation: N/A

Leader(s): N/A

Alleged Members: N/A

Source(s): Croatian Information Centre, Weekly Bulletin, No. 4, IHRLI Doc.
No. 34962-966, at 34965.

Alleged Activity:

188. According to the Croatian Information Centre, the Fifth Kozara Brigade is a paramilitary formation in the Banja Luka Corps of the Serbian Army. On 24-25 July 1992, the Fifth Kozara Brigade, the Sixth Krajina Brigade and local Serb paramilitaries attacked the Bosnian Croat villages of Stara Rijeka, Briševo, Raljaš and Čarakovo in the Ljubija region. Seventy-three Croatian civilians were killed during the attack by over 3,000 Serbs. 404/

Name of Unit: Sixth Krajina Brigade from Sanski Most

Ethnicity: Serbian

Uniform: N/A

Number of Troops: N/A

Origin: Sanski Most County, BiH

Area(s) of Operation: Sanski Most County, BiH

Political Affiliation: N/A

Leader(s): N/A

Alleged Members: N/A

Source(s): Croatian Information Centre, Weekly Bulletin, No. 4, IHRLI Doc. No. 34962-34966, at 34965.

Alleged Activity:

189. According to the Croatian Information Centre, the Sixth Krajina Brigade is a paramilitary formation of the Banja Luka Corps in the Serbian Army. On 24-25 July 1992, the Sixth Krajina Brigade, along with the Fifth Kozara Brigade and local Serb paramilitaries, attacked the Croatian villages of Stara Rijeka, Briševo, Raljaš and Čarakovo in the Ljubija region of BiH. Over 3,000 Serbs participated in the attack, during which 73 Croatian civilians died. 405/

Name of Unit: Unit of Daruvar
Ethnicity: Serbian
Uniform: N/A
Number of Troops: N/A
Origin: N/A
Area(s) of Operation: Daruvar, Grubišno Polje, Pakrac, Virovitica, Podravska Slatina and Slavonska Požega Counties, Croatia
Political Affiliation: Serbian Democratic Party (SDS) of Slavonja and Baranja
Leader(s): N/A
Alleged Members: N/A
Source(s): Report of the Republic of Croatia Pursuant to the United Nations Security Council Resolution 780 of 5 October 1992, IHRLI Doc. No. 2794-2984, at 2804-2807.

Alleged Activity:

190. In June 1991, the JNA and the Serbian Democratic Party (SDS) for Slavonia and Baranja formed the XII Slavonian Shock Brigade for the area of Daruvar, Grubišno Polje, Pakrac, Virovitica, Podravska Slatina and Slavonska Požega. One formation of the brigade was the Unit of Daruvar, headquartered in Bijela. 406/

191. The Unit of Daruvar and members of their police units allegedly participated in the following attacks and incidents, often in concert with other Serbian paramilitary forces and JNA:

(a) On 19 June 1991, members of special forces for Bjelovar killed two policemen and wounded five in an attack near Sirac. 407/

(b) Three policemen--Robert Žilić, Miroslav Poljak, and Ivan Rončević, were killed in Daruvar on 20 June 1991. 408/

(c) An identified member and others kidnapped several policemen. 409/

(d) On 21 August 1991, the attack on Daruvar began. Nine mortar shells fell on the town and two policemen were wounded. 410/

(e) From 27 August to 16 September 1991, 10 people were killed and 20 wounded in mortar attacks by "Četniks" on Doljani, Daruvar and Sirač. 411/

(f) During 24-27 September 1991, Daruvar and Sirač were mortared. One person was killed and seven wounded. 412/

(g) On 6 October 1991, "Četniks" shelled Daruvar. One member of the Croatian Army was killed and five persons were seriously wounded. 413/

(h) "Četniks" shelled Daruvar and Sirač on 10 October 1991. 414/

(i) On 9 November 1991, "Četniks" fired mortar shells on Sirač and Šuplja Lipa. Two persons were killed and three wounded. 415/

(j) Two persons were killed and two wounded during shelling of Daruvar, Sirač, Šuplja Lipa and Koncanica on 11 November 1991. 416/

(k) On 12 November 1991, one person was killed and eight wounded in shelling of Daruvar. 417/

(i) During "Četnik" shelling of Sirač during 15-20 December 1991, five people were killed and 41 wounded. 418/

Name of Unit: XII Slavonian Shock Brigade

Ethnicity: Serbian

Uniform: N/A

Number of Troops: N/A

Origin: N/A

Area(s) of Operation: Pakrac, Podravska Slatina Counties, Croatia

Political Affiliation: N/A

Leader(s): N/A

Alleged Members: Sixteen identified men, whose names are not disclosed for confidentiality and prosecutorial reasons

Source(s): Report of the Republic of Croatia Pursuant to the United Nations Security Council Resolution 780 of 5 October 1992, IHRLI Doc. No. 2794-2984.

Alleged Activity:

192. In June 1991, the JNA and the Serbian Democratic Party (SDS) in Slavonia and Baranja formed the XII Slavonian Shock Brigade. 419/ Units of the Brigade include the Unit of Daruvar 420/ and the Bilogorian Order. 421/

193. On 19 August 1991, 39 members of the XII Slavonian brigade attacked Pakrac, Lipik and Prekopakra. An unspecified number of Croatian civilians were killed, evicted, or imprisoned in the camp at Bućje. Croatian property was stolen or destroyed. 422/

194. Between 13 August and 31 October 1991, 61 members of the XII Slavonian Shock Brigade allegedly participated in the following actions:

(a) On 28 August 1991, two identified members of the group and a group of unidentified perpetrators kidnapped a man from G. Kovačića. The next day, nine identified members of this group and others kidnapped two people. 423/ The names of the perpetrators are not disclosed for confidentiality and prosecutorial reasons;

(b) On 29 August 1991, four identified members of the group confiscated a villager's car and gun. 424/ The names of the perpetrators are not disclosed for confidentiality and prosecutorial reasons;

(c) An identified member of the group fired an automatic weapon at a private home in late August 1991 and murdered a man in September 1991. 425/ The name of the perpetrator is not disclosed for confidentiality and prosecutorial reasons;

(d) On 16 September 1991, members from Grdjevac, Šibenik, Gremusina, and other villages launched a mortar and artillery attack on Veliki Grdjevac; 426/

(e) On 18-19 September 1991, members of the brigade kidnapped nine men; 427/

(f) On 18 September 1991, members of the brigade from G. Kovačića launched a mortar and infantry attack on Veliki Grdjevac; 428/

(g) On 13 October 1991, members of the brigade kidnapped three men from Veliki Grdjevac; 429/

(h) On 14 October 1991, a mortar attack was launched on Veliki Grdjevac. 430/

195. The XII Slavonian Shock Brigade allegedly attacked the following villages with mortars, tank grenades, and rocket launchers during the months of October to December 1991: Četekovac, Golenić, Hum, Ivanbrijeg, Lisičine Mačkovac, Mikleuš; Podravska Slatina 431/

Name: Adolf

Ethnicity: Serbian

Uniform: Uniform of a Militia (police) reservist

Number of Troops: N/A

Origin: Bjeljina County, BiH

Area(s) of Operation: Brčko County, BiH

Political Affiliation: N/A

Leader(s): An identified man, whose name is not disclosed for confidentiality and prosecutorial reasons

Alleged Members: This is a one man unit.

Source(s): BBC Breakfast News, IHRLI Doc. No. 39139 at No. 39140-39141

Alleged Activity:

196. An identified member of this group reportedly killed 150 unarmed Muslim and Croat civilians in early May 1992, in Brčko. According to the witness, Adolf found these civilians on the streets, briefly interrogated them, and made them form a line in front of the Old Hotel near the centre of Brčko. He then shot them one by one, with a Scorpion automatic pistol fitted with a silencer. 432/

197. During the time of the initial killings, the police from Bijeljina and the local Serbian police operated in Brčko. The leader of the group worked with neither and was only being helped by a few reservists from Bijeljina. Yet, many people thought that he and the others had special permission to do the killing.

198. Those killed by the group are buried in mass graves in Brčko. 433/ Others killed were reportedly thrown into the Sava River.

199. Adolf allegedly participated in killings at the Brčko-Luka camp. 434/ However, because Adolf was not formally affiliated with the JNA, the Commander of Serb forces at the camp insisted that Adolf leave Brčko-Luka. Reportedly, Adolf then returned to Bijeljina.

200. Other identifying information is available, but not disclosed for confidentiality and prosecutorial reasons. 435/

Name of Unit: Antičevci

Ethnicity: Serbian

Uniform: N/A

Number of Troops: N/A

Origin: N/A

Area(s) of Operation: Zvornik County, BiH

Political Affiliation: N/A

Leader(s): N/A

Alleged Members: N/A

Source(s): Ludwig Boltzmann Institute of Human Rights, "Report on 'Ethnic Cleansing Operations' in the North-Eastern Bosnian City of Zvornik", 6 April 1994, IHRLI Doc. No. 63984-64023, at 63996.

Alleged Activity:

201. According to the Ludwig Boltzmann Institute of Human Rights, the Antičevci participated in the Serbian attack on Zvornik which began on 26 April 1992. Allegedly, the Antičevci attacked Zvornik alongside Territorial Defence units, Arkanovci, Šešeljovci, Draganovci, White Eagles, Dušan Silni, Vukovarci, and other smaller units. According to the report, the Antičevci carried only light arms, but are accused of perpetrating the assault in the district of Srpska Varoš in which an entire village was killed on 15 April. 436/

Name of Unit: Armada Forces

Ethnicity: Serbian

Uniform: N/A

Number of Troops: N/A

Origin: Banja Luka County, BiH

Area(s) of Operation: Teslić County, BiH

Political Affiliation: N/A

Leader(s): N/A

Alleged Members: N/A

Source(s): Zdravko Grebo, Report Sent to Tadeusz Mazowiecki, 19 November 1992, IHRLI Doc. No. 49183-49201, at 49197.

Alleged Activity:

202. According to Zdravko Grebo, a professor at Sarajevo University, the Armada Forces "terrorized" Muslim prisoners from Banja Luka. Reportedly, the Armada Forces came to Teslić to perform "ethnic cleansing" operations there. Serbian Militia and Red Berets also operated in Teslić. 437/

Name of Unit: Bilogora Unit (Bilogorski Odred)
Ethnicity: Serbian
Uniform: N/A
Number of Troops: N/A
Origin: N/A
Area(s) of Operation: Grubišno Polje, Daruvar, Pakrac, Virovitica, Podravska Slatina and Slavonska Požega Counties, Croatia
Political Affiliation: Serbian Democratic Party (SDS) of Slavonia and Baranja
Leader(s): N/A
Alleged Members: An identified man, whose name is not disclosed for confidentiality and prosecutorial reasons.
Source(s): Report of Republic of Croatia Pursuant to the United Nations Security Council Resolution 780 of 5 October 1992, IHRLI Doc. No. 002794-2984.

Alleged Activity:

203. In June 1991, the JNA and the Serbian Democratic Party (SDS) for Slavonia and Baranja formed the XII Slavonian Shock Brigade for the area of Grubišno Polje, Daruvar, Pakrac, Virovitica, Podravska Slatina and Slavonska Požega. The Bilogorski Odred was formed as part of this Brigade, and allegedly took part in the following attacks, in concert with JNA and "Četnik" forces:

(a) On 17 August 1991, the centre of Grubišno Polje was attacked. An unspecified number of people were wounded. 438/

(b) On 21 August 1991, infantry attacked Ivanovo Selo. One person was wounded and a policeman was kidnapped. 439/

(c) On 1 September 1991, the Croatian Army strongholds in Gornja Rašenica were attacked with mortars and infantry. 440/

(d) On 13 September 1991, two members of the Croatian Army were wounded in an infantry attack on Grubišno Polje. 441/

(e) On 15 September 1991, the village of Munije was attacked. The non-Serbian population was mistreated and a few Croatians were captured. 442/

(f) On 21 September 1991, 27 members of the Bilogora Unit carried out an infantry and mortar attack on Ivanovo Selo, in the Grubišno Polje municipality. Seven people were killed and nine wounded. 443/

(g) On 6-7 October 1991, "Četniks" attacked Grubišno Polje with mortars and infantry. 444/

(h) On 15 October 1991, two people were killed on during a mortar attack on Ivanovo Selo. 445/

Name of Unit: Paramilitary forces from Borovo Naselje

Ethnicity: Serbian

Uniform: N/A

Number of Troops: N/A

Origin: Vukovar County, Croatia.

Area(s) of Operation: Vukovar County, Croatia

Political Affiliation: N/A

Leader(s): N/A

Alleged Members: An identified man, whose name is not disclosed for confidentiality and prosecutorial reasons 446/

Source(s): Croatian Information Centre, Weekly Bulletin, No. 15, 15 November 1993, IHRLI Doc. no. 47021-24 at 47023.

Alleged Activity:

204. On 8 October 1991, a group of civilians were reportedly imprisoned in Borovo Naselje, near Vukovar, when they attempted to extinguish a fire at the "Komer" building. A paramilitary group from the town allegedly captured and then transported the civilians in JNA vehicles to the Stajićevo prison camp in Serbia. The prisoners were abused during the ride to Stajićevo by four members of the paramilitary unit. A witness also described Stajićevo camp as holding 6,500 persons from Vukovar, Borovo Naselje and Mikluševci, Croatia, and said that many of the prisoners were women. At least one local member of the group was identified by a local witness. 447/

Name of Unit: Forces of Miroslav Deronjić

Ethnicity: Serbian

Uniform: N/A

Number of Troops: N/A

Origin: N/A

Area(s) of Operation: Bratunac County, BiH

Political Affiliation: Serbian Democratic Party (SDS)

Leader(s): Miroslav Deronjić

Alleged Members: N/A

Source(s): US Department of State, 1993, IHRLI Doc. No. 56320-57229, at 56909.

Alleged Activity:

205. On 23 May 1992, local paramilitary forces, commanded by Miroslav Deronjić, killed 70 Muslims in front of the mosque in the village of Glogova in Bratunac County. Deronjić, alias "Momo-Penzica", was President of the Serbian Democratic Party (SDS) in Bratunac. 448/

Name of Unit: Captain Dragan units

Ethnicity: Serbian

Uniform: Captain Dragan reportedly wore a Red Beret, featuring the Serbian cross and the four cyrillic S's, and olive fatigues, with no insignia except for a metal plate on the shoulder bearing the name "Captain Dragan".

Number of Troops: As many as 1,000

Origin: Dragan's special forces consist of 1,000 soldiers of the "Republic of Serbian Krajina" and some volunteers from countries outside the Former Yugoslavia.

Area(s) of Operation: Vukovar, Zadar, and Knin Counties, Croatia; and Brčko, Zvornik, and Zavidovići Counties, BiH 449/

Political Affiliation: N/A

Alleged Leader(s): Captain Dragan Vasiljković or Daniel Sneden. 450/ Dragan is allegedly an Australian citizen who was born in Belgrade. He was a military advisor in both Tanzania and Angola, and, as a result, when speaking English, his accent is more South African than Australian. He reportedly arrived in Knin, Croatia, in 1990, returned to Belgrade in 1991, and left Krajina sometime in 1992. He later returned to Krajina to operate a training camp for special forces volunteers. 451/ Dragan also reportedly led paramilitary groups called the Knindže and the Red Berets. 452/

Alleged Members: Four identified men, whose names are not disclosed for confidentiality and prosecutorial reasons.

Source(s): Geoffrey Lee Martin, "Serb Rebel Has Record in Australia", The Daily Telegraph, 13 August 1991, at 8.

Croatian Information Centre, Weekly Bulletin, No. 4, 30 August 1993, IHRLI Doc. No. 34962-34966, at 34963.

United Nations Military Information Branch, Who's Who in Former Yugoslavia, No. 1, 1 February 1994, IHRLI Doc. No. 62101-62173, at 62141.

"Krajina Interior Minister Says Croats Preparing to Launch Attack", BBC Summary of World Broadcasts, 13 August 1991, at Eastern Europe.

Rob Krott, "Yank Pulls Three Combat Tours With Četniks", Soldier of Fortune, April 1994, at 49-50.

Croatian Information Centre, Weekly Bulletin, No. 14, 8 November 1993, IHRLI Doc. No. 47017-47023, at 47018.

US Department of State, 1993, IHRLI Doc. No. 56320-56879, at 56615 and 56995.

Croatian Information Centre, A Written Statement, IHRLI Doc. No. 36396-36402, at 36397.

Report submitted by the Republic of Croatia to the U.N. Security Council, War Crimes and Grave Breaches of Geneva Conventions Committed by Serbian Paramilitary Forces in United Nations Protected Areas (UNPAs) in the Republic of Croatia, 6 September 1993, IHRLI Doc. No. 42883-42918, at 42890.

Ludwig Boltzmann Institute of Human Rights, Report on 'Ethnic Cleansing Operations' in the North-Eastern Bosnian City of Zvornik, 6 April 1994, IHRLI Doc. No. 63984-64023, at 63996.

Alleged Activity:

206. According to the UN, Captain Dragan led a force called the Knindže from Knin, Croatia, on raids in Croatia in 1990. He also participated in operations in Vukovar with other paramilitary formations, including those commanded by Arkan and Šešelj. In February 1993, having gained celebrity status in Krajina and in Belgrade, Captain Dragan was appointed to head a training camp for Alpha Special Forces in Knin in February 1993. As a result, forces trained by Captain Dragan moved throughout the territory of the former Yugoslavia under various commanders and as members of larger units. The training camp in Croatia allegedly contained over 1,000 troops. Most of the volunteers were soldiers of the army of the Republic of Serbian Krajina, but troops from outside the former Yugoslavia also trained there under Dragan.

207. Dragan claims to have deployed the Garibaldi Fighters from Italy in the Velebit mountains north of Zadar in Croatia. The size of the Garibaldi unit is unknown, but reportedly carried out reconnaissance and sabotage missions behind enemy lines on behalf of Serbian paramilitary commanders fighting in Croatia. Dragan claimed that by July 1993, as many as 114 missions had been performed by units trained by him at the camp. 453/

208. Dragan has been accused of intimidating civilians and of orchestrating "ethnic cleansing" throughout Krajina. In November 1991, Captain Dragan and two other identified men used the burned remains of a human body to intimidate a Croatian civilian prisoner and force him to reveal information. This happened at the carpentry workshop in "Velepromet" in Vukovar. Captain Dragan was also an investigator for the "People's Court-Martial" at the carpentry workshop, where Serbian JNA and paramilitary forces condemned Croatian prisoners to death. 454/ A witness alleged that Captain Dragan and another identified man took a woman from "Velepromet". The woman was beaten and then returned to the room after being questioned about events in Vukovar and the treatment of Serbian residents there before the 1991 elections. 455/

209. A 110-man unit under Captain Dragan allegedly attacked a village called Divić, near Zvornik, in May 1992. The group was billeted in Zvornik, which was occupied by Arkanovci at the time. 456/

210. A witness stated that on 23 September 1991, civilians in Tovarnik, in eastern Croatia, were forced into a courtyard and divided according to nationality. One hundred Croats were reportedly separated from the group and taken towards Šid in Serbia. Reportedly, Captain Dragan claimed authorization to kill whomever he chose. Allegedly, one man was killed and left on the side of the road. 457/

211. A unit named the Draganovci also allegedly participated in the April 1992 attack on Zvornik in north-eastern BiH along with other paramilitary

units including Arkanovci, Dušan the Mighty, Antičevci, the White Eagles, the Vukovar Unit under Pero Elez, and others. 458/

212. In January 1993, paramilitary formations under Captain Dragan allegedly participated in the "ethnic cleansing" operation of the Knin district, along with Arkan and Šešelj units. 459/

213. Captain Dragan's troops allegedly removed prisoners from Luka camp to Belgrade during June 1992. 460/

214. Groups commanded by Captain Dragan reportedly include the Knindže, the Red Berets, and the Munja or Flash (lightning) troops.

Name of Unit: Drago's Group (Dragina Grupa)

Ethnicity: Serbian

Uniform: N/A

Number of Troops: N/A

Origin: N/A

Area(s) of Operation: Vukovar, Croatia

Political Affiliation: N/A

Leader(s): An identified man, whose name is not disclosed for confidentiality and prosecutorial reasons

Alleged Members: Nine identified men, whose names are not disclosed for confidentiality and prosecutorial reasons

Source(s): Report of the Republic of Croatia Pursuant to the United Nations Security Council Resolution 780 of 5 October 1992, IHRLI Doc. No. 2794-2984, at 2813.

Alleged Activity:

215. Drago's Group was allegedly responsible for killing civilians in Tovarnik, a town near Vukovar in eastern Croatia, during 27-30 September 1991. About 80 persons were killed with knives, guns, bombs, etc. An identified Captain raped and killed young girls. Other members of Drago's Group, who allegedly participated in the attack on Tovarnik, were identified, but their names are not disclosed for confidentiality and prosecutorial reasons. 461/

Name of Unit: Dušan the Great (Dušan Šilni)

Ethnicity: Serbian

Uniform: Camouflage, headbands or scarves and hats with insignia

Number of Troops: N/A

Origin: N/A

Area(s) of Operation: Vukovar County, Croatia and Zvornik County, BiH

Political Affiliation: N/A

Leader(s): An identified man, whose name is not disclosed for confidentiality and prosecutorial reasons

Alleged Members: Six identified men, whose names are not disclosed for confidentiality and prosecutorial reasons

Source(s): Croatian Information Centre, Weekly Bulletin, No. 3, 1993, IHRLI Doc. No. 34958-961, at 34959.

Croatian Information Centre, Weekly Bulletin, No. 14, 8 November 1993, IHRLI Doc. No. 47017-47024, at 47019.

Croatian Information Centre, War Crimes Committed by the Yugoslav Army 1991-1992, 1993, IHRLI Doc. No. 15105-15210, at 15123.

Report submitted by the Republic of Croatia to the U.N. Security Council, War Crimes and Grave Breaches of Geneva Conventions Committed by Serbian Paramilitary Forces in United Nations Protected Areas (UNPAs) in the Republic of Croatia, 6 September 1993, IHRLI Doc. No. 42883-42918, at 42896-42901.

Amnesty International, Yugoslavia: Further Reports of Torture and Arbitrary Killings in War Zones, March 1992, IHRLI Doc. No. 50100-50129, at No. 50107.

Ludwig Boltzmann Institute of Human Rights, Report on 'Ethnic Cleansing Operations' in the North-Eastern Bosnian City of Zvornik, 6 April 1994, IHRLI Doc. No. 63984-64023, at 63996.

Alleged Activity:

216. According to the Croatian Information Centre, on 7 September 1991, in Tovarnik, Dušan the Great forces killed a Catholic priest and set fire to Croatian houses. 462/

217. Dušan forces were also allegedly involved in abuses conducted in the village of Lovas in eastern Croatia. Allegedly, male civilians in Lovas were mistreated and some were killed on 17 October 1991, when they were called to a meeting in a cooperative. Dušan the Great forces surrounded the cooperative, then searched and beat the prisoners. Later, the leader allegedly arrived and ordered some of the prisoners to perform work detail, and detained them in a house for the night. One witness reportedly was detained for roughly three months and made to perform work detail. He stated that Ljuban Devetak was in charge of operations and was encamped at the main police station in Lovas. The same witness also stated that Jovičevci, Šešeljovci and Arkanovci were also present in Lovas during the fall of 1992. 463/

218. Victims were reportedly beaten, forced to sit still in front of machine-guns, and forced to walk through a minefield. Another witness reported that 21 people died and that 13 were wounded. 464/

219. Dušan the Great allegedly participated in the April 1992 attack on Zvornik in north-eastern BiH, along with other paramilitary units including Arkanovci, the Vukovar Unit, Antičevci, the White Eagles, Captain Dragan's men, and others. 465/

Name of Unit: Serb paramilitary unit from Dvor na Uni

Ethnicity: Serbian

Uniform: N/A

Number of Troops: N/A

Origin: Dvor, Croatia

Area(s) of Operation: Dvor, Croatia

Political Affiliation: N/A

Leader(s): N/A

Alleged Members: Thirteen identified men, whose names are not disclosed for confidentiality and prosecutorial reasons

Source(s): Croatian Information Centre, Weekly Bulletin, No. 15, 15 November 1993, IHRLI Doc. No. 47021-24, at 47022.

Alleged Activity:

220. According to the Croatian Information Centre, a paramilitary group from Dvor na Uni attacked two nearby villages, Kozibrod and Struga, on 26 July 1991. The attack began at 10:30 a.m. and lasted until 9:00 p.m. Allegedly, the attackers used civilians from the two villages as shields as they advanced on the Croatian police station at Kozibrod. Once in control of the police station, the paramilitaries reportedly killed seven civilians and eight policemen. The report also lists eight civilians as seriously wounded by gunfire. 466/

Name of Unit: Paramilitary forces under Pero Elez including the Vukovar Unit (Vukovarci)

Ethnicity: Serbian

Uniform: Camouflage fatigues bearing the red, white, and blue flag of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and/or the JNA star on the left front pocket

Number of Troops: N/A

Origin: Foča County, BiH

Area(s) of Operation: Foča and Zvornik Counties, BiH and Vukovar County, Croatia

Political Affiliation: N/A

Leader(s): Pero Eles

Alleged Members: Two Deputy Commanders 467/ and others 468/ were identified, but their names are not disclosed for confidentiality and prosecutorial reasons.

Source(s): US Department of State, 1993, IHRLI Doc. No. 62612-62877, at 62783.

Ludwig Boltzmann Institute of Human Rights, Report on 'Ethnic Cleansing Operations' in the North-Eastern Bosnian City of Zvornik, 6 April 1994, IHRLI Doc. No. 63984-64023, at 63996.

Republic of BiH Information Bureau, Daily Report on Aggression and Terrorism against the Republic of BiH, IHRLI Doc. No. 30207-30293, at 30213, 30246 and 30291.

Zdravko Grebo, Report to U.N. Special Rapporteur Mazowiecki, 1992, IHRLI Doc. No. 49183-49200, at 49190-2.

Report of BiH, Submission of Witness Statements to the Commission of Experts, 12 August 1992, IHRLI Doc. No. 35641-35706D, at 35685-35687, 35705.

Alleged Activity:

221. A Government report named the commander of the Vukovar Unit paramilitary force, which operated in Vukovar County, Croatia, and in Foča, Gacko, Zvornik, and Brčko Counties, BiH. 469/ Allegedly, many civilians were killed, imprisoned, or evicted from their homes by the Vukovar Unit. Reports also document that this group destroyed and looted property. The group is also accused of detaining women and young girls in separate facilities and raping them. Two identified members of the group allegedly transported women to detention facilities in FRY and Germany.

222. The US Government reported that the Vukovar unit participated in the 4 May 1992, attack on Foča, alongside members of the White Eagles and the Montenegro Guard. According to the report, the paramilitary units arrived together in seven military buses and followed orders to "comb" the area for Muslim and Croat civilians. The troops reportedly shot many of the civilians in outlying areas and detained the others at Foča Prison. 470/

223. Several witnesses stated that the commander operated in Foča from a hotel in Miljevina. Allegedly, many female prisoners were taken to the Miljevina hotel headquarters and then escorted to private homes, where they were detained for months and raped. The commander reportedly was the first to rape many of the women. The victims said that if they resisted, they were threatened with transfer to a local hotel, where many paramilitary troops raped prisoners regularly. Victims stated that they were held at the house of Nusret Karaman, 471/ who was allegedly part of a transport network run by the commander. Karaman reportedly provided passports for the women and took them from BiH to Belgrade and to Germany. 472/

224. A report submitted to the UN estimated that 250 buildings in Foča, including a mosque, were burned to the ground, that the entire agricultural stock was burned, and that farming machinery was destroyed. Allegedly, 1,000 civilians were taken to Foča prison and abused. The prisoners included Muslims, Croats, Serb resisters, and patients and staff at the Foča Medical Centre. Witnesses stated that as many as 10,000 detainees were moved through the prison. 473/

225. The Vukovar Unit also allegedly participated in an attack on the villages near Zelengora mountain in Gacko. Serbian forces allegedly began shelling the villages on 1 July 1992. Civilians were killed with knives or captured and sent to Kalinovik, where they were held in an elementary school. Witnesses stated that two identified men took 12 young women from the elementary school prison. Witnesses also reported that two elderly women died while in captivity at the school. 474/

226. The Vukovar Unit allegedly participated in the April 1992 attack on Zvornik in north-eastern BiH, along with other paramilitary units including Arkanovci, Dušan the Great, Antičevci, the White Eagles, Captain Dragan's men, and others. 475/

Name of Unit: Serbian Falcons

Ethnicity: Serbian

Uniform: N/A

Number of Troops: N/A

Origin: N/A

Area(s) of Operation: BiH

Political Affiliation: Serbian Royalist Party (SRP)

Leader(s): An identified man, whose name is not disclosed for confidentiality and prosecutorial reasons.

Alleged Members: N/A

Source(s): "Nationalistic Serbs Threaten Terrorist Attacks if Intervention", Agence France Presse, 13 May 1993, available in LEXIS, News Library, Curnws File.

Suzanne Nelson, "Yugoslavia: Extremist Groups Come to Life in Disillusioned Serbia", Inter Press Service, 17 November 1992, available in LEXIS, News Library, Curnws File.

Alleged Activity:

227. In May 1993, the group was reported to have 350 men training at Subotica, Serbia. 476/ Groups such as Helsinki Watch suspect the SRP paramilitary group, the Serbian Falcons, of atrocities. As of November 1992, an estimated 600 Serbian Falcons were fighting in BiH, with 700 to 800 in Serbia. 477/

Name of Unit: Garavi Sokak

Ethnicity: Serbian

Uniform: N/A

Number of Troops: N/A

Origin: N/A

Area(s) of Operation: Goražde County, BiH

Political Affiliation: N/A

Leader(s): N/A

Alleged Members: N/A

Source(s): State Commission for Gathering Facts on War Crimes in the Republic of BiH, Bulletin, No. 3, March 1993, IHRLI Doc. No. 29841-29884, at 29875.

Alleged Activity:

228. According to the Bulletin, in June 1992, the Garavi Sokak paramilitary unit looted Muslim property and frightened Muslim residents of Goražde and surrounding villages. The Garavi Sokak unit worked together with Užice military units, Arkan's men, and local paramilitaries working under Braco Rakanović. Allegedly, these forces attacked a settlement near Kokino village and another near Površnica mountain. 478/

Name of Unit: Grey Wolves

Ethnicity: Serbian

Uniform: The Grey Wolves wore distinct, black wool caps and green uniforms with patches on both sleeves. The right-arm patch depicted a grey wolf; the left-arm patch bore the four Cyrillic S's.

Number of Troops: N/A

Origin: N/A

Area(s) of Operation: Bosanski Šamac County, BiH

Political Affiliation: N/A

Leader(s): Stepo Todorović, Minister of Internal Affairs, who originally lived in Serbia

Alleged Members:

Source(s): Marlene A. Young (National Organization for Victim Assistance), Recommendation for Assistance to Victims of Trauma in the Former Yugoslavia, 5 February 1993, IHRLI Doc. No. 9114-9162, at 9157-9161.

Alleged Activity:

229. The National Organization for Victim Assistance reported an attack on Bosanski Šamac on 17 April 1992, by Serbian paramilitary forces, including the Grey Wolves and Arkanovci. One witness stated that the paramilitary troops arrested and killed civilians in the days before and after the attack, and that the same troops mined and destroyed all of the bridges in the area. The witness stated that he was arrested and repeatedly beaten. 479/

230. On 18 April the paramilitary forces were allegedly joined by the Territorial Defence and the JNA, who came with tanks and transport vehicles. Politically active Croats and Muslims were arrested, as well as anyone who remained outside. Seven or eight days later, all intellectuals were arrested. In the third and final wave of arrests, the only civilians who were not taken were those with "working obligations". Allegedly, detention centres were established at a Territorial Defence storehouse and the police headquarters. The prisoners were reportedly beaten and detained for a month. 480/

231. Todorović was reportedly from Serbia and married to a Muslim woman. He allegedly demanded that civilians give up their arms for peace, and claimed that if even one Grey Wolf was killed, 100 Muslims and Croats would die. According to the witness, the civilians who surrendered their weapons were arrested. 481/

232. A man, identified by one name only, was reportedly a member of the Arkanovci or Grey Wolves, killed 21 people in retaliation for the death of a 21 year-old Serb. A 60 year-old man was also reportedly shot to death. 482/

233. The witness stated that he was eventually taken out of Bosanski Šamac and taken to Brčko and other camps. 483/

Name of Unit: Serbian Guard in Karakaj

Ethnicity: Serbian

Uniform: N/A

Number of Troops: N/A

Origin: N/A

Area(s) of Operation: Karakaj (county unknown), BiH

Political Affiliation: N/A

Leader(s): An identified man, whose name is not disclosed for confidentiality and prosecutorial reasons.

Alleged Members: N/A

Source(s): US Department of State, 1993, IHRLI Doc. No. 56320-57229, at 56879.

Alleged Activity:

234. The chief of the Serbian guard in Karakaj is reported to have engaged in several activities not disclosed for confidentiality and prosecutorial reasons. 484/

Name of Unit: Serb Hawks (Srpski Orlovi)

Ethnicity: Serbian

Uniform: N/A

Number of Troops: N/A

Origin: N/A

Area(s) of Operation: BiH

Political Affiliation: N/A

Leader(s): N/A

Alleged Members: N/A

Source(s): Chris Stephen, "View from the Zoo", Houston Chronicle, 5 December 1993, at A33.

Alleged Activity:

235. The name "Serb Hawks" is reported in at least one newspaper article, but no information is available regarding their activities. 485/

Name of Unit: Četniks led by Dragan Ignjatović, Ljubisav, and Mile Mijatović

Ethnicity: Serbian

Uniform: N/A

Number of Troops: N/A

Origin: N/A

Area(s) of Operation: Zvornik County, BiH

Political Affiliation: N/A

Leader(s): Dragan Ignjatović, Ljubisav, and Mile Mijatović (alias "Cicvara")

Alleged Members: N/A

Source(s): World Campaign "Save Humanity", Report on War Destructions, Violation of Human Rights and Crimes Against Humanity in BiH, 27 July 1992, IHRLI Doc. No. 52111-135, at 52131-132.

Alleged Activity:

236. Četniks led by Dragan Ignjatović, a former clerk in the Zvornik town hall, Ljubisav, a policeman, and Mile Mijatović, alias "Cicvara", attacked Kostjerevo village near Zvornik in May 1992. According to a witness, the entire population of Kostjerevo was taken to Drinjača. Thirty-five men were beaten and killed in a hall there and 12 teenage boys were taken prisoner and led in the direction of Zvornik. Women were raped and tortured. On 31 May about 150 women and children were taken in two buses in the direction of Tuzla, while others were allegedly kept for exchange. 486/

Name of Unit: Paramilitary forces under Dragan Ikanović 487/

Ethnicity: Serbian

Uniform: N/A

Number of Troops: N/A

Origin: N/A

Area(s) of Operation: Vogošća County, BiH

Political Affiliation: N/A

Leader(s): Dragan Ikanović

Alleged Members: An identified man, whose name is not disclosed for confidentiality and prosecutorial reasons.

Source(s): State Commission for Gathering Facts on War Crimes in the Republic of BiH, Bulletin, No. 3, March 1993, IHRLI Doc. No. 29841-29884, at 29869-29870.

Alleged Activity:

237. A witness reported that Dragan Ikanović and his men were responsible for the deaths of approximately 50 Muslim prisoners. According to the witness, Ikanović and his men loaded the prisoners onto a bus and drove them from Vogošća towards a village called Srednje. At one point in the journey, the passengers were told that the bus had overheated. The three Serbian guards left the bus, which was then fired upon by Serbian forces using rocket launchers, bazookas, machine-guns and hand grenades. 488/

Name of Unit: Dragan Ilić's Group

Ethnicity: Serbian

Uniform: N/A

Number of Troops: N/A

Origin: N/A

Area(s) of Operation: N/A

Political Affiliation: N/A

Leader(s): Dragan Ilić

Alleged Members: One man was identified, but his name is not disclosed for confidentiality and prosecutorial reasons.

Source(s): US Department of State, 1993, IHRLI Doc. No. 56320-57229, at 56879.

Alleged Activity:

238. Twenty-two year-old Dragan Ilić, son of Dragoljub Ilić, allegedly led a team that confiscated weapons from Muslims. One member of the team was identified. 489/

Name of Unit: Jovićevci

Ethnicity: Serbian

Uniform: Camouflage

Number of Troops: N/A

Origin: N/A

Area(s) of Operation: Vukovar County, Croatia

Political Affiliation: N/A

Leader(s): N/A

Alleged Members: N/A

Source(s): Report submitted by the Republic of Croatia to the U.N. Security Council, War Crimes and Grave Breaches of Geneva Conventions Committed by Serbian Paramilitary Forces in United Nations Protected Areas (UNPAs) in the Republic of Croatia, 6 September 1993, IHRLI Doc. No. 42883-42918, at 42896-42901.

Alleged Activity:

239. According to witness statements reported by the Republic of Croatia, the Jovićevci forces were involved in abuses conducted in Lovas in eastern Croatia. Male civilians in Lovas were allegedly mistreated and some were killed on 17 October 1991, when they were called to a meeting at the town cooperative. Jovićevci allegedly participated in searching and beating the prisoners. Twenty-one people were killed on the night of 17 October when they were forced to walk in a minefield located in front of the Borovo factory. A witness stated that the paramilitary groups present in Lovas at the time were the Jovićevci, Šešeljovci and Arkanovci. Also, many witnesses have corroborated that Ljuban Devetak, an economist, was in charge of the forces operating in Lovas during the fall of 1992. 490/

Name of Unit: Zoran Karlica

Ethnicity: Serbian

Uniform: N/A

Number of Troops: N/A

Origin: N/A

Area(s) of Operation: Prijedor County, BiH

Political Affiliation: N/A

Leader(s): N/A

Alleged Members: Three identified men, whose names are not disclosed for confidentiality and prosecutorial reasons

Source(s): Croatian Information Centre, Genocide: Ethnic Cleansing in Northwestern Bosnia (Ante Beljo ed. 1993), IHRLI Doc. No. 39889-40025, at 39953.

Alleged Activity:

240. A Serbian paramilitary unit called Zoran Karlica was allegedly responsible for killings, rapes and other abuses in the village of Bišćani in Prijedor county in July 1992. A witness recognized and identified three men among the group. One identified man allegedly beat a man to death because of an earlier incident between them. 491/

241. The witness claimed that there were few survivors after "ethnic cleansing" in the village. Survivors were loaded into two buses and driven towards Prijedor. There were reportedly unburied bodies alongside the road during the drive. At Crna Jaruga, half of one bus' passengers were killed. One of the buses drove to the Omarska camp and then on to the Trnopolje camp because there was no room at Omarska. Later in the day, an identified member of the paramilitary group returned and reportedly removed and executed 13 people. 492/

Name of Unit: Knindža Turtles

Ethnicity: Serbian

Uniform: N/A

Number of Troops: N/A

Origin: Knin County, Croatia

Area(s) of Operation: Modriča and Doboj Counties, BiH

Political Affiliation: N/A

Leader(s): N/A 493/

Alleged Members: N/A

Source(s): Amnesty International, BiH Gross Abuses of Basic Human Rights,
October 1992, IHRLI Doc. No. 3596-3648, at 3620-21.

Alleged Activity:

242. According to an eyewitness, during May 1992, a paramilitary group who called themselves the Knindža Turtles, together with members of the White Eagles, interrogated prisoners at the Sutjeska school. The witness reported that he was held in a classroom with approximately 50 other men of military age. Women, children and older men were held in the school sports hall. The witness said that local Serbs acted as guards, while the two paramilitary groups performed interrogations. 494/

243. The witness was questioned about where the Muslims kept their weapons and about his activities before apprehension. He said that he was not beaten during the interrogation, but that one of the prisoners, a 47 year-old Muslim, was beaten with a pickaxe handle. 495/

Name of Unit: Vlado Kovačević and Četniks

Ethnicity: Serbian

Uniform: N/A

Number of Troops: N/A

Origin: N/A

Area(s) of Operation: Vukovar County, Croatia

Political Affiliation: N/A

Leader(s): Vlado Kovačević

Alleged Members: N/A

Source(s): Croatian Information Centre, Weekly Bulletin, No. 2, 16 August 1993, IHRLI Doc. No. 34954-34957, at 34956.

Alleged Activity:

244. On 19 November 1991, Serbian paramilitary units, referred to by witnesses as "Četniks", took Vukovar civilians from their basements to the Pekara bakery, where they were killed with knives and burned in a baker's oven. Vlado Kovačević was seen among the perpetrators, apparently dressed as the commander. 496/

Name of Unit: Paramilitary forces under command of Rajko Kušić

Ethnicity: Serbian

Uniform: N/A

Number of Troops: N/A

Origin: N/A

Area(s) of Operation: Višegrad and Rogatica Counties, BiH

Political Affiliation: N/A

Leader(s): Rajko Kušić, Major Commander Battalion Borika, 1 Brigade Drina Corps, Serbian Republic of BiH 497/

Alleged Members: An identified person, whose name is not disclosed for confidentiality and prosecutorial reasons

Source(s): BiH Bulletin No. 3, March 1993, IHRLI Doc. No. 29841-29884, at 29866-29867.

United Nations Military Information Branch, Report on Who's Who in Former Yugoslavia, No. 1, 1 February 1994, IHRLI Doc. No. 62101-62173, at 62141.

Alleged Activity:

245. According to a witness, Serbian paramilitary forces under the command of Rajko Kušić killed 49 prisoners during a fake prisoner exchange. Serb forces under the command of an identified member of the group forced prisoners from Višegrad onto a bus, under the pretence of a prisoner exchange in Han Pijesak. However, once the prisoners were on the bus, several Serb soldiers tied them up, and then beat and taunted them. Eventually, the bus arrived at a curve along a muddy road. The Serb forces ordered the prisoners off the bus, walked them up the road, then killed 49 of the prisoners and piled them in a pit. 498/

Name of Unit: Paramilitary forces under Milan Lukić.
Ethnicity: Serbian
Uniform: Masked with camouflage uniforms and "Četnik insignias".
Number of Troops: N/A
Origin: Višegrad County, BiH
Area(s) of Operation: Višegrad County, BiH
Political Affiliation: N/A
Leader(s): Milan Lukić
Alleged Members: N/A
Source(s): Tadeusz Mazowiecki, Fifth Periodic Report on the Situation of Human Rights in the Territory of the Former Yugoslavia, U.N. Doc. E/CN.4/1994/47 (17 November 1993), IHRLI Doc. No. 52399-52435, at 52430.

Amnesty International Submission to the Commission of Experts, 16 November 1992, IHRLI Doc. No. 34967-35017, at 34993.

Zdravko Grebo, Report Sent to Tadeusz Mazowiecki, 19 November 1992, IHRLI Doc. No. 49183-49201, at 49192-49193.

Republic of BiH, Report Submitted to the Commission of Experts, 5 July 1992, IHRLI Doc. No. 34732-34763, at 34734.

Alleged Activity:

246. According to reports submitted to the Commission of Experts, Milan Lukić from the village of Rusti in Višegrad, BiH, commanded paramilitary forces operating in the Višegrad region. Lukić's forces allegedly abducted two sets of Muslim civilians who have since disappeared. He is also accused of murder, deliberate destruction of Muslim property, and molestation of young Muslim women at the "Vilina Vlas" and "Bikavac" hotels. 499/

247. A report, based on information received from the BiH Ministry of Internal Affairs, states that on 18 June 1992, 22 Muslims were killed on the new bridge in Višegrad by Lukić and his men. According to the report, the Lukić forces killed the civilians by various methods: children were dropped from the bridge and shot before they hit the water, others died when their kidneys were torn out, and some were tied to car bumpers and dragged through the streets. The report states that Lukić's forces did not act alone on 18 June but were linked with members of the Popović Group (another paramilitary group operating in Višegrad at the time and commanded by Srpko Popović). 500/

248. Milan Lukić and his men allegedly abducted 16 Sandžak Muslims from the village of Sjeverin on 22 October 1992. According to Amnesty International, eight armed and masked men boarded a bus the victims were travelling in as it entered BiH in the Višegrad municipality. The men then escorted the Muslim passengers off the bus and onto an army truck. The truck, which had no license plates, carried the civilians towards the town of Višegrad. According to witnesses, the Muslims were told that they were to be exchanged for Serbs who were captured the night before. The Belgrade newspaper, Borba, citing

military sources in Serbia, reported that the Muslims were killed near Višegrad later that same day. 501/

249. On 19 February 1993, Lukić's forces allegedly performed a similar operation at the Strpci train station in BiH. Witnesses state that 19 Muslim passengers on the train were abducted by paramilitary forces under Milan Lukić. The forces all wore camouflage with "Četnik insignia". The victims were led onto a military truck and driven away from the train station. 502/

250. Lukić was reportedly arrested and detained briefly in relation to both of these incidents on 26 October 1992 and again in February 1993. According to Amnesty International, the leaders of the "Serb Republic of BiH" deny the existence of paramilitary forces in the Višegrad region and refer to Lukić and his paramilitary forces as "volunteers" fighting under the command of the Višegrad Brigade. However, according to Borba, Lukić's forces were not controlled by the army or the local authorities in Višegrad. 503/

Name of Unit: Martić's Police or Militia (Martićevci)

Ethnicity: Serbian

Uniform: Reportedly had access to federal army uniforms.

Number of Troops: N/A

Origin: Krajina, Banija, Kordun, Slavonia.

Area(s) of Operation: Regions of Krajina, Kordun, Banija, Western Slavonia, Eastern Slavonia, Croatia; and Brčko, Dobož, and Hadžići Counties, BiH.

Political Affiliation: Affiliated with Milan Martić, former police chief and Interior Minister of the Krajina region, and currently the president of the RSK.

Leader(s): Milan Martić, Captain Dragan, Dane Bunjevac (unit commander of Krajina militia in Plaški), 504/ Mladenović (local commander in UNPA Sector East) 505/

Identified Members: Five identified men, whose names are not disclosed for confidentiality and prosecutorial reasons

Source(s): M. Cherif Bassiouni, Reports Obtained During the Commission Mission to the Former Yugoslavia -- April 1993, 11 May 1993, IHRLI Doc. No. 15899-906.

Meriel Beattie, "At Least Four Dead in Fresh Battles Between Serbs and Croats", Reuters, 14 August 1991, available in LEXIS, News Library, Curnws File.

"Belgrade Radio Reports Martić's Claim of 30 Killed in Ljubovo", BBC Summary of World Broadcasts, 5 July 1991.

Nesho Djurić, "Serbian Guerrillas Fight for Croatian Territory", UPI, 19 August 1991, available in LEXIS, News Library, UPI File.

Alan Ferguson, "Belgrade Puts Pressure on Rebellious Republics", Toronto Star, 26 June 1991, at A1.

"The Fighting in Croatia in Brief", BBC Summary of World Broadcasts, 25 July 1991.

Donald Forbes, "Croats and Serb Guerrillas Fight in a Dozen Towns", Reuters, 11 September 1991, available in LEXIS, News Library, Curnws File.

Misha Glenny, The Fall of Yugoslavia (1993).

Blaine Harden, "Guerrillas, Army Shell Croatian City; Republics' Leaders Open Peace Talks", Washington Post, 21 August 1991, at A8.

Peter Humphrey, "Bosnia Holds Emergency Defence Meeting after Serb Incursion", Reuters, 9 June 1991, available in LEXIS, News Library, Curnws File.

David C. Isby, "Yugoslavia 1991 -- Armed Forces in Conflict", Jane's Intelligence Review, September 1991, IHRLI Doc. No. 26349A1-26349A63, at 26349A26.

Jonathan S. Landay, "Dispute Over Army Role in Croatia Focus of Presidency Meeting", UPI, 26 July 1991, available in LEXIS, News Library, UPI File.

Letter from Citizens of Široka Kula and Relatives of Missing Persons to ECMM (Zagreb), 15 January 1992, IHRLI Doc. No. 19122-19126.

Tyler Marshall, "Serbs and Croats Face Off Along Frontier of Hatred", Los Angeles Times, 14 July 1991, at 1.

Ministry of Information, Republic of Croatia, Concerning the Implication of Persons and Institutions from the Republic of Serbia in Terrorist Acts Carried Out in the Republic of Croatia, IHRLI Doc. No. 18476-485.

"Other Report on Croatian Conflict", BBC Summary of World Broadcasts, 2 August 1991.

Report of the Republic of Croatia Pursuant to the United Nations Security Council Resolution 780 of 5 October 1992, IHRLI Doc. No. 2794-2984.

"The Sandžak Referendum in Brief", BBC Summary of World Broadcasts, 4 November 1991, available in LEXIS, News Library, Curnws File.

State Commission for Gathering Facts on War Crimes in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulletin, No. 2, February 1993, IHRLI Doc. No. 29792-840, at 29827-828.

Note from Anne-Marie Thalman, Humanitarian Affairs Officer Civil Affairs, to Georg Mautner-Markof, Chief, Special Procedures Section, Centre for Human Rights, Zagreb, 19 November 1992, IHRLI Doc. No. 49183-201 at 49197.

Report on Statements about Violations of the Second Protocol to the Geneva Conventions Concerning Slunj, the Surrounding Villages Situated in the Regions South of Slunj and Villages in the Municipality of Korenica, IHRLI Doc. No. 55082-117.

Dessa Trevisan, "Croat Police Given Army Ultimatum", The Times, 3 April 1993, available in LEXIS, News Library, Curnws File.

UNPROFOR, Allegations of Human Rights Violations, 22 April 1993, IHRLI Doc. No. 24426-24800 at 24432, 24439.

UNPROFOR, Press Summary Belgrade, 19 October 1993, IHRLI Doc. No. 45390-393, at 45390.

US Department of State, 1993, IHRLI Doc. No. 34165-203 at 34170.

Eileen Yin, "Yugoslav Political Leaders Hold Crucial Talks on Country's Future", UPI, 22 July 1991, available in LEXIS, News Library, UPI File.

"Yugoslav Army Halts Croat-Serb Conflict", Washington Times, 1 April 1991, at A2.

Alleged Activity:

251. Milan Martić became the most prominent organizer of Serbian militia forces in the Krajina region of Croatia. When the armed conflict between Croats and Serbs began in the Serb strong-hold of Knin in August 1990, Martić served as the local Serb police chief and military organizer. Martić apparently continued as the leader of the Krajina militia when Croatian Serbs declared the autonomous region of "SAO Krajina" in March 1991 and when the Republic of Serbian Krajina (RSK) was established. Martić served for a long period as the Interior Minister of the RSK and was elected president of the RSK in January 1994.

252. It is difficult to establish Martić's role in particular military and paramilitary activities. The reports submitted to the Commission of Experts do not clearly delineate Martić's authority over the various paramilitary groups which operated in the Serbian-controlled regions of Croatia and do not clearly signify how Martić's authority may have expanded or diminished as his own role within the rump RSK government changed. While Martić, as the Knin police chief and RSK Interior Minister, clearly controlled a large force of police and police reservists, it is not clear how this force was related to the "SAO Krajina Militia", which has also been closely identified with Martić. A number of reports mention both Martić and a Krajina militias, suggesting that they may have been different forces. 506/ The organization of a RSK army separate from Krajina militia and police forces is not well understood, but by October 1993, the Politika newspaper reported that the RSK military supported RSK President Goran Hadžić, while the police backed Interior Minister Martić in their political disputes. 507/ For these reasons, this report summarizes only the activities of groups clearly identified as Martić forces.

253. Most of the reports on which this summary is based do not describe the personal involvement of Martić in planning or executing actions attributed to Martić forces. They are connected to him only because reports describe the groups involved as Martićevci, Martić Police or Martić Militia. An exception is the report from Croatian authorities, stating that Martić met with Komazec Ozren and Adam Davor on 10 April 1991 and instructed them to ignite explosives in Zadar, which they allegedly did. 508/

254. Serbs in Croatia began to organize paramilitary forces in 1990, prior to the declaration of an independent Serbian Krajina within the borders of Croatia. By mid-July 1990, the paramilitary forces reportedly had an estimated 12,000 members. 509/ The forces commanded by or loyal to Milan Martić were known as Martićevci. In an interview reported in July 1991, Martić claimed that the Krajina forces he commanded had 7,000 police regulars and 20,000 reservists. 510/ Several reports indicate that Captain Dragan commanded one of the Martićevci forces, 511/ but the links between Captain Dragan and Martić are not clear.

255. When the Serbs in Knin declared the autonomous region of "SAO Krajina", Martić headed the Secretariat of Internal Affairs (SUP) of the government led by Milan Babić. 512/ As Interior Minister and military organizer, Martić was widely regarded as effective in building the strength of the Krajina militia. 513/ Initially, the Martićevci was comprised largely of ethnic Serbian members of the existing Croatian police forces. Serbian members of Territorial Defence Forces and volunteers from other parts of Yugoslavia also joined the militia loyal to Martić. 514/

256. In the early stage of the conflict, Martićevci police forces attacked Croatian police stations and clashed with Croatian police forces in several villages. Federal army units were deployed to separate the Croatian and Serbian police after the battle for control of the Plitvice National Park, during which two people were killed. 515/
257. Following the fighting in the Plitvice region, the Serb authorities in Knin announced that they were uniting with the Republic of Serbia. Martić claimed that Serbian President Milošević had promised weapons and assistance to the Krajina Serbs if they came under attack. Officials in Serbia did not comment on his remarks. 516/
258. The Republic of Serbia and the Serb-dominated federal army reportedly backed the Martićevci and other Serb insurgents in Croatia. The Martićevci had access to federal uniforms, maps, vehicles, and weapons. 517/ The federal army also fought with the militias against Croatian forces, even as federal army officials continued to insist that the army was only acting as a buffer between Croatian and rebel Serb forces. 518/
259. Following the Croatian declaration of independence on 25 June 1991, the Serbian rebels attacked the Croatian police station in Glina. Three policemen were killed and seven injured. On 2 July Krajina militia forces attacked Croatian police in Lički Osik, and, according to Martić, 10 people were killed. 519/ Other Croatian villages were reportedly attacked as well. The federal army moved to separate the Croatian and Serbian fighters; Croatian sources claimed that the army was protecting the rebels. 520/
260. Martićevci forces and Croatian forces clashed often during the summer and fall of 1991. Fighting erupted in the regions of Krajina, Banija, Kordun and Western and Eastern Slavonia. Numerous cities and villages were engulfed in the conflict, including Gospić, Zadar, 521/ Vinkovci, Mirkovci, Josipdol, 522/ Dvor na Uni, 523/ Plaski, 524/ Selo Plastovo, Šibenik, Otočac, 525/ Beli Manastir, Borovo Selo, Borovo Naselje, Topusko, 526/ Pakrac, and Okučani. 527/
261. Federal army and Serbian rebel forces jointly attacked Croatian towns and villages on several occasions. On 21 August 1991, the combined forces shelled Osijek, killing three civilians and damaging a cathedral and apartment buildings. 528/ The army did not deny taking part in the shelling but claimed that it was responding to an attack by the Croatian National Guard on a federal army installation near the city. 529/ On 28 August 1991, the village of Korana in Slunj County was allegedly attacked by army tankfire and Martić forces. Women and children reportedly fled from the village, while the fate of 20 remaining Croatian men is unknown. The village was allegedly destroyed. 530/
262. The federal army also allegedly followed a pattern of occupying Croatian towns and villages after attacks by Martićevci and other rebel forces. Therefore, even when the army did not directly participate in the fighting, it helped rebel Serb forces gain control of a large portion of Croatia. 531/
263. In addition to fighting other armed forces, the Martićevci and other Serb rebels have been accused of attacking civilians, "ethnic cleansing", and abuses in detention.
264. "Ethnic Cleansing" and Attacks on Civilians: Members of the Martić Police and Yugoslav Army allegedly killed civilians, burned houses, and looted property in Saborsko from 1 August to 12 November 1991. During this period, 40 civilians were killed and 34 people were reported missing in Saborsko. 532/

265. In the village of Široka Kula during August to October 1991, Martić police forces based in Lički Osik allegedly restricted the movement of Croatian villagers, cut off telephone links, and subjected prisoners to forced labour. Citizens of Široka Kula were allegedly tortured and killed, but it is unclear whether Martić police or other paramilitaries were responsible. 533/

266. Approximately 70 members of Martić's group, along with other paramilitaries, were responsible for "ethnic cleansing" in the area of Donji Vakuf. 534/

267. In December 1991, a named man and other members of Martić's police killed civilians, burned houses and evicted people from their homes in the Croatian villages of Smilčić, Sopot and Paljuv. 535/

268. In December 1991, about 22 Croatian citizens were killed in their homes by Martić's militia, reportedly in retaliation for 19 Martić members allegedly killed while fighting against the Croatian Army. 536/

269. A named member of Martić's Militia, along with members of the Territorial Defence of SAO Krajina, allegedly attacked civilians in Čatrnja on several occasions. On 1 June 1992, he reportedly killed a civilian man from Čatrnja; on another occasion, he killed three women from the village and then burned their bodies. 537/

270. Abuses in Detention: Martić's militia and other paramilitary groups allegedly organized camps and prisons in Croatia at Beli Manastir, Knin, Stara Gradiška, Glina, Titova Korenica, Željava, and Bučje. 538/ In these camps, civilians, Croatian Army troops, and Croatian Ministry of Interior troops were mistreated and executed. 539/

271. Martić and his forces imprisoned Croatian policemen in several cities. Croatian authorities alleged that two Croatian policemen from Šibenik were arrested by Martić in Civljane on 1 April 1991, and detained for 15 days. According to one account, 120 Croatian policemen were being held in Knin on 26 June 1991, and Martić threatened to capture more. 540/ According to a Belgrade radio report, eight Croatian policemen from Dvor na Uni were imprisoned in Knin in July 1991, at which time the Knin prison contained 42 members of Croatian Ministry of Internal Affairs (MUP) forces. 541/

272. In September 1991, six members of Martić's militia were accused of torturing and terrorizing imprisoned civilians and members of the Croatian Army held at the fortress in Knin. 542/

273. On 31 December 1991, three Croatian soldiers travelling from Podgradina to Novigrad were captured in Paljuv by members of the ex-Yugoslav army and handed over to members of the Martić police forces. Martić's men allegedly killed one of the soldiers with a bullet to the head; the fate of the other two is unknown. 543/

274. Martić police allegedly arrested a Catholic priest from Drežnik in the Kordun region and imprisoned him in Titova Korenica. 544/

275. Martićevci Activity in BiH: In addition to the widespread involvement of the Martićevci in the conflict in Croatia, Martić forces also operated in BiH. On 8 June 1991, a special battalion of the SUP staged a one-day exercise in Titov Drvar to gauge combat-readiness. The exercise was reportedly commanded by Martić, who stated that there would be further exercises in BiH and that the exercise had erased the border between Krajina and BiH. 545/

276. In October 1991, a group of Martićevci allegedly stormed a polling station in Hadžići near Sarajevo, to stop voting on a referendum on Sandžak autonomy. 546/

277. Martić forces from Bosanska Krajina were allegedly the last Serbian forces to hold Brčko following the Serbian attack which began on 1 May 1992. 547/

278. Martić forces were allegedly involved in the Serbian attack on Doboј, which began on 3 May 1992. A husband and wife were attacked and robbed by Serbian soldiers, identified by the victims as the "Martić gang". The man was beaten and cut with a knife; his wife was raped. 548/

Name of Unit: Montenegro Guard
Ethnicity: Serbian
Uniform: Camouflage with white cloth tied around the left shoulder
Number of Troops: N/A
Origin: N/A
Area(s) of Operation: Foča County, BiH
Political Affiliation: N/A
Leader(s): N/A
Alleged Members: N/A
Source(s): US Department of State, 1993, IHRLI Doc. No. 62612-62877, at 62782-62786.

Alleged Activity:

279. According to the US Government, the Montenegro Guard participated in "ethnic cleansing" operations in Jeleč, a village near Miljevina in south-eastern BiH. Allegedly, the Montenegro Guard and members of other paramilitary units, including the White Eagles and the Vukovar Unit, shelled the town and killed remaining Muslim civilians after 23 April 1992. The raid on Jeleč began on 18 April 1992, when paramilitary forces blocked the roads to the town and ordered Muslims to surrender their weapons by 22 April to a Bosnian Serb delegation at the military complex in Miljevina. On 23 April Serb forces began shelling Jeleč and the surrounding villages, forcing the residents into hiding in the surrounding hills. The Montenegro Guard and other ground forces moved into Jeleč on 4 May. They arrived in seven military buses and were given orders to search the area for Muslims. At least 16 Muslims were allegedly shot and buried in two graves in a potato field one kilometre west of Jeleč. 549/

Name of Unit: Radoja Nikolić's Paramilitary Groups

Ethnicity: Serbian

Uniform: N/A

Number of Troops: N/A

Origin: N/A

Area(s) of Operation: Zvornik County, BiH

Political Affiliation: N/A

Leader(s): Radoja Nikolić

Alleged Members: N/A

Source(s): US Department of State, 1993, IHRLI Doc. No. 56320-57229, at 56879.

Alleged Activity:

280. Radoja Nikolić allegedly led Serbian paramilitary groups in Grbavci near Zvornik. 550/

Name of Unit: Special Forces from Nikšić

Ethnicity: Montenegro Serbs

Uniform: N/A

Number of Troops: N/A

Origin: Nikšić, Montenegro, FRY

Area(s) of Operation: Gacko County, BiH

Political Affiliation: N/A

Leader(s): N/A

Alleged Members: N/A

Source(s): Submission from David Hepburn, ECMM Liason Officer, UK Mission, to the Commission of Experts, 29 April 1993, IHRLI Doc. No. 20269-20546, at 20271-20285.

Alleged Activity:

281. Witnesses from the villages around Gacko, BiH, stated that in June 1992, their villages were destroyed and Muslim civilians were tortured and killed by Nikšić paramilitary forces, White Eagles, local Serbs and JNA soldiers. On 18 and 19 June, the villages in the area allegedly were shelled, and Muslims were rounded up for interrogation and transported to Trebinje. Many of the civilians fled into the forests in the nearby mountains from where they could see the paramilitary forces moving through the villages and burning the homes. 551/

282. According to one witness, many of the civilians hiding in the forests surrendered on 12 July 1992. They were taken in military trucks to Gacko and interrogated at the police station, where witnesses reported many village possessions were stored. The civilians were asked where their male relatives could be found. The male Muslim prisoners were reportedly held in the basement of a hotel in the suburbs of Gacko. 552/

283. Eventually, in late July, the women and children were deposited at the front-line near Berkovići, where Serb forces were fighting members of the Croatian Defence Council (HVO). The civilians were forced to cross the battle lines over minefields towards the HVO who fed them and transferred them to Mostar, Čapljina, or Ljubuški, BiH. 553/

284. Witnesses from the Gacko region alleged that the Serbian forces, including the forces from Nikšić, destroyed and looted villages, blew up at least one bridge, shot and burned some civilians and mutilated others. Witnesses stated that almost none of the Muslim males from the area survived. 554/

Name of Unit: Paramilitary Forces from Padinska Skela

Ethnicity: Serbian

Uniform: Large, black cowboy hats with ribbons

Number of Troops: N/A

Origin: Padinska Skela, FRY

Area(s) of Operation: Zvornik County, BiH

Political Affiliation: N/A

Leader(s): N/A

Alleged Members: N/A

Source(s): Ludwig Boltzmann Institute of Human Rights, Report on 'Ethnic Cleansing Operations' in the North-Eastern Bosnian City of Zvornik, 6 April 1994, IHRLI Doc. No. 63984-64023, at 63996.

Alleged Activity:

285. According to the Ludwig Boltzmann Institute of Human Rights, paramilitary forces from Padinska Skela participated in the April 1992 attack on Zvornik in north-eastern BiH, along with other paramilitary units including Arkanovci, Šešeljovci, Dušan the Great, Antičevci, the White Eagles, Captain Dragan's men, the Vukovar Unit, and others. 555/

Name of Unit: Paramilitary forces under Risto Perišić

Ethnicity: Serbian

Uniform: N/A

Number of Troops: N/A

Origin: N/A

Area(s) of Operation: Višegrad County, BiH

Political Affiliation: N/A

Leader(s): Risto Perišić

Alleged Members: N/A

Source(s): Statement of Hidajeta Omerović, Security Department, Ministry of Interior, Republic of BiH, Case File 353/1992 (5 July 1992) IHRLI Doc. No. 34732-759, at 34734.

Alleged Activity:

286. Risto Perišić, President of the Serbian community, was one of the organizers of "ethnic cleansing" in the Višegrad region. He was formerly a teacher of Serbo-Croatian. 556/

Name of Unit: Popović Group

Ethnicity: Serbian

Uniform: N/A

Number of Troops: N/A

Origin: N/A

Area(s) of Operation: Višegrad, BiH

Political Affiliation: N/A

Leader(s): Srpko Popović

Alleged Members: An identified man, whose name is not disclosed for confidentiality and prosecutorial reasons

Source(s): Zdravko Grebo, Report Sent to Tadeusz Mazowiecki, 19 November 1992, IHRLI Doc. No. 49183-49201, at 49192-49193.

Alleged Activity:

287. The Popović Group was reportedly involved in the deaths of 22 Muslims in Višegrad on 18 June 1992. The Popović unit worked with forces under Milan Lukić to kill Muslim civilians. A report also states that the Popović Group killed many Muslims at the Višegrad Electric Plant and threw the corpses into the Drina river. The Popović Group burned a group of 60 civilians in a house, drowned victims by tying them up and throwing them into the river, and looted Muslim homes in Višegrad. According to the report, Popović once killed 17 civilians in a single day. 557/

Name of Unit: Radosavljević/Lukić Unit
Ethnicity: Serbian
Uniform: N/A
Number of Troops: N/A
Origin: N/A
Area(s) of Operation: Podravska Slatina County, Croatia
Political Affiliation: Serbian Democratic Party (SDS)
Leader(s): Borivoje Lukić and Borivoje Radosavljević
Alleged Members: N/A
Source(s): Republic of Croatia, Report to the Commission of Experts, IHRLI Doc. No. 2794-2984, at 2810.
Amnesty International, Yugoslavia: Further Report on the Deliberate Killings in the War Zone, 1992, IHRLI Doc. No. 3538-3565, at 3544.

Alleged Activity:

288. During June 1990, the Serbian Democratic Party (SDS) was established in Podravska Slatina, led by lawyer Ilija Sašić. Party members armed themselves and established "camps for the education of terrorists" 558/ in Voćin, Sekulinci, Bučje, Zvečevo and Čeralije. On 19 August 1991, a "terroristic unit" under the command of Borivoje Lukić and Borivoje Radosavljević disarmed and mistreated Croatian policemen at the police station in Voćin. 559/ On the same day, "Četniks" 560/ harassed Croatians in the "Prevenda" quarter of the city, searching their homes and confiscating their weapons. While Serbians remained in control of Voćin, Croatians were tortured and arrested, and suffered forced labour and property confiscation. When the "Četniks" retreated on 12-13 December 1991, they killed Croatian civilians in Voćin, Hum, Krašković and Bokane. Public and private buildings were destroyed, including the Catholic church in Voćin.

Name of Unit: Radulović Irregulars 561/

Ethnicity: Serbian

Uniform: N/A

Number of Troops: N/A

Origin: Zecovi (county unknown), BiH

Area(s) of Operation: Prijedor County, BiH

Political Affiliation: N/A

Leader(s): N/A

Alleged Members: Three identified men, whose names are not disclosed for confidentiality and prosecutorial reasons

Source(s): US Department of State, 1993, IHRLI Doc. No. 56320-57229, at 56883.

Alleged Activity:

289. Several members of this group were identified for their alleged violations in locations not identified for confidentiality and prosecutorial reasons. 562/

Name of Unit: Forces under Braco Rakanović

Ethnicity: Serbian

Uniform: N/A

Number of Troops: 3

Origin: Goražde County, BiH

Area(s) of Operation: Goražde County, BiH

Political Affiliation: N/A

Leader(s): Braco Rakanović

Alleged Members: Two identified people, whose names are not disclosed for confidentiality and prosecutorial reasons

Source(s): State Commission for Gathering Facts on War Crimes in the Republic of BiH, Bulletin, No. 3, March 1993, IHRLI Doc. No. 29841-29884, at 29875.

Alleged Activity:

290. Several members of this group were identified for their alleged violations in locations not identified for confidentiality and prosecutorial reasons. 563/

Name of Unit: Rambos

Ethnicity: Serbian

Uniform: Webbed masks, black gloves, and black ribbons tied around their foreheads

Number of Troops: N/A

Origin: N/A

Area(s) of Operation: Prijedor County, BiH

Political Affiliation: N/A

Leader(s): N/A

Alleged Members: N/A

Source(s): Croatian Information Centre, Genocide: Ethnic Cleansing in Northwestern Bosnia (Ante Beljo ed., 1993), IHRLI Doc. No. 39889-40025, at 39953.

Alleged Activity:

291. According to one witness, the Rambos carved the Četnik insignia (four cyrillic S's) into a victim's chest, cut the sinews in one individual's leg and the spine of another so that he was instantly paralysed. 564/ The witness noted that the Rambos were sexually aggressive and assaulted both men and women interned in the camp. On one occasion, the men allegedly took five 13 year-old girls to a private home and returned them the following day, bearing obvious signs of abuse. A resident physician managed to suture two of the victims, but the others had to be sent to the hospital in Prijedor. 565/ In another incident, the Rambos chopped off the testicles and gouged out the eyes of a Czechoslovakian medic. 566/

Name of Unit: Red Berets

Ethnicity: Serbian

Uniform: N/A

Number of Troops: N/A

Origin: Niš, Serbia, FRY

Area(s) of Operation: Brčko, Doboj, Prijedor and Teslić Counties, BiH

Political Affiliation: N/A

Leader(s): N/A 567/

Alleged Members: N/A

Source(s): US Department of State, 1993, IHRLI Doc. No. 56320-57229, at 56328-56329, 57050.

Victim Testimonies submitted by Dr. Christina Doctare, WHO (Jan. 1993), IHRLI Doc. No. 39240A-39265A, at 39242A.

Zdravko Grebo, Report Sent to Tadeusz Mazowiecki, 19 November 1992, IHRLI Doc. No. 49183-49201, at 49197.

UNPROFOR Daily Situation Report, 30 December 1992, IHRLI Doc. No. 8275-8276, at 8276.

Alleged Activity:

292. In late December 1992, UNCIVPOL and local police authorities inspected a Red Beret camp near Bapska village. The UNPROFOR report, which described the inspection, did not specify the incident under investigation or the nature of the camp. 568/

293. On 1 May 1992, Red Berets from Niš arrested two Bosnian Muslim brothers at the railway station in Brčko, while trying to escape from the city. The men were taken to the Luka prison camp, where they were mistreated and witnessed many atrocities. 569/

294. In May 1992, Red Berets participated in the attack on Gornja Puharska, a village of about 300 Muslim families and six Croatian families. On 17 May regular JNA forces surrounded and attacked the village. On 29 May, Red Berets entered the village in tanks, accompanied by some non-uniformed Bosnian Serb irregular forces. 570/ The village surrendered and all the men were taken 23 kilometres south-east to Omarska on two buses and a cattle truck. Women and children remained in the village. At Omarska, Red Berets, JNA, and police provided security and coordinated guard shifts. 571/

295. Red Beret troops allegedly raped women at the Secondary School Centre in Doboj. One victim reported that three Red Berets (whom she believed were part of the Knin Corps) raped her simultaneously after she had been taken to the school by other "Četniks". 572/

296. Red Beret formations from Banja Luka participated in the "ethnic cleansing" of the Teslić region, along with the Serbian Militia and the Armada

Forces of the Serbian Republic of BiH. These groups also mistreated 600 prisoners in four prisons in the region, particularly in Banja Vrućica where 300 Muslims were imprisoned. 573/

Name of Unit: SAO Krajina Militia

Ethnicity: Serbian

Uniform: N/A

Number of Troops: N/A

Origin: N/A

Area(s) of Operation: Dragović, Pakrac County, Croatia

Political Affiliation: N/A

Leader(s): N/A

Alleged Members: N/A

Source(s): Croatian Information Centre, Weekly Bulletin, No. 2, 16 August 1993, IHRLI Doc. No. 34954-34957, at 34955.

Alleged Activity:

297. On 12 April 1993, five armed members of the SAO Krajina Militia robbed a Croatian family of money, valuables and a vehicle in the village of Dragović, 400 metres from an UNPROFOR checkpoint. The family was released with the assistance of UNPROFOR and local police. According to witnesses, the SAO Krajina militia wore uniforms which were different from the regular army. 574/

Name of Unit: Momir Savić's Četniks

Ethnicity: Serbian

Uniform: N/A

Number of Troops: N/A

Origin: N/A

Area(s) of Operation: Višegrad County, BiH

Political Affiliation: N/A

Leader(s): Momir Savić

Alleged Members: Six identified men, whose names are not disclosed for confidentiality and prosecutorial reasons

Source(s): Statement of Hidajeta Omerović, Security Department, Ministry of Interior, Republic of BiH, Case File 353/1992 (5 July 1992), IHRLI Doc. No. 34732-34759, at 34734.

Alleged Activity:

298. Momir Savić, an independent toolmaker, allegedly organized "ethnic cleansing" in the Višegrad region. On 13 April 1992, he and his Četniks reportedly set fire to the villages of Repuševiči, Jarci, Brezje, Šip, Bodežnik, Bluž and Moremeslje. They reportedly stole humanitarian aid, but their actions worsened after the Užice corps left Višegrad on 18 June 1992. They then harassed and arrested Muslims, defaced a mosque, and destroyed the property of Muslims. 575/

Name of Unit: Serbian Democratic Party Forces (Srpska Demokratska Stranka)
(SDS)

Ethnicity: Serbian

Uniform: N/A

Number of Troops: N/A

Origin: Vukovar County and the Crna Gora Region, Croatia

Area(s) of Operation: Gacko and Sarajevo Counties, BiH

Political Affiliation: Serbian Democratic Party

Leader(s): Mišo Radulović, Vojin Popović

Alleged Members: Five identified men, whose names are not disclosed for confidentiality and prosecutorial reasons

Source(s): US Department of State, 1993, IHRLI Doc. Nos. 62693, 62711, 62712, 62713.

Alleged Activity:

299. The State Department reported that the Serbian Democratic Party (SDS), along with members of the Banja Luka Corps, attacked the village of Kozarac on 23 May 1992. 576/ The strength of their combined force was approximately 3,000 men, 70 T-84 and T-55 tanks, and an unknown number of armoured personnel carriers. Mišo Radulović, commander of the SDS troops, and a large number of his troops were reportedly from Vukovar and the Crna Gora region in Croatia.

300. Seven hundred Muslim villagers defended Kozarac for three days. Approximately 4,500 residents of the village were killed in direct fighting and by artillery and tank shelling. Once the Serbian force had taken the village, hundreds of Muslims fled to the forest. The SDS and Banja Luka Corps forces mined the perimeter of the forest to prevent Muslims from finding refuge there. As a result, many Muslims were killed or badly wounded.

301. A named member of the SDS Central Committee was located in Pale where he worked for the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the "Serbian Republic of Bosnia and Hercegovina". He helped arm local Serbs with weapons obtained from the JNA and actively participated in the arrest of Muslim intellectuals outside Sarajevo by providing lists with their names and addresses for Serbian paramilitary units. 577/

302. Another identified member was the former Deputy Commander of the District Highway Patrol Police in Sarajevo. 578/ He joined the SDS in early 1992 and was a commander of troops in Stari Grad in April 1993. He worked with JNA officers to coordinate an attack on an army depot at Feletići in May 1992, during which over 20,000 weapons were taken. He and a man named Drago Sujur also participated in ethnic cleansing in the area around Stari Grad. 579/

303. Another identified member headed the police department in Gacko county and the SDS in Gacko. 580/ Popović came to Gacko from Serbia in early 1992. He ordered a named man to rid Gacko County of its non-Serbian population. Within two or three weeks, all Muslims were killed, sent to Macedonia, or to camps in Serb-held areas.

304. Another identified member was a former chief inspector in the Sarajevo Internal Affairs Department and a member of the SDS. 581/ Before the war, he was a prominent Communist. As of mid-April 1993, he was the main political advisor to the commander of the Kolacki Battalion near Sokolac. During mid-July 1992, this battalion participated in attacks on a number of refugee settlements, including the village of Sahbegovići, where 60 Muslim women and children were killed. 582/

Name of Unit: Six Districts (Šesta Krajiška)

Ethnicity: Serbian

Uniform: N/A

Number of Troops: N/A

Origin: Banja Luka County, BiH

Area(s) of Operation: Sanski Most County, BiH

Political Affiliation: N/A

Leader(s): N/A

Alleged Members: N/A

Source(s): US Department of State, 1993, IHRLI Doc. No. 56320-56816, at 56632-56633.

Alleged Activity:

305. According to the US Government, on 9 May 1992, the Šesta Krajiška, or Six Districts paramilitary unit, attacked Sanski Most, occupying the police station and other municipal buildings there. Seventeen days after the Šesta Krajiška attack, Sanski Most was invaded by the Serbian Regular army. The Šesta Krajiška allegedly was from Banja Luka and regularly conducted small-scale military operations in support of the Serbian troops in BiH. 583/

Name of Unit: SOS (Srpske Oružane Snage)

Ethnicity: Serbian

Uniform: Red berets and arm patches depicting white wolves

Number of Troops: Approximately 12 members

Origin: Belgrade, Pančevo, and Valjevo, Serbia; many had come from Serbia as part of Arkan's Forces.

Area(s) of Operation: Area from Brčko County to Banja Luka County, including Bosanski Šamac, Modriča, Odžak, Derventa, and Bosanski Brod Counties, BiH

Political Affiliation: N/A

Leader(s): Crni (Blackie), Lugar (Ranger)

Alleged Members: An identified man, whose name is not disclosed for confidentiality and prosecutorial reasons

Source(s): US Department of State, 1993, IHRLI Doc. No. 62684.

Alleged Activity:

306. Members of the Srpske Oružane Snage (SOS) came to BiH as part of Arkan's Forces, but later operated independently. The SOS were reportedly extremely violent, looted property, and killed Serbs, Muslims and Croats.

307. The two leaders of the SOS, Crni and Lugar, allegedly killed about 5,000 people in the Brčko area with firearms and knives. 584/ They were reportedly criminals before the war and were incarcerated in the Kazneno-Popravni Dom Prison in Raška. 585/ Crni and Lugar both are described by the witness. 586/

308. A witness alleged that the 12 SOS members were finally charged with looting and killing and locked up in Stara Gradiška Prison only because of the international community's awareness. 587/ Witnesses claimed that the SOS members were allowed to wander freely through the prison and repeatedly beat other inmates. No dates are indicated in relation to SOS activities.

Name of Unit: Paramilitary forces under Joja Tintor

Ethnicity: Serbian

Uniform: N/A

Number of Troops: Over 1,000

Origin: N/A

Area(s) of Operation: Pale and Vogošća Counties, BiH

Political Affiliation: Eighty members were affiliated with the SDS.

Leader(s): Joja Tintor and four men, whose names are not disclosed for confidentiality and prosecutorial reasons

Alleged Members: Twelve identified men, whose names are not disclosed for confidentiality and prosecutorial reasons

Source(s): BiH Bulletin No. 3, March 1993, IHRLI Doc. No. 29841-29884, at 29868-29870.

Alleged Activity:

309. According to a witness, over 1,000 Serbian irregular forces, 150 soldiers from Rajlovac and Butile barracks, and 80 SDS extremists, entered Ahatovići and Dobroševići in south-east BiH on 1 June 1992 and killed approximately 20 Muslim men. The Serb forces also wounded several others and looted and set fire to Muslim homes. On 2 June 1992, Serb extremists mined and destroyed the mosque in Ahatovići. During the Serb attack, Serbian irregulars, under the command of Joja Tintor, also captured 400 women and children and 80 men. 588/

310. Previously, Serb forces captured 150 people from the villages Dobroševići, Bojnik, and Mihaljevići in Vogošća, BiH. The Serb forces beat 15 of the men, and eventually transferred them to Rajlovac, where they were held for 12 days. In Rajlovac, Serb guards beat and killed one of the prisoners. A named guard took 55 prisoners by bus to a supposed prisoner exchange. However, when the bus reached Sokolina, near Srednje, the Serb guards left the bus. Serbs troops in the surrounding hills then fired on the bus with rocket launchers, bazookas, and infantry weapons. Forty-seven of the prisoners reportedly died in the attack. 589/

Name of Unit: Commander Turtle's Units

Ethnicity: Serbian

Uniform: N/A

Number of Troops: N/A

Origin: N/A

Area(s) of Operation: Foča, Višegrad and Čajniče Counties, BiH

Political Affiliation: N/A

Leader(s): A man identified by the pseudonym of Duško Kornjača ("Commander Turtle")

Alleged Members: N/A

Source(s): Peter Maas, "In Bosnia War, A Serb Doctor Becomes 'Commander Turtle,'" Washington Post, 12 September 1992, available in LEXIS News Library, Curnws File.

Alleged Activity:

311. "Duško Kornjača", 590/ a doctor, is allegedly a Bosnian Serb warlord who fought under the name of "Commander Turtle". He also held the titles of "Defence Minister of the Serbian Autonomous Region of Hercegovina" and "Commander of the Čajniče War Committee". As of September 1992, he was the boss of portions of eastern BiH, including Foča and Višegrad. 591/

Name of Unit: Užice Corps

Ethnicity: Serbian

Uniform: Stocking masks

Number of Troops: N/A

Origin: Užice, Serbia, FRY

Area(s) of Operation: Goražde County, BiH

Political Affiliation: N/A

Leader(s): N/A

Alleged Members: N/A

Source(s): Supplemental US Submission of Information to the Commission of Experts, 12 April 1993, IHRLI Doc. No. 11912-11946, at 11921.

Alleged Activity:

312. A witness stated that in May 1992, the Užice Corps shelled the Hotel Drina in Goražde, which housed refugees, including women and children. According to the witness, masked paramilitary forces harassed the Muslim citizens of Goražde for months. In mid-June, the witness saw Serbian forces in a settlement at the base of the Površnica mountain killing Muslims and throwing the corpses into the Drina River. 592/

Name of Unit: Velebit Unit (Velebitska Jedinica)

Ethnicity: Serbian

Uniform: N/A

Number of Troops: N/A

Origin: N/A

Area(s) of Operation: Gračac County, Croatia

Political Affiliation: N/A

Leader(s): N/A

Alleged Members: An identified man, whose name is not disclosed for confidentiality and prosecutorial reasons

Source(s): Report of the Republic of Croatia Pursuant to the United Nations Security Council Resolution 780 of 5 October 1992, IHRLI Doc. No. 2794-2984, at 2894.

Alleged Activity:

313. On 20 July 1991, a named man and nine other members of the Velebit Unit allegedly shelled Lovinac in the municipality of Gračac, killing one local woman. According to a report of the Republic of Croatia, they attacked Lovinac again on 5 August. One civilian was killed, and a reserve policeman and a civilian were wounded. The perpetrators also caused significant property damage in the attack. The members of the Velebit Unit kidnapped five villagers from their houses and killed them about two kilometres from Lovinac, in the direction of Raduča. 593/

Name of Unit: Višegrad Militia

Ethnicity: Serbian

Uniform: White ribbons tied around the arms.

Number of Troops: N/A

Origin: Serbia and Višegrad County, BiH

Area(s) of Operation: Višegrad County, BiH

Political Affiliation: N/A

Leader(s): N/A

Alleged Members: N/A

Source(s): State Commission for Gathering Facts on War Crimes in the Republic of BiH, Bulletin, No. 3, March 1993, IHRLI Doc. No. 29841-29884, at 29864.

Alleged Activity:

314. A witness stated that he narrowly escaped when the house where he was detained was set afire by Višegrad Militia guards. The witness stated that many other prisoners died in the fire. On 13 June 1992, Radomir Djurić reportedly came to Koritnik and told the Muslims there that they would be evicted. The next day, men in camouflage with white ribbons tied to their upper arms entered the village and loaded 57 civilians onto buses which headed towards Višegrad. At a Serbian checkpoint on a bridge outside Višegrad, the civilians were searched and forced to surrender their money and jewelry. The prisoners were then transferred to a house where the women were taken for what the guards called "interrogations". 594/

315. The witness claimed that there were already five prisoners in the house near the checkpoint where the villagers were detained. At 10:30 a.m., one of the guards threw a torch into the house and fired his machine-gun into the rooms holding prisoners. The witness escaped through a window and ran. In the field behind the house, he was fired upon, pretended he was shot, and lay as if dead. Throughout the night, he heard machine-guns firing and suspects that none of the other prisoners survived. 595/

Name of Unit: The Visors

Ethnicity: Serbian

Uniform: N/A

Number of Troops: N/A

Origin: N/A

Area(s) of Operation: Glina County, Croatia

Political Affiliation: N/A

Leader(s): An identified man, whose name is not disclosed for confidentiality and prosecutorial reasons

Alleged Members: N/A

Source(s): Report of the Republic of Croatia Pursuant to the United Nations Security Council Resolution 780 of 5 October 1992, IHRLI Doc. No. 2794-2984, at 2886.

Alleged Activity:

316. According to a report from the Republic of Croatia, 22 Croatians, mostly elderly people, were killed in Glinska Joševica village on 16 December 1993, by a special Territorial Defence unit, the Visors. The victims were killed in their own homes with guns fitted with silencers. The Croatian report claims that Serbian authorities in Glina initiated that attack as revenge for the death of 19 members of Territorial Defence units, killed in battle with the Croatian Army. 596/

Name of Unit: Weekenders (Vikendaši)

Ethnicity: Serbian

Uniform: N/A

Number of Troops: N/A

Origin: Bijeljina County, BiH

Area(s) of Operation: Brčko County, BiH

Political Affiliation: N/A

Leader(s): N/A

Alleged Members: N/A

Source(s): US Department of State, 1993, IHRLI Doc. No. 34165-34203, at 34186.

Alleged Activity:

317. According to the US Government, the Weekenders are a group of Serbian men from Bijeljina who went to Brčko each weekend to plunder and vandalize. Apparently, they began raiding Brčko in May 1992, after the Arkanovci and the JNA attacked the town. They continued their raids during the entire time that the JNA occupied Brčko. 597/

Name of Unit: White Eagles (Beli Orlovi)

Ethnicity: Serbian

Uniform: Camouflage with white eagle patches or white bands on the shoulders; also military and civilian clothes with headbands and hats bearing Kokarda insignia; former JNA Young Officer and Squad Leader uniforms

Number of Troops: N/A

Origin: N/A

Areas of Operation: Vukovar County, Croatia and Bileća, Gacko, Višegrad, Bosanska Krupa, Banja Luka, and Prijedor Counties, BiH

Political Affiliation: N/A

Leader(s): Nine identified men, whose names are not disclosed for confidentiality and prosecutorial reasons

Alleged Members: Nineteen identified men, whose names are not disclosed for confidentiality and prosecutorial reasons

Source(s):

Republic of BiH, Letter from President Alija Izetbegović to U.N. Security Council, 4 September 1992, IHRLI Doc. No. 91.

Republic of BiH, Report from Ministry of Internal Affairs, Security Service Centre, 22 September 1992, IHRLI Doc. No. 35683.

Republic of BiH, Report from Ministry of Internal Affairs, State Security Department, 7 October 1992, IHRLI Doc. No. 33299, 33248.

Ludwig Boltzmann Institute of Human Rights, Report on 'Ethnic Cleansing Operations' in the North-Eastern Bosnian City of Zvornik, 6 April 1994, IHRLI Doc. No. 63984-64023, at 63996.

Republic of Croatia, Report Submitted to the Commission of Experts, 5 October 1992, IHRLI Doc. No. 2842.

US State Department, Supplemental US Submission to U.N. Security Council, 12 April 1993, IHRLI Doc. Nos. 11915, 11916, 11922, 11923, 11925, 11945.

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An official source, IHRLI Doc. No. 29762.

Letter from Danny Hynes, DHRC Belgrade, to Kim Steendahl, HQ ECMM Info Section, in Submission from Kim Steendahl to the Commission of Experts (1 July 1993), IHRLI Doc. No. 25124-25164, at 25126.

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Alleged Activity:

318. A named man allegedly gathered and trained forces called the White Eagles to operate in BiH as the paramilitary wing of the Serbian Peoples' Renewal Party (SNO). Apparently, the SNO volunteer troops never fought in BiH or Croatia. However, paramilitary groups with no formal link to the SNO co-opted the name "White Eagles" and operated independently during the conflict. 598/ White Eagles groups allegedly operated in Bileća, Gacko, Višegrad, Bosanska Krupa, Banja Luka, Prijedor, and Zvornik Counties in BiH. White Eagles also allegedly participated in attacks in Vukovar County, Croatia.

319. White Eagles reportedly worked with the JNA, Užice Territorial Defence Forces, Dušan the Great, Arkanovci, Martićevci, Šešeljovci, Nikšić Special Forces, Serbian Democratic Party (SDS) forces, SUP, and local police. In Vukovar, the White Eagles and other groups reportedly received weapons from the JNA. 599/ White Eagles units reportedly targeted Muslim and Croatian civilians and rarely engaged enemy soldiers. 600/ The White Eagles allegedly beat, raped, and killed Muslims and Croats on the roads, in villages, and in camps.

320. White Eagles units allegedly entered Gacko in March 1992 with the JNA, SUP, Nikšić Special Forces, an "Interviewing Platoon", and local police. 601/ The Serbian forces blockaded the city, detained civilians at the Hotel Rudnik or at the Gacko power plant, and destroyed Muslim cafes, shops, homes, and cars. 602/ Members of the paramilitary units searched the hills around Gacko on foot 603/ and pounded the forests with artillery. 604/

321. In late June, the paramilitary forces told the Muslim civilians that they were free to leave Gacko. 605/ However, approximately six kilometres outside the town, the White Eagles robbed and beat the fleeing Muslims. One of the Muslim men was reportedly burned alive. 606/ The Serbs then returned the civilians to the Gacko "prisons" where, according to witnesses, some were tortured, disfigured, and killed by the guards. 607/ Muslim women and girls were allegedly killed in the woods or raped at the Košuta Motel. 608/

322. According to the European Community Monitoring Mission, the Interviewing Platoon and the White Eagles, who together ran operations in Gacko, maintained headquarters at the Hotel Rudnik, 609/ the Košuta Motel, and the Gacko police station. 610/ Paramilitary leaders in Gacko were reportedly Veljo Lojević (Deputy), Vojin Popović (Chief of Police), Milan Vuković (Inspector), Ranko Vujović (Policeman), and Ozren Govedarica (leader of the White

Eagles). 611/

323. White Eagles allegedly participated in "ethnic cleansing" in Rodić Brdo near Višegrad. 612/ They worked as part of the Užice Corps from early April until the end of May 1992 with the JNA, Užice Territorial Defence Forces, and other Serb reservists. 613/ In April, the Užice Corps set up roadblocks and surrounded the village. Working from a list, they arrested the prominent Muslim civilians of the town and took them away. 614/ The village fell under full control of the White Eagles on 25 May 1992.

324. White Eagles arrested, interrogated, and killed Muslims in the villages of Grbavica and Kremaluša. 615/ They came to these villages in early April and May 1992. 616/ In Grbavica, the White Eagles reportedly killed the villagers and burned the corpses with the houses. 617/ In Kremaluša, they surrounded the village, opened fire on the people with machine-guns and mortars, and burned the houses. 618/ White Eagles units allegedly performed similar operations in Banja Luka, Bosanska Krupa, Novo Brčko, Filipovići, and Lovas. 619/

325. According to the Ludwig Boltzmann Institute, White Eagles participated in an attack on Zvornik in April 1992 as part of a paramilitary force consisting of Arkanovci, Šešeljovci, Dušan the Great, Draganovci, the Vukovar Unit, and others. 620/ The troops reportedly stayed in the Alhos and Jezero hotels. The White Eagles allegedly participated in the second wave of the attack and concentrated on the city of Zvornik and the later assault on Kulagrad. They were involved in the shelling, siege, and occupation and primarily responsible for arrests, deportation and looting. The report states that the White Eagles were often drunk and "provocative" and that they drew white eagles on houses and storage buildings. 621/

326. Allegedly the White Eagles' attack on Zvornik originated from nearby villages, across the BiH border with Serbia. Witnesses stated that the White Eagles wore mixed and matched JNA uniforms, which they modified by sewing white eagle badges on the caps and upper-arms. 622/

327. At Prnjavor Camp in Krajina, members of a White Eagles paramilitary unit beat and killed two prisoners, one on 17 May and the other on 6 June 1992. 623/ At a detention camp in Bileća, White Eagles beat a Serb guard severely after he threw away the keys to the prison cells to prevent the White Eagles from beating the prisoners. Because they could not enter the cells, the White Eagles reportedly bombarded the prison with tear gas for five hours. 624/ White Eagles also reportedly operated at the Keraterm and Stara Gradiška camps. 625/

328. Reports submitted to the Commission of Experts document White Eagles operations in the following locations: Banja Luka, Bileća, Bosanska Krupa, Bravnice, Brčko, Dušče, Gacko, Grbavica, Jeleč, Kotor Varoš, Kozarac, Kremaluša, Lovas, Paklenica, Filipovići, Prijedor, Rodić Brdo, Teslić, Trnopolje, Trošanjski, Vukovar, and Žepa.

329. Documents report White Eagle activity in the following camps: Prnjavor Camp, Keraterm Camp, Stajićevo Camp, Stara Gradiška Camp.

330. The White Eagles also allegedly operated at the Hotel Rudnik and the Motel Košuta.

D. Paramilitary groups from outside the former Yugoslavia

Name of Unit: Garibaldi Unit

Ethnicity: Italian

Uniform: N/A

Number of Troops: N/A

Origin: Italy

Area(s) of Operation: Zadar County, Croatia

Political Affiliation: N/A

Leader(s): N/A

Alleged Members: N/A

Source(s): "Croatian Serbs 'Recruit Italian Fighters'", The Independent, 21 October 1993, at 12.

Alleged Activity:

331. An uncertain number of Italians fought in Croatia on behalf of Serbian paramilitary commanders. 626/ Captain Dragan, a Serbian commander, claimed that he deployed the Italian unit in the Velebit mountains north of Zadar, Croatia. The Belgrade news agency, Tanjug, reported that the unit carried out reconnaissance and sabotage missions behind enemy lines. 627/

Name of Unit: Russian Mercenaries

Ethnicity: Russian

Uniform: Black uniforms with black berets or flight caps

Number of Troops: 150

Origin: Russia

Area(s) of Operation: Eastern BiH, including Bijeljina County

Political Affiliation: N/A

Leader(s): N/A

Alleged Members: N/A

Source(s): US Department of State, 1993, IHRLI Doc. No. 62612-877, at 62735-62737.

Alleged Activity:

332. Croatian prisoners in Serb-run detention camps reported the presence of Russian troops in eastern BiH in February 1993. The prisoners were working as forced labourers for the Bosnian Serb army on the front line on Majevisa Mountain. Sometime between 15 February and 3 March 1993, prisoners from the Batković detention camp were allegedly told not to go near the radio and television relay tower on the mountain because it was the headquarters for Russian soldiers aiding the Bosnian Serbs. A Serb guard reportedly said that the Russians, none below the rank of captain, deserted the Russian military when Boris Yeltsin came to power and belonged to a special unit of the Soviet Ministry of Defence. 628/

333. One morning between 20 February and 23 February, Croatian prisoners working on Majevisa Mountain observed about 17 of the Russian soldiers, carrying AK weapons, returning to their base from the direction of Tuzla. The Russians were reportedly dressed in all-black, one-piece uniforms, and some wore black berets or flight caps. Serb guards said that the Russians had volunteered and received 200 Deutsche Marks monthly. 629/

334. Russian soldiers were also allegedly present at the Stepa Stepanovic barracks and prison in Bijeljina in February 1993. A prisoner questioned one of the guards about Russian voices outside his cell. The guard indicated that 150 Russians had arrived in BiH to help the Serbs and that more were on the way. The guard also allegedly told the prisoner that the Russians were veterans of the fighting in Afghanistan, and that they had volunteered but were paid based on the territory they captured. According to the guard, one group of the Russian soldiers was to go to Maslenica, Croatia, with the forces of Arkan and Šešelj, while another group would remain in BiH. 630/

IV. ANALYSIS OF REPORTED PARAMILITARY
ACTIVITY BY GEOGRAPHIC LOCATION

A. BiH

1. Banja Luka County 631/

335. Banja Luka county is in the north-west quarter of BiH. According to the 1991 census, the county had a population of 195,139, of which 54.8 per cent were Serbian, 14.9 per cent Croatian, 14.6 per cent Muslim, 12 per cent described themselves as "Yugoslavs", and 3.7 per cent as "other". 632/

336. During January and February 1993, while Serbs were seeking international relief to feed their people and rebuild ravaged towns in northern BiH, a campaign of violence was renewed against Muslims and Croats in that area. Leaders of both the Muslims and Croats have placed blame for these attacks on Šešelj and Arkan, whose units had been moving into the Banja Luka area in large numbers. 633/ The SOS (Srpske Oružane Snage) paramilitary group, whose members had originally come to BiH as Arkanovci, was also reported to be present in Banja Luka. 634/

337. In early February, 11 Muslims were killed and several others were choked to death by cables. Muslim homes were under attack and many people were fired from their jobs. 635/

338. Croats were also being pressured to leave the Banja Luka area. Homes were being blown up and robbed by unidentified armed men who told the Croat residents to "go away". Like the Muslims, many Croats were dismissed from their jobs. Four Croats were killed in early February, six homes were burned down, and one woman was raped. 636/

339. The nearby village of Čelinac experienced a similar fate. Muslims in that village were subjected to numerous restrictions forbidding them to drive, patronize businesses, make out-of-town phone calls or leave their homes between 4:00 p.m. and sunrise. Serb forces broke into Muslim homes each night, took away the men, and demanded that all money be turned over. Others were dismissed from their jobs. 637/

340. In March of 1993, Šešelj allegedly visited Banja Luka with his private guard force, the White Eagles. He stated in local media interviews that he intended to geographically unite the Serbian populations of Knin, Banja Luka, the Baranja region, and Montenegro. The visit was part of Šešelj's failed attempt to wrest power from the local SDS leader, Radovan Brdjanin. 638/

341. During the first week of May 1993, two of Banja Luka's mosques, Ferhad Paša and Arnaudija, both built in the 16th Century, were reduced to ruins by Serb gunfire and dynamite. Two weeks before the explosions, while standing before the two mosques, Šešelj was reported to have said, "Is it possible that they are still standing?" 639/

2. Bihać County 640/

342. Bihać County is in the north-west corner of BiH. According to the 1991 census, Bihać had a population of 70,896. The population was 66.6 per cent Muslim, 17.8 per cent Serb, 7.7 per cent Croat, 6 per cent "Yugoslav", 1.9 per cent "other".

343. UNPROFOR reported the presence of Muslim paramilitary units called the White Pumas in Bihać in December 1992. 641/

3. Bijeljina County 642/

344. This county is in the north-east quarter of BiH with Serbia on its eastern border. According to the 1991 census, of its population of 96,796, 59.4 per cent was Serbian, 31.3 per cent Muslim, 4.4 per cent "Yugoslav", and 4.9 per cent "other".

345. Arkan was reportedly in the town of Bijeljina for about one month preparing his battle plans before the April 1992 attack. The attack began when a grenade was thrown into a Muslim-owned cafe. 643/

346. In the first week of April 1992, approximately 1,000 soldiers from Arkan's units crossed the Drina River from Serbia and entered the town of Bijeljina. The soldiers wore black uniforms and stocking caps and had unidentified small arms, at least one anti-aircraft gun, light armoured and regular transport vehicles. They were supported by an unknown, large number of local Serbs drawn from the area's Serbian population of approximately 45,000. 644/ Other reports indicate that in April 1992 Arkan bombarded Bijeljina with mortars supplied by the Yugoslav army. 645/ Another report confirmed that the units which attacked Bijeljina in April 1992 belonged to Arkan and referred to his men as the best trained and equipped Serbian force. 646/

347. Muslim defence units in Bijeljina fought back. The battles engulfed the town for three days and nights. Arkan captured the radio station and reportedly broadcast calls for Muslims to surrender their weapons. 647/

348. On 2 April 1992, Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network reported that most of Bijeljina had been "liberated" that afternoon by members of the Serbian National Guard of Semberija and Majevisa, in cooperation with Serbian volunteers, Arkan's men, and the Serbian "radicals". A curfew had been imposed, and hold-outs were encouraged to surrender arms. Shooting could still be heard, according to the report, because "the last Muslim strongholds [were] being mopped up". 648/

349. According to a Zagreb Radio Croatia Network report, on the night of 2 April 1992, a delegation of the BiH Presidency and Government managed to approach Bijeljina but was unable to enter the town. Presidency member Fikret Abdić, Deputy Prime Minister Miodrag Simović, and Defence Minister Jerko Doko met near Bijeljina with Arkan but returned afterward to Sarajevo. Reportedly, the SDS crisis committee for Bijeljina said that the guard of the "Serbian Autonomous Region of Semberia" was controlling Bijeljina with the help of Arkan's units. 649/

350. A number of reports stated that Arkan's troops harmed residents and property after capturing the town. According to one report, Arkan's men roamed Bijeljina after it fell, shooting young men suspected of carrying arms. Yugoslav army troops at the local barracks did not intervene. They later issued a statement that they had received no orders from Belgrade to do so. 650/ One report says that citizens of Bijeljina phoned Sarajevo radio to say that Arkan's people were terrorizing the town, breaking into apartments, searching for arms and robbing and harassing citizens. 651/ In another report, residents of Bijeljina said that in the first week of April 1992 Serbian paramilitary troops belonging to Arkan and Jović harassed the town's population. 652/

351. It was reported that sporadic gunfire continued on 4 April 1992. 653/

352. A local newspaper reportedly published photographs of Arkan in war-torn Bijeljina. 654/ It is alleged that Arkan warned local Muslim defence units in other towns that if they did not surrender they would suffer "the same fate as the people in Bijeljina". 655/

353. Reportedly thousands of refugees fled from Bijeljina into Serbia. 656/ A May 1992 report describes a Bijeljina of bloodstained walls, families huddled in basements, dwindling food supplies, and the sounds of mortar explosions. 657/ The SDS crisis committee for Bijeljina reportedly placed the death toll at 20 and claimed scores of wounded. 658/ However, at least 42 bodies were recovered and identified in the town, 40 of which were described as Muslim. 659/

354. For approximately one month after the initial takeover of Bijeljina, there was an internal dispute between Arkan and the leader of the local Serbian paramilitary led by Mirko, the owner of the Serbia Cafe near the bus station. Apparently Arkan had promised control of the town to Mirko but did not turn it over quickly enough. Arkan's and Mirko's men worked separately in the town for this month. According to this report, it was Mirko's men, not Arkan's that were primarily responsible for the killing, raping and looting in Bijeljina. 660/

355. It was reported that Bosnian Serb citizens from Brčko and Tuzla began moving into Bijeljina and occupying Muslim homes vacated in the attack on the city. Reportedly, these moves were arranged to minimize Serbian civilian casualties in the military activities in Brčko and Tuzla in late April and May of 1992. To obtain exit permits from the area, Bosnian Muslims were forced to sign documents deeding their property to Bosnian Serbs. In mid-June 1992, the Serbian authorities stopped issuing these permits, and approximately 2,000 elderly Muslims remained in the town. 661/

356. As of 23 September 1992, Arkan and Mirko had turned Bijeljina over to the SDS. 662/

357. In a December 1992 interview, Arkan said that he was "invited" by local Serbs to put down a Muslim uprising before it began in Bijeljina. 663/

358. A May 1993 report described Bijeljina as under Serb control, with few signs of the "massacre", which had taken place over a year earlier. The report says that mosques had been blasted and trees planted in their place. 664/

359. In October of 1993, however, the reports of expulsions of non-Serbs continued. Those remaining Muslims and Croats in Bijeljina (estimates put the number at around 5,000) were still being harassed by the "population exchange commission", headed by Major Vojkan Djurković of the Arkan forces. Those who were able to arrange for passage out of the city have provided accounts of their forced evictions. Some were given less than 15 minutes to pack their bags. They were then transported to the agricultural school on the edge of Bijeljina, where they were forced to hand over all possessions, including their house keys. From there, the displaced civilians were taken to BiH territory and forced to cross a minefield on the front lines of Tuzla in order to reach safety. One report notes that every few nights nearly 40 Muslims were taken away by Serbs in this manner. 665/

360. Another technique to eject Croats and Muslims reportedly employed by the exchange commission is the movement of Serb refugees into Muslim and Croat homes. 666/ This process is called "cuckoo's nesting". Officials set the maximum amount of living room allotted to each civilian. This is called the "rationalization of living space". Any non-Serb found to exceed their

specified amount must accept Serb refugees into their homes. The resulting tension between the two cultural groups often compels the non-Serbs to leave their own homes. 667/ Those individuals who are not "exported" in one of these ways are often duped into paying up to 500 DM to phony travel agencies who arrange for individuals to be left at the Serbian-Hungarian border. 668/

361. Major Djurković has responded to the charges that these activities constitute "ethnic cleansing". Although he states that Muslims are leaving their homes voluntarily, he further notes that Bijeljina is situated on "sacred Serbian land". Djurković claims to have "thousands of Muslims separated by the conflict". 669/ Furthermore, the Belgrade-based Humanitarian Law Fund reveals that Bosnian Serb leadership has set a quota for the Bijeljina area, whereby only 5 per cent of the region's 22,000 Muslims will be permitted to remain. 670/

4. Bileća County 671/

362. Bileća county is in southern BiH. In 1991, it had a population of 13,269 with 80.3 per cent Serb, 14.7 per cent Muslim and 5 per cent "other".

363. The White Eagles, or Beli Orlovi, is a Serbian paramilitary group which reportedly operated at the Bileća camp between August and October 1992. One particular incident involving the White Eagles occurred on 5 September between 9:00 p.m. 12:00 a.m. Here, members of the group shot and threw tear gas in the windows of a cell holding Muslims for nearly five hours because they could not get inside. Apparently, the Serb prison guard had thrown away the key to prevent the White Eagles from entering and was severely beaten for doing so. 672/

5. Bosanska Krupa County 673/

364. Bosanska Krupa is a county in the north-west of BiH. In 1991, it had a population of 58,212. Of this population, 74.5 per cent were Muslim, 23.6 per cent Serb, and 1.9 per cent "other".

365. Two Croatians report that they were severely beaten with sticks, baseball bats, metal rods, and a thick rope soaked in water by five members of the White Eagles. This beating occurred in June 1992, while the witnesses were in custody of "the Serbs" in Bosanska Krupa, and lasted for approximately two hours. 674/

6. Bosanska Rača (county unknown)

366. Arkan's men controlled the bridge over the Sava River in Bosanska Rača. Every Bosnian who wanted to cross the bridge into Serbia was forced to pay 500 to 800 DM. These operations were also practised across the Drina River. Serbs operated small boats for a fee of up to 1,000 DM per person to cross the river. Serbs would rob Muslims under the guise of aiding their "voluntary resettlement". 675/

7. Bosanski Brod 676/

367. Bosanski Brod is in the northern region of BiH, bordering Croatia at the county of Slavonski Brod. Its population in 1991 was 33,962, with 41 per cent Croat, 33.8 per cent Serb, 12.2 per cent Muslim, 10.6 per cent "Yugoslav", and

2.4 per cent "other". There are reports of both Serb and Croatian paramilitary activity in this region.

(a) Serbian paramilitary activity

368. The SOS (Srpske Oružane Snage) came to BiH from Serbia as part of Arkanovci but later separated from them and operated as an independent entity in Bosanski Brod and the surrounding region. 677/

(b) Croatian paramilitary activity

369. There are reports of the HOS (Hrvatske Oružane Snage) and the forces of the CDU (Croatian Democratic Union) operating in the Bosanski Brod area.

370. The HOS was formed in 1991 as the paramilitary wing of the Croatian Party of the Right (HSP) and later combined with the Croatian Defence Council (HVO) under the HVO banner. 678/ The HOS had both Croatian and Muslim members who acted together against Serbian civilians and paramilitaries. They are reported to have acted in the Bosanski Brod region. 679/

371. The CDU is a Croatian paramilitary group which allegedly killed, raped, and tortured prisoners at the detention camp of Tulek in Bosanski Brod. Apparently, prisoners were used for digging trenches, clearing minefields, and other war operations. 680/

8. Bosanski Novi County

372. Bosanski Novi is in the north-west corner of BiH. According to the 1991 census, it had a population of 41,541. The population was 60.4 per cent Serb, 33.9 per cent Muslim, 3.7 per cent "Yugoslav", and 2 per cent "other".

(a) Serbian paramilitary activity

373. The Fifth Kozarac Brigade from Prijedor and the 6th Krajina Brigade from Sanski Most are two Serbian organizations alleged to have operated together in the Ljubija region. The Croatian Information Centre reports that these forces attacked the villages of Stara Rijeka, Briševo, Raljaš and Čarakovo. Over 3,000 Serbs participated in this large-scale attack, in which 73 Croatian civilians were killed. 681/

(b) Croatian paramilitary activity

374. The Croatian Defence Forces (HOS) headquarters are said to have been formally located at Ljubuški. 682/

9. Bosanski Šamac County 683/

375. Bosanski Šamac is in the north-east quarter of BiH with Croatia on its northern border. As of 1991, the county's population was 32,835 of which 41.5 per cent was Serbian, 44.7 per cent Croatian, 6.5 per cent Muslim, and 7 per cent "other".

376. On 19 March 1992, Arkan's forces surrounded a police station in Bosanski Šamac. They allegedly demanded as an ultimatum that the police return the

automatic pistols with silencers which had been confiscated the day before from members of the Yugoslav Army and "Četnik formations". Apparently, the "Četnik formations" had been walking around the city in civilian clothing armed "to the teeth". 684/

377. Reportedly, a top-level Serbian army military plan of attack for this county, prepared in several versions, with the classification "NATIONAL DEFENCE-STATE SECRET" and the code name "MOST", was found on a high-level Yugoslav army officer. The plan established two possible courses of action for capturing villages in the region. On the one hand, Serbs could organize a wedding in a town and try to enter the town by making use of false documents and vehicles with Mostar license plates. The vehicles would contain coolers in which weapons would be hidden. On the other hand, Serbs could make use of officially custom-sealed truck cabs containing Serbian "commandos". Military analysts allegedly associated these plans with the tactics involving plain clothes which have been implemented by Arkan and his troops. 685/

378. On 17 April 1992, regular Serbian soldiers and Šešelj's men occupied Bosanski Šamac and imprisoned wealthy and politically involved Muslims. The prisoners were beaten with wooden sticks, truncheons, and shovels. At least seven died and seven others are still missing. 686/

379. It was reported that the SOS paramilitary group, led by Crni and Lugar, was also in Bosanski Šamac. The report, however, did not specifically provide the dates they were there nor did it describe their activities. 687/

10. Bratunac County 688/

380. Bratunac County is located in eastern BiH, bordered by Serbia. In 1991, the population was 33,575, of which 41.5 per cent were Serbian, 44.7 per cent Croatian, 6.8 per cent Muslim, and 7 per cent "other".

381. On 5 May 1992, Arkan's and Šešelj's troops surrounded the entire village of Bratunac and upon their attack, 10,000 Muslims reportedly fled small towns along the Drina River. 689/ The villages of Hrača, Glogovo, and Mihaljevići were burned. During the attacks, an estimated 500 Muslim houses were burned, and 50 people killed. The bodies of the villagers were found on the banks of the Drina. 690/ Two thousand Muslims were arrested on 9 May 1992. 691/ Some were taken to the police station, which was then allegedly under the control of Arkan and Šešelj, aided by the army. 692/

382. On 10 May, Serbian troops placed 4,000 to 5,000 civilians in a newly established concentration camp at the FC "Bratstvo" stadium. Others were taken to the playground. Civilians were separated by gender, and the male Muslims were transported to the elementary school Vuk Karadžić, where a number of men were beaten. One report states that between 600 and 700 male Muslims were moved to Vuk Karadžić Primary School Sports Centre. 693/ Arkan's and Šešelj's military troops and local "Četniks" tortured and killed scores of them. The torture included beatings with iron rods and wooden poles. Some prisoners were taken to an "investigation room" where they were forced to trample over their fellow inmates' dead bodies. Mutilation also occurred; ears, noses and genitals were cut off, and the sign of the cross was cut into prisoners' flesh. While being tortured, the prisoners were made to sing Četnik songs. Most were killed by gunfire, but in one day it is alleged that up to 150 people were killed from beatings. Reportedly, individual perpetrators were responsible for the deaths of 20 or more people. The corpses were eventually thrown into the Drina River. 694/

383. Eventually the remaining Muslims were brought to the playground, where Arkan and Šešelj's men stripped them of all personal property. 695/ They were then separated by gender and the women were taken to Kladanj by bus, while the men were returned to the elementary school to be beaten and tortured. Between 30 and 50 of the men were killed. A Muslim priest was stabbed to death in front of 600 other prisoners for refusing to accept the Christian faith and make a Serbian sign. The surviving prisoners were then transported to Pale, where the prisoners were forced to watch the bodies of dead prisoners being burned. One estimate put the death count at 300. Other killings took place near the River Križevica-Podgorac and in the quarry near the Drina. Eventually, prisoners were released as part of an exchange at Vratnica and Visoko. 696/

384. Reportedly, on 23 May 1992, local paramilitary forces commanded by an identified man killed 70 Muslims in front of the mosque in the village of Glogova. 697/

11. Brčko County 698/

385. This county is located in north-eastern BiH, bordered to the north-east by Serbia. According to the 1991 census, Brčko had a population of 87,332, of which 20 per cent was Serbian, 25 per cent Croatian, and 45 per cent Muslim.

386. Brčko was overrun by JNA forces in late April and May of 1992. Some reports hold an identified officer of the JNA responsible for heading up the offensive, 699/ while other reports note that Arkan was in charge of the operation. 700/ Explosions destroyed both bridges in Brčko over the Sava River causing the death of 30 to 50 civilians.

387. After the shelling, troops under an identified commander as well as local mobilized Serbs occupied the town. Successive waves of military and paramilitary groups came to the city, and it appeared that a different group, including Šešelj's men, was in control every few days. Martić's units from Bosanska Krajina were the last to hold the city. 701/

388. During this time, a Serbian group called the Weekenders (Vikendaši) went to Brčko each weekend, plundering and vandalizing. They began arriving via Bijeljina in May 1992 and continued to come during the entire time that the JNA occupied the town. 702/

389. During the first 15 days of May, the Muslim males were put under house arrest and subjected to weapons searches and registration. The actual rounding up of the Muslim population began in the village of Gluhaković, close to Brčko. Survivors were taken to one of two collection points, the "Bimal" factory or the "Autoprevoz" complex. These prisoners were then taken to Luka Camp. 703/

390. One witness statement noted that between 150 and 200 men were detained at a mosque for two days before being taken to Luka Camp. 704/ At the mosque, a man identified all SDA party members, and those individuals were killed by Arkan's men on the spot. 705/ The witness also reported that he saw between 300 to 400 persons executed in the town square, under the order of the head of police and the deputy head of police.

391. One witness reported that reservists from Bijeljina killed 150 unarmed Muslim and Croat civilians on 2-4 May 1992. They found the civilians on the street, interrogated them, and then shot them. At the same time, a JNA commander allegedly told the group not to kill people in the centre of town, only on the front line. One reservist was also reported to have participated

in the tortures and killings at Luka Camp. 706/

392. A Muslim man from the Meraja-Rosulja section of Brčko had allowed 35 people to take refuge in his basement during the onslaught. Eventually they surrendered and were taken to the local medical clinic. The men were then taken to the mosque, and the women and children were later dispersed to predominantly Muslim villages in the Brčko municipality. The 50 remaining men were taken to the JNA military barracks gym and beaten by Arkan's and Šešelj's units at about 11:00 p.m. on 1 May. Approximately 10 men were beaten in the hallway of the gym and never seen again. 707/

393. In one instance, the Serbians living in an apartment complex rounded up the Croats and Muslims living there and put them in the basement. After six days in the basement of the complex, these prisoners were turned over to Arkanovci. The Arkanovci transported the prisoners to the military casern in the centre of town. Here, the women and children were separated from the men and transported to the nearby town of Brezovo Polje. The men were held in the casern's movie hall. 708/

394. Thereafter, approximately 5,000 civilians from Brčko were taken by the JNA forces and Serb paramilitaries to the detention camps at Luka. The main camp facilities consisted of an old brick factory and pig farm. 709/ There may have been a total of 10 to 12 warehouses at the camp. 710/ The soldiers responsible for the camp, identified as Arkan's, used metal objects for beating prisoners and cut crosses into people's foreheads to indicate they should be beaten. 711/ One account stated that these men wore black berets. However, responsibility for the camp's administration was said to have changed every month. 712/

395. One witness reports being placed in a room of one of the camp warehouses, where 200 other prisoners were being interrogated and beaten by several individuals. 713/ In another account, 100 prisoners were said to be warehoused in one room. This witness related that none of the prisoners received food or water for the first four days of detention. All prisoners were beaten and mistreated, and some simply disappeared. Most of the abuses occurred near a manhole. The witness personally observed four people being killed and was himself interrogated and beaten by several Serbian individuals, one of whom was identified by nickname and was a member of Arkan's units. 714/ Another inmate corroborated the allegations of abuse, stating that 24 men were shot, including two of his friends. However, another prisoner stated that no one in his warehouse was killed, and inmates were only beaten if they had been accused of something. 715/

396. Some witnesses relate that up to 50 prisoners at a time were killed at the camp. 716/ Many of the killings were carried out in front of the detainees in the third hangar. 717/ The bodies were stacked behind the hangar and then taken away at night to be either dumped in the nearby Sava River or buried in a mass grave. The mass grave is said to consist of four sites situated 50 metres east of and behind a tavern called "Westfalia". It is on the road between Brčko and Brezovo Polje, in a wooded area across from the agricultural complex "Bimex". 718/ Still others were destroyed at a rendering plant which boiled animal remains to manufacture lard. 719/ Estimates put the death count at the Luka camp at 3,000, all of which occurred between 1 May and 7 June. Another source said that between 3,000 and 5,000 people were killed at Brčko in the month of July alone. Many of those who were not killed at Brčko were taken to a facility at Batković where the prisoners slept outside on concrete slabs and were forced to work in the nearby fields. A number of American news reports place the responsibility for these killings upon Arkan, his forces, and Šešelj. 720/

397. Cvijetin Maksimović was a brick-factory worker who served as a prison guard at the Luka Camp and is being held in a prison camp at Orošje for the crimes he committed during May and June of 1992 against Luka camp inmates. Maksimović substantiated the terrible conditions the prisoners at the camp underwent. He said 500 to 600 Croats and Muslims slept on concrete floors and were fed one meal a day. He observed prisoners, classified by "Četniks" as "suspects", driven away for interrogation, and truckloads of as many as 90 dead bodies each shipped from the camp. Maksimović reported that Arkan's and Šešelj's forces, along with local Serb leaders, had free reign in the operation of the camp. As a mere guard, he was not allowed to enter the camp until he survived the Četnik "initiation rite". 721/

398. Slobodan Panić related similar experiences in the same news report. He was forced to rape five women or be killed. He was then ordered to shoot two men in the chest and slay two others with a knife. As with Maksimović, when Panić protested, a knife was placed in his hand and it was forced across one of the victim's throats by a Četnik. Both Panić and Maksimović fled the prison camp and were captured by Croatian patrol. They are now awaiting sentencing. 722/

399. The camp itself measured 230 by 150 metres and was surrounded by an electrified fence, fortified by mines. Prisoners were placed into one of three hangers: the first was 20 by 28 metres and housed up to 180 men, the second was 20 by 40 metres and housed up to 180 men, and the third was 20 by 40 metres and housed 300 men, women, and children. In the first hangers the detainees slept standing up. All detainees were permitted to use the washroom only once a day for no longer than a minute. In June, goats were brought into the hangers and lived with the detainees. 723/

400. During the same time period, 500 additional civilians were taken to the garrison that housed Arkan's and Šešelj's military formations. These prisoners were robbed and segregated by nationality and gender. Of these civilians, 474 were reportedly forced to beat each other to death. 724/ A major, identified by name, cut off the ear of one prisoner and forced another to lick the blood. In all, the prisoners were tortured for two days, which included placing a pistol in prisoners' mouths and using a bloodied comb to comb their hair. At the end of the two days, only 26 Muslims survived, and they were taken to Bijeljina and the Luka camp.

401. On 17 May 1992, Serb soldiers, wearing army uniforms and masks, entered the town of Brezovo Polje in Brčko County and rounded up all Bosnian Muslims. The able-bodied men were loaded onto buses and sent to Luka "for interrogation". One thousand women, children and elderly were packed into eight buses and driven around the countryside for two days. Arriving at the town of Ban Brdo, the group was held under armed guard in a parking lot for another four days without food or water. The Serbs invaded the buses each night and led women and girls off at gunpoint to be raped. The group was then taken to Caparde in Zvornik County, where 50 Serb irregulars, reportedly followers of Arkan, robbed the mothers and forcibly separated them from their daughters. The daughters were transported to the Osnovo furniture warehouse in Caparde, while the mothers were taken on another journey through the war zone. At the warehouse, the men selected the 40 "prettiest" young women and raped them in groups of ten. 725/ One of the perpetrators told his victim that Šešelj's men would have raped them "10 men to one woman". 726/

402. Meanwhile, the mothers had arrived in Tuzla on 23 June, their journey ending only after they were made to walk 12 miles through the war zone, where the path was littered with human corpses and animal carcasses. The daughters arrived four days later, after they were allegedly forced to walk across a

mined road. 727/

403. In March 1993, Sarajevo Radio Correspondent Salih Brkić reported that Serbian forces were "trying to take over the Vlasenica-Zvornik road" near Brčko and Gradačac, using multiple rocket launchers, mortars, and anti-aircraft guns. He noted that the Serbian forces were still holding up a humanitarian convoy that was meant to take wounded from Konjević Polje to Tuzla. Enormous losses sustained by Serbian forces prompted another 1,500 of Arkan's paramilitary troops to be mobilized to fight against the Bosnians. 728/

12. Čajniče County 729/

404. Čajniče is in eastern BiH, bordering Serbia. Of its 1991 population of 8,919, 52.9 per cent were Serb, 44.9 per cent Muslim, and 2.2 per cent "other".

405. Commander "Turtle's" units make up a Serbian paramilitary organization, which allegedly acted in Čajniče and other parts of eastern BiH. 730/ This group is under the command of a Bosnian Serb doctor, Duško Kornjača, who calls himself Commander Turtle. 731/ There are no details reported about their activities.

13. Derвента County 732/

406. Derventa is located in north-eastern BiH, bordered on the north by Croatia. Its 1991 population was 56,328, of which 40.8 per cent were Serbian, 39 per cent were Croatian, 12.6 per cent Muslim, and 7.6 per cent "other".

407. A man was arrested in mid-May 1992 in Derventa by one of Šešelj's men while trying to escort civilians over the Ukrajina River. Šešelj's men surrounded the party of 10 and they surrendered. This group was taken to an abandoned grain mill that held 50 other prisoners, male and female. Šešelj's men interrogated and beat the prisoners with heavy electric cable, truncheons, and the flat side of a sword. At least two prisoners died as a result. The man was held for 60 days in the mill, which did not have bathroom facilities and released through a prisoner exchange. 733/

408. The SOS paramilitary group was also alleged to have been active in Derventa, although the report did not provide any specific dates or incidents. 734/

14. Doboj County 735/

409. This county is located in north-eastern BiH. According to the 1991 census, the population was 102,546. Serbs comprised 39 per cent, 13 per cent were Croat, 40.2 per cent Muslim, 5.5 per cent "Yugoslav", and 2.3 per cent "other".

410. Arkan's paramilitary units, the White Eagles, and the JNA occupied Doboj in April and May of 1992. 736/ Other reports also indicate the presence of the Knindža Turtles, 737/ Red Berets, 738/ and Martić's Militia during the attack on Doboj. They shelled and set fire to two mosques and the Catholic church. Croats and Muslims were ordered to remain indoors as their homes were searched and looted. Male residents were often arrested, and still others were beaten. Women were taken away on three buses to a high school, where they were held for 28 days and raped repeatedly. 739/ One report

specifically mentions the Red Berets as allegedly responsible for at least some of the rapes at the high school. 740/ The city was besieged until August. 741/

15. Donji Vakuf County 742/

411. Seventy members of the Serbian paramilitary Martić's Militia acted in conjunction with other paramilitary groups in the "ethnic cleansing" of the Donji Vakuf area. 743/

16. Dragovići (county unknown)

412. In mid-May, Šešelj's White Eagles reportedly skinned three Muslims after hanging them with meat hooks on an oak tree. 744/ Most of the village's Muslim inhabitants were killed and the village was burned down. 745/

17. Foča County 746/

413. Foča County is located in south-eastern BiH with Montenegro as its eastern border. As of 1991, the population of the county was 40,513, of which 45.3 per cent was Serbian, 51.6 per cent Muslim, and 3.1 per cent "other".

414. Arkan and Šešelj reportedly deployed soldiers in the county of Foča. Reports also indicate the presence of Commander Turtle's Units, 747/ the Montenegro Guard, 748/ the Užice Corps, and Pero Elez. 749/

415. During the occupation of Foča by Arkan's men in late April 1992, many bodies were thrown into the river. A Danish photographer in Goražde witnessed these decomposed bodies downstream in the village of Goražde. A concentration camp was established in Foča in the former prison, and was run by Velibor Ostojić. Šešelj's forces and volunteers were said to have participated in the fighting in the city of Foča, as assistance to the Serbian Democratic Party forces. The fighting took place in late April 1992. 750/

416. Between 15 April 1992 and 20 April 1992, nine people were killed in the village of Susješno by Arkan's men. The nine victims were elderly and did not want to leave their homes. 751/

417. Šešelj's forces were part of the paramilitary attack on Ustikolina during April 1992. Serbian Democratic Party forces and volunteers from Serbia and Montenegro also aided in the assault. All Muslims fled the village. Mortars, machine-guns, and armoured vehicles were used in the attack. The Serbian forces also entered the JNA facility in Ustikolina and killed several Muslim civilian refugees. 752/

418. In Paunci, Serbian Democratic Party forces and Serbian paramilitary forces reportedly killed a large number of people, mostly women and old men. 753/

419. According to the United States government, the Montenegro Guard participated in operations in Jeleč, a village in Foča. Allegedly, the Montenegro Guard, along with members of other paramilitary units, including the White Eagles and Vukovar Unit, shelled the town and killed remaining Muslim civilians after 23 April 1992. The alleged raid on Jeleč began on 18 April 1992, when these forces blocked the roads to town and ordered Muslims to surrender their weapons by 22 April to a Bosnian Serb delegation at the military complex in the nearby village of Miljevina. On 23 April, Serb forces

began shelling Jeleč and the surrounding villages, sending the inhabitants into hiding in the hills surrounding the village. The Montenegro Guard and other forces moved into Jeleč on 4 May 1992. They arrived in seven military buses and were given orders to "comb" the area for Muslims. Allegedly, at least 16 Muslims were shot and buried in two graves located in a potato field one kilometre west of Jelec. 754/

420. On 14 July 1992, Serbian soldiers identifying themselves as Šešeljovci entered the house of a Muslim family. A woman was beaten on the head by the soldiers who were inquiring about the location of her husband. These soldiers also cut the throat of a man, drawing blood but not killing him. The family was taken to the police station along with other Muslims where they were separated into four groups. These groups were imprisoned for 27 days in four houses, confiscated from Muslims. The women were raped repeatedly. On 13 August 1992, these women were allowed to leave on a convoy heading for the Muslim-controlled Sandžak region of Serbia. 755/

18. Gacko County 756/

421. This county is located in south-eastern BiH and is bordered on the east by Serbia. According to the 1991 census, the population of Gacko County was 10,844, 62.4 per cent of which were Serbian, 35.3 per cent were Muslim and 2.3 per cent described as "other". Serbian paramilitary operations are reported in this county.

422. In March of 1992, the Serbian White Eagles began destroying Muslim-owned cafes, apartments and shops in the town of Gacko. Most of the White Eagle participants were local Serbs, except those who had been refugees from Mostar. On 15 May, the White Eagles began shooting into homes and making arrests. On 1 June, Muslim men who worked at the power plant were arrested by Serb soldiers. One hundred of the Muslim men were taken to the military prison in Avtovac. Meanwhile, more Muslim men were arrested from their homes and taken to the Hotel Terma. 757/

423. Reportedly, on 1 June 1992, Šešelj's men and the White Eagles launched an all out attack against Gacko's Muslim inhabitants. 758/ One report also stated that special forces of Nikšić and JNA soldiers were also involved in the attack on Gacko. 759/ The attack began with the burning of several Muslim homes. 760/ On 18 and 19 June, the villages were reportedly shelled. Many of the civilians fled into the forests in the nearby mountains, where they saw the Serb forces moving through the village burning Muslim homes. 761/ Other Muslims were killed or arrested. Those that were arrested were detained in the lobby of the Elektro Privreda's Hotel before being transported to the Serbian detention camp at Bileća. 762/

424. Later in June, many Muslims were attempting to leave Gacko with the permission of the Serbian Municipal Office when they were trapped and shot at by White Eagles. 763/ The Muslim men were pulled out of their cars and beaten. Others were set on fire, jumped upon or hit with iron rifle butts. 764/ The women and children were taken to the Motel Košuta and later reunited with their families, but were forced to watch as the White Eagles beat the Muslim men. The women at the hotel were searched and robbed of their personal belongings, and some of them were raped. The women and children were eventually returned to Gacko, and the men were taken from the motel to Gacko prison. 765/

425. At the prison, the men were beaten nightly by White Eagles and by members of the "Interviewing Platoon". Some were shot to death. The prisoners were then to be taken to Bileća. In preparing to do so, soldiers

lined up to form a path through which the prisoners would pass from their cells to the transport trucks. As the prisoners walked through the line of soldiers, they were beaten with rifle butts and poles. Others were killed. A total of 170 Muslims survived and were taken to Bileća, where they were kept in a basement room, 120 square metres in size. The prisoners were beaten three times during the night under 2,000 watt lamps. 766/ They were allegedly beaten every day with wooden and metal sticks by as many as 10 guards at a time. Prisoners were not allowed to go to the bathroom or eat for three days. Four men were beaten to death between 2 and 4 July. 767/ On 10 August, prisoners were to be interviewed by news agencies. They were allowed to shower and shave for the interviews, but afterwards were allegedly tortured for telling reporters the truth about the camp conditions and abuse. The imprisonment continued from 1 June to 18 August 1992. 768/ At that time, 378 prisoners were exchanged in Stolac.

426. One report stated that 4 July was the date of the final roundup of remaining Muslim villagers. Soldiers went house to house and gave residents two minutes to leave. One witness estimated that 980 people were forced to leave at that time. They were taken to the Serbian-Macedonian border where a relief organization took them on to Skopje. 769/

427. However, another report indicates that those civilians that were hiding in the forests did not surrender until 12 July 1992. These civilians were allegedly taken in military trucks to Gacko and interrogated at the police station where witnesses reported many village possessions were stored. The civilians were asked about their male relatives and where they could be found. Reportedly the male Muslim prisoners were held in the basement of a hotel in the suburbs of Gacko. The women and children are reported to have been taken to the front-line near Benkovići in late July where the Serb forces were fighting members of the HVO. The women and children were forced to walk across the battle lines over minefields towards the HVO who fed them and transferred them to Mostar, Čapljina or Ljubuški, BiH. 770/

19. Goražde County 771/

428. Goražde County is in the south-east of BiH and had a 1991 population of 37,505. Of that population, 70.2 per cent were Muslim, 26.2 per cent were Serb, and 3.6 per cent were "other". There are reports of both Serb and Muslim paramilitary activity in this area.

(a) Serbian paramilitary activity

429. The following Serbian forces worked independently and in concert in Goražde during the months of May and June 1992: the Užice Corps, Garavi Sokok Forces, and units under the command of Braco Rakanović. 772/ These groups are reported to have harassed Muslim civilians and looted property in Goražde and the surrounding villages. They are also mentioned in connection with the mid-June attacks on a settlement near Kokino village and one near Površnica mountain. One witness reports seeing "Serbian soldiers" killing Muslim civilians and throwing their corpses in the Drina River sometime after these attacks. 773/

(b) Muslim paramilitary activity

430. The Green Berets are a Muslim paramilitary group said to have operated in the Goražde region. Apparently, the Green Berets attacked the village of Vitkovci between 3 and 5 May 1992. Reportedly, they also took Serbs to local

Muslim-run detention camps, in order that they be killed. 774/

20. Jablanica County 775/

431. Jablanica is located in the central south-west region of BiH. According to 1991 figures, it had a population of 12,664 which was 72.1 per cent Muslim, 17.8 per cent Croat, 6.1 per cent "other", and 4 per cent Serb.

432. The Black Swans and MOS (Muslim Armed Forces), both are Muslim paramilitary groups alleged to have operated in Jablanica County. Apparently, these groups made a joint attack on the village of Doljani on 28 July 1993. 776/ The attackers are said to have mutilated and killed 24 people, both civilians and soldiers. The corpses' eyes were plucked out, their ears cut, and stomachs slit open. 777/

433. The same report indicates that Serbian villagers fleeing from the attack were shot down as they crossed Stipica Meadow. Those who did survive were taken to a nearby room where they were detained with others, including one HVO soldier who had been shot in the chest. They were given nothing to eat and only water to drink. After one day of detention, the prisoners pried the bars of the cell windows loose and escaped. One witness recognized the MOS forces acting in this incident, saying they were from Jablanica. 778/

21. Kalinovik County

434. This county is in south-eastern BiH. The pre-war population was 4,657, of which 60.6 per cent were Serbian, 37.1 per cent Muslim, and 2.3 per cent "other". Only Serbian paramilitaries were reported to be operating in this county.

435. Šešeljovci and Russian volunteers were called in to Kalinovik during February 1993, at the request of Commander Ratko Mladić, when the Kalinovik "Četniks" were reportedly refusing to obey orders from their most extreme commanders. The goal of the new troops was to restore the self-confidence of the local "Četniks". 779/

22. Konjic County 780/

436. This county is located in the south central part of BiH, approximately 45 kilometres south-west of the centre of Sarajevo. Konjic's population as of 1991 was 43,636. The population was 15.2 per cent Serbian, 26 per cent Croatian, 54.5 per cent Muslim and 4.3 per cent "other". Serbian, Muslim and Croatian paramilitary groups were reportedly active in this county.

(a) Serbian paramilitary activity

437. Arkan's men were in Lukavica armed with sub-machine-guns and daggers. They beat Muslim civilians and cut crosses in some of the Muslims' foreheads. The dates of these incidents were not reported. 781/

(b) Croatian paramilitary activity

438. It was reported that the HOS, together with the Muslim Green Berets, conducted operations in the Konjic villages of Donje Selo and Bradina. Both of these villages were burned and the inhabitants sent to detention

facilities. Donje Selo was attacked first and then Bradina on 25 May 1992. Female prisoners were transferred to Konjic Sports Hall, where some of the victims were raped. The men were taken to Čelebići camp. On 13 July, the HOS returned to Bradina, burned the town, and imprisoned all remaining inhabitants in an elementary school. Many civilians allegedly died in the attacks. 782/

(c) Muslim paramilitary activity

439. A report submitted by the United States alleges that the Muslim paramilitary group, the Black Swans, committed most of the crimes against Bosnian Croats in the Konjic area. According to reports, the Black Swans arrived in the Konjic area on 1 April 1993. They reinforced Muslim troops under an identified commander and were primarily deployed at the village of Handići, seven kilometres north-west of Konjic. In negotiations with the HVO, Tulomović denied that the Black Swans were under his control and blamed them for the criminal activity in the area. 783/

440. The Black Swan forces established at Handići are alleged to have attacked the Croatian village of Čelopeci in early April 1993. They reportedly burned three empty buildings, killed two elderly women and one elderly man, cutting off his arms and slitting his throat with a machete. Later, the Handići force was joined by Black Swans from Pokojište, who brought four or five Croatian civilians who were being used as human shields as they moved through the village. Estimates put the attacking force at 70 men. It is also alleged that after the action, Muslim forces prevented Spanish UNPROFOR troops from investigating the activities at Čelopeci. 784/

441. The Black Swans, together with Mujahedin troops, allegedly launched infantry attacks every four or five days on the village of Vrci and helped run the P.O.W. camp for HVO soldiers at Parsovici. 785/

442. The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia reported that Alija's Army, the Yellow Ants, the HCS, and the Croatian National Guard (ZNG) entered Konjic on 26 April 1992. They are alleged to have established road blocks, set up machine-guns in nearby villages, and to have killed civilians and looted villagers' homes. 786/

443. According to the Serbian Council Information Centre, the Muslim paramilitary unit, the Akrepi, killed 11 Serbs and burned 24 houses in the Konjic village of Blace on 15 May 1992. 787/

444. Another report submitted to the Commission of Experts by the Croatian government indicates that a Muslim paramilitary group, Hrasnica Forces, desecrated churches, looted houses, and mistreated Croats in the villages of Čelebići and Radešine. 788/ This report also alleged that the paramilitary forces of Hasan Hakalović executed two elderly civilians in the village of Mrkovice. 789/

23. Kupres County 790/

445. This county is located in west-central BiH. Its pre-war population was 9,663 of which 50.7 per cent was Serbian, 39.6 per cent Croatian, 8.4 per cent Muslim, and 1.3 per cent "other". There is one report of Serbian paramilitary activity in this county.

446. In April 1992, Šešelj's White Eagles, along with the JNA under the command of an identified officer, were allegedly responsible for the killing

of about 200 men, women, and children. Machine-guns, knives, and hammers were used in the killings. A young girl witnessed her family being killed; she was then forced to strip and left to be raped by any of the soldiers who were so inclined. 791/

24. Livno County 792/

447. Livno County is in the west of BiH bordering Croatia at the county of Sinj. In 1991, its population was 39,526, of which 72 per cent was Croat, 15 per cent Muslim, 9.6 per cent Serb, and 3.4 per cent "other".

448. A rape victim testifies that she was held in a brothel in Livno and then Sarajevo by "Alija's warriors". It is not clear from the report whether the group she is referring to is the same paramilitary organization as Alija's Army or whether she is referring generically to the Army of BiH as President Alija Izetbegović's "warriors". 793/ The dates of her custody are not specified.

25. Maglaj County 794/

449. This county is located in south-central BiH and had a pre-war population of 43,294. This population was 30.7 per cent Serbian, 19.3 per cent Croatian, 45.4 per cent Muslim and 4.6 per cent described as "other". There was one report of Serbian paramilitary activity in this county.

450. A heavy attack on Maglaj was launched on 23 May 1993 by JNA forces, the Serbian Army, Šešelj's forces, and local "outlaws". One news report described the town as "literally burning". It further stated: "over 2,000 shells have hit the town so far". Many casualties were reported and poisonous gases were allegedly used. The Serb forces held more than 10 combat positions, from which all types of artillery were fired. 795/

26. Modriča County 796/

451. Modriča is located in north-eastern BiH. According to the 1991 census, the population of the county totaled 35,413 of which 35.3 per cent was Serbian, 27.3 per cent Croatian, 29.5 per cent Muslim, and 7.9 per cent "other". There are three reports of Serbian paramilitary activity in Modriča.

452. The Serbian population began to get restless in January 1992 when influential local Serb leaders started making trips to Belgrade. 797/

453. During early May of 1992, Serb soldiers entered the village of Modriča. Some were believed to be from Šešelj's units, for they had blackened faces and wore dark uniforms with an insignia of a skull and eagle on the arms. 798/ The White Eagles, Knindža Turtles, 799/ and the SOS paramilitaries 800/ were also reported to have been in Modriča.

454. Allegedly, a group of Muslims, which had sought refuge in the cellar of a private home, were ordered out; they were kicked, punched, and beaten with rifle butts. They were taken to another cellar, where a total of 33 persons were eventually detained for 15 days. Some men were then taken to the school in the centre of town, while others were held in the school sports hall. Local Serbs stood guard while others interrogated the prisoners, including paramilitaries from the White Eagles and Knindža Turtles. Around 18 May, the school was shelled and most of the detainees were moved to a military barracks at Doboј, where approximately 300 Muslims and Croats were being held. In

early June, the Red Cross took away the women and children from the site, leaving only about 80 men. 801/

27. Mostar County 802/

455. Mostar is located in the south-central region of BiH. The total population in 1991 was 126,067 of which 19 per cent was Serbian, 33.8 per cent Croatian, 34.8 per cent Muslim, and 10 per cent described as "others". There are reports of Serbian and Croatian paramilitary and Muslim mercenary activity in Mostar.

(a) Serbian paramilitary activity

456. The JNA entered the Mostar village of Rodoč on 4 April 1992, and destroyed the home of a witness. According to this witness, all of the inhabitants of the village fled to the city of Mostar, which was already at war. After 26 days, the witness returned to the village for better shelter. After his return, the Yugoslav army blocked all access roads to, and controlled all points around, the village. Several civilians were stranded in the village without water, electricity, food or supplies. The witness reported that Serbs set fire to all the houses. 803/

457. The witness claimed that in May 1992 he was arrested by "Četniks" who said they were under Arkan's command. According to his statement, the witness was taken to Mostar and then to a military prison. He was interrogated and accused of possessing weapons. He and nine others were beaten by guards and remained imprisoned for 81 days, during which they experienced physical and psychological mistreatment.

458. On 6 April 1992, a combined force of JNA special forces and Šešeljovci moved into the village of Vrapčići, allegedly in response to the explosion of a fuel truck at the JNA barracks in Mostar. The Bosnian and Croatian populations were encouraged to leave and most did. 804/

459. The Bosnians and Croatians in Potoci, three kilometres north of Vrapčići, erected roadblocks and barriers to guard against a similar fate. They were successful until 18 May 1992. On 16 May, the forces in Vrapčići were reinforced with 10 tanks and 10 armoured personnel carriers, at which point they began their attack on Potoci. They were assisted by JNA air attacks. Upon capturing the village, the Serbian forces began rounding up able bodied Muslim and Croatian males from both villages. These men were taken to a stadium that had been converted into a detention facility. They were loaded onto trucks and taken to Bileća, BiH, where they were exchanged. 805/

460. On 12 June 1992, an additional 88 Muslim and Croatian residents of Vrapčići, including elderly men and women, were rounded up. They were taken to the stadium and killed. Their bodies were found in the landfill north of the village on 20 August 1992 after liberation by Croatian Defence Council and BiH Territorial Defence Forces on 20 June. 806/

(b) Croatian paramilitary activity

461. Allegedly, sometime before 15 July 1993, the Croatian paramilitary group, Juka's Army, evicted wealthy Muslim residents of Mostar from their apartments, which were looted and turned over to members of HVO paramilitary forces for habitation. According to reports, Juka's forces were masked and

heavily armed when they surrounded the apartments, which were located west of the city centre. They then proceeded to block exits, fire their weapons in the air, and demand that all Muslim residents evacuate the building. 807/

462. Another report states that the Croatian Tiger forces joined the HVO in Mostar on 1 June 1993. The Tigers allegedly brought with them additional weapons supplies, including 305 millimetre "Slavuj" guns and grenades manufactured at Slavonski Brod. 808/

(c) Muslim paramilitary activity

463. Mujahedin forces were observed in Mostar beginning in early June 1993. They were stationed in the Šantića neighbourhood on the Muslim\HVO front, where they manned bunkers usually in groups of six or seven. They were reportedly armed with 7.62 millimetre weapons, mortars, and Zolja anti-tank weapons. They were billeted in a building they shared with the Muslim police on the east bank of the Neretva River. The Mujahedin forces are reported to have left Mostar on 15 August. 809/

28. Nevesinje County 810/

464. Nevesinje County is in southern BiH. Its population in 1991 was 14,421, of which 74.5 per cent was Serb, 23 per cent Muslim, and 2.5 per cent "other".

465. In early April of 1992, Šešelj's forces were said to have been deployed around the Nevesinje area to assist organized efforts at the border. 811/

29. Novi Travnik County

466. Pucarevo County is in central BiH near Travnik. The HOS (Hrvatske Oružane Snage) is reported to have acted in this region. 812/

30. Odžak County 813/

467. Odžak is in northern BiH bordering Croatia at Slavonski Brod. Its pre-war population was 30,651, with 54.2 per cent Croat, 20.3 per cent Muslim, 19.8 per cent Serb, and 5.7 per cent "other".

(a) Serbian paramilitary activity

468. In February 1993, in the town of Novi Grad, between 700 and 1,000 troops, drawn largely from Arkan's and Šešelj's units, (but also including volunteers from Kordun and Banija, as well as "Četniks" from the Benkovac garrison), reportedly attempted to cut the Smiljkes-Novigrad communications line in an effort to take Novi Grad. The Serbs were said to have been "crushed" and pushed back to their positions. UNPROFOR was asked by the Croatian military to enter the area and alleviate tensions between the two sides. 814/

(b) Croatian paramilitary activity

469. There are reports of two Croatian forces operating in Odžak. One is the Croatian Democratic Union (CDU) and the other is the Black Legion.

470. The CDU is said to be responsible for the shelling of Donja Dubica on 18 April 1992. 815/

471. The Black Legion is mentioned in association with a detention camp in Odžak run by "Muslim and Croatian forces". A witness stated that members of the Black Legion arrived on 16 July 1993 and asked prisoners for gold and money. The witness gave them money and was released. 816/

(c) Muslim paramilitary activity

472. The Green Berets and the paramilitary arm of the Party of Democratic Action (SDA) are reported to have acted in Odžak.

473. A Serbian man testified that he was picked up by three Green Berets from the streets of Novi Grad in June 1992. They took him to a camp run by "Muslims", where he was detained for almost 10 months. 817/

474. The SDA acted together with members of the CDU in Odžak, raping, murdering, looting, and detaining civilians. 818/ Apparently, the SDA and CDU received military supplies from abroad in Odžak, the majority of them being procured from Croatia. Reports state that weapons dealers associated with these groups moved freely between Croatia and BiH, buying and selling arms. 819/

31. Pale County 820/

475. Pale is located in south-east BiH. During early February 1992, Šešelj's Četniks reportedly shot at every car driving through the city of Pale. 821/

476. Reports also allege that Muslim and Croatian prisoners were being mistreated in the Pale detention camps. The camps were set up at the local sports hall, the Cultural Centre and the cinema, and were run by two identified men. During interrogations, prisoners were physically and mentally tortured. In one case, a death sentence was executed in front of a prisoner. Pre-written confessions were given to prisoners by members of the SIP. In all, over 20,000 persons were said to have passed through the camps at Pale. 2,500 are currently there. Several men are responsible for the investigation and interrogation of prisoners. At least one is alleged to be a member of Arkan's formations.

477. Also, witness testimony from the BiH Bulletin claims that on 1 June 1992 over 1,000 Serbian irregular forces, 150 soldiers from Rajlovac and Butile barracks, and 80 SDS extremists entered Ahatovići and Dobroševići and killed 20 Muslim men. The forces also wounded several others and looted and set fire to Muslim homes. On 2 June, Serb extremists mined and destroyed the mosque at Ahatovići. During these attacks, Serb irregulars, under the command of Joja Tintor, captured 400 women and children and 80 men. 822/

32. Prijedor County 823/

478. Prijedor is in the north-west of BiH. In 1991, its population was 112,470. Of that population, 44 per cent was Muslim, 42.5 per cent Serb, 5.7 per cent "Yugoslav", 5.6 per cent Croat, and 2.2 per cent "other". There are reports of extensive Serbian paramilitary activity in this region.

479. Prijedor citizens have claimed that Arkan's paramilitary forces had set

up headquarters in the Hotel Prijedor when Serbian authorities assumed control of that city in a coup on 30 April 1992. The SDS had established headquarters at that location and some believe that Arkan's forces were situated there as well, but no witnesses have been able to confirm the allegation. However, one witness said that White Eagles were roaming the streets of Prijedor, and that Croatian and Muslim police officers were replaced by Serbs who wore a Serbian cross on their hats instead of the Yugoslav red star. Local Prijedor leaders were arrested by the Serbs.

480. Prijedor was attacked on 30 May 1992 by Serb forces, and the city fell within 13 hours. A mosque was burned, and many citizens were forced to leave their homes, arrested and bussed to detention facilities. One woman who was taken from her home and detained for four days stated that when she returned to her home, it had been robbed of all valuables. She was not mistreated while at the detention facility, but she stated that others were frequently threatened. Another woman related that she was taken to the Prijedor police station and placed in a cell sprayed with fresh blood, along with several other civilians, before being shipped to Omarska camp. The involvement of Šešelj's forces in these activities is not clear from the report. 824/

481. Also in May, a resident of Prijedor was summoned for interrogation by an identified commander of a Četnik brigade. Afterwards, he was taken to Ciglane camp in Prijedor. White Eagles were implicated in the imprisonment and killings of prisoners at Ciglane camp. 825/ Also women were raped. Furthermore, the witness saw a group of White Eagles kill five people, and saw "Četniks" take 15 children from their mothers and throw them into ovens. Another man was also detained at the camp and was forced to load dead bodies onto 13 trucks. He and 20 other prisoners were then taken to Omarska, where he spent six to seven days. Afterwards, he was able to escape. 826/

482. A 27 December 1992 news report links Arkan's forces with a series of Serbian attacks on the Muslim village of Kozarac in Prijedor county. The attack was prefaced with a demand by Prijedor's rulers that the villagers sign a loyalty oath to the self-proclaimed Bosnian Serbian state, or be regarded as terrorists. Serbs in control of Prijedor drove cars that had "Wolves of Vukovar" written on them. Officers of the JNA were also reportedly involved. 827/ The residents attempted to set up a meager defence, but the town was sealed off on 14 May 1992.

483. On 24 May 1992, the villages of Kozaruša and Kozarac, in Prijedor county were surrounded by a Serbian force, which included units of the Serbian Army, Bosnian Serb irregulars, White Eagles, and Šešelj's men. 828/ The forces equipped with tanks and armoured personnel carriers, bombarded the villages for approximately two hours with artillery and rocket fire before entering the village of Kozaruša. 829/ Upon entering the village, local Serbs began identifying Muslims who were then shot in the street. 830/ Muslim homes were set afire after Serbian forces tossed grenades into them. Within hours, other Muslims were arrested and taken to the prison camp at the Keraterm factory. 831/

484. The attack on Kozarac lasted three days and caused many villagers to flee to the forest while the soldiers were shooting at "every moving thing". Survivors calculated that at least 2,000 villagers were killed in that period. The villagers' defence fell on 26 May. 832/ When the Serbian forces entered the village, they began destroying the village's 14 mosques and nine minarets.

485. Serbs then reportedly announced that the villagers had 10 minutes to reach the town's soccer stadium. However, many people were shot in their homes before given a chance to leave. One witness reported that several

thousand people tried to surrender by carrying white flags, but three Serb tanks opened fire on them, killing many. Those who were successful in surrendering were separated according to gender. During the exodus to the soccer stadium, some men were randomly selected to be shot by a single Serb perched on a balcony. Upon their arrival at the stadium, the women and men were separated and delivered to concentration camps. Many were beaten and killed in the process. 833/ One refugee estimated 90 per cent of the region's leaders were killed. 834/

486. Another report noted that all 24,000 residents of Kozarac were evacuated and told to walk towards Prijedor. En route, they were met by Serb police who separated the women from the men and began setting houses on fire. Some villagers were killed on the spot. Three hundred soldiers wearing the insignia of the "White Eagles of Knin", stood alongside the road or pulled certain residents out of the group, and took them to a house where they were executed. 835/ Those that were not shot were separated by sex. 836/ The men were taken to a detention camp in a school in the nearby village of Trnjani, where they were held for four days without food or water. The men were then transferred to the camp at Trnopolje, where the women and children had been held for several days. A large number of the prisoners were allegedly killed at Trnopolje. 837/

487. Major Arsić, the highest ranking member of the "Serbian Army" was said by some to have planned the attack; others named Major Kuruzović. 838/ Željaje, commander of JNA reservists from 12 different municipalities, was also involved. Weapons were taken from the territorial defence units and given to the Serbian army. 839/ K.D., a former member of the Kozaran civilian defence council, identified Major Arsić and Serbian JNA Commander Željaje as having played key roles in the attack. He also observed Serb police setting houses on fire and killing certain people in the convoy. A spokesman for the Bosnian Serbs' self-declared government also explained that the government used Arkan's forces in its "ethnic cleansing" operations: "He is very expensive, but also very efficient". 840/

488. Forty men from Kozarac were selected for a prison work gang that was sent back into Kozarac to retrieve dead bodies. One of these men counted 610 bodies in all. Kozarac homes were painted with one of three colours for identification: yellow-marked homes were to be inhabited, blue-marked homes were to be rebuilt, and red-marked homes were to be destroyed. 841/

489. At the same time, the Red Berets are reported to have been acting in the area and could have been working with or alongside Arkan's men and other Serbian forces. Apparently, the Red Berets participated in the attack of Gornja Puharska, a village of about 300 Muslim families and six Croatian families on 29 May. They entered the village in tanks with other non-uniformed Bosnian Serb irregulars. 842/ Following the attack, they took all male villagers south-east to the Omarska detention camp, leaving the women and children behind. At Omarska, the Red Berets worked with the JNA and local police to provide security and coordinate guard shifts. 843/

490. On 23 June 1992, Bosnian Serb forces began shelling the village of Rizvanovići allegedly in response to the killing of two Serbian soldiers by Muslim Freedom Fighters somewhere near Prijedor. The village had a population of nearly 3,000, all of whom were Muslim with the exception of one family. The shelling lasted approximately four hours and was followed by an attack by Bosnian Serb infantry forces, consisting of the Fifth Banja Luka Corp, White Eagles, and Šešeljovci. 844/

491. The town mosque was damaged, one resident was killed, and another injured during the attack. After the attack, a small occupying force remained

in the town. The residents were kept under house arrest with limited movement. 845/

492. On 9 July 1992, all Muslim males from the village of Matrići were rounded up in groups by Arkanovci and White Eagles and marched to Trnopolje. Along the way, the Muslims were forced to hold their hands behind their heads and to keep their heads hung low. There were also random beatings and killings. After arriving at Trnopolje, the captives were loaded onto buses going to Omarska. The detainees did not stay at Omarska but were instead moved to Keraterm. 846/

493. In late July 1992, the same force that had attacked Rizvanovići conducted a sweep of the village, rounding up residents and burning homes. Some residents were able to escape to the woods outside the village and others were imprisoned in the café of a public building in the centre of the village. 847/

494. Also in July, a paramilitary unit called "Zoran Karlica" is reported to have been responsible for killings, rapes, and other abuses in the village of Biscani. 848/ A witness recognized and named three men among the attackers. He also reports seeing one of the men beating a villager to death. 849/

495. After the attack on Biscani, the witness and other survivors were loaded onto buses and driven towards Prijedor. At Crna Jaruga, half of the people from one of the buses were killed. One bus drove to the Omarska camp and then on to Trnopolje camp because there was no room at Omarska. Upon their arrival at Omarska, an identified paramilitary man took 13 people away. The witness learned later that these people had been killed at Prijedor. 850/

496. Finally, there are reports describing the activities of two other irregular groups working in Prijedor, for which there are no dates. They may or may not have been operating during the time periods mentioned above. One group, the Rambos, is alleged to be extremely violent and sexually aggressive. According to one witness, Rambo members carved the Četnik insignia (four cyrillic S's) into a victim's chest, cut the sinews in one individual's legs, and in the spine of another (so that the victim was instantly paralysed). In another instance, they took five 13 year-old girls from a camp in the area to a private home and returned them the following day, bearing obvious signs of abuse. A resident physician managed to suture two of the girls, but the other had to be sent to the hospital in the city of Prijedor. In still another instance, Rambo members chopped off the testicles and gouged out the eyes of a Czechoslovakian medic. 851/

497. The second group, the Radulović Irregulars, are also reported to have worked in Prijedor. 852/ A US Government report identified three men in the group, reportedly from Zecovi, who were guards at the Serb-run Trnopolje camp. However, their names are not disclosed for confidentiality and prosecutorial reasons. Some of them are claimed to have been involved in the looting and burning of Zecovi on 23 June 1992. Another identified member, however, is not specifically named as a participant in this attack. 853/

33. Rogatica County 854/

498. Rogatica County is in eastern BiH. Its population in 1991 was 21,812, of which 69.4 per cent was Muslim and 39.6 per cent was Serb. There are numerous reports of Serbian paramilitary activity in this county.

499. The village of Rogatica was shelled by Serb forces beginning on 22 May 1992. Between 25 May and 21 June, the town was shelled every day, with attacks concentrated on predominantly Muslim areas. 855/ All city services were discontinued and Muslims were forbidden to go outside or leave the city. SDS, White Eagles, Arkan's men, and Šešelj's men began looting and burning Muslim houses and apartments. It is estimated that over 100 individuals (women, children, and the elderly), were killed on 21 and 22 June. 856/ The civilians were burned and run over with tanks and troop carriers. 857/ Muslims began being forced out of their homes and captured by Serb forces on 8 June. 858/ Those who attempted to flee to the village of Vragolovo were fired upon. 859/ A camp was set up at the local high school where the women and children were taken, while most of the men were taken to Sokolac and Sladara camps. One account approximated the number of women and children detained at the school to be 300. 860/ At the school, many women were taken away by Serb soldiers and beaten and raped. 861/ Around 5 August, the women and children were loaded onto trucks and began a convoy to the Hreša section of Sarajevo. Detainees were forced to walk part of the way as Serb soldiers fired upon them. 862/

500. In July of 1992, Arkan's men began going door-to-door looking for weapons and valuables. Arkan's men then began taking people to the elementary school. Female prisoners were removed every night by armed guards carrying flashlights. They were usually kept out for two to three hours at a time. The prisoners were moved to Sarajevo after seven days in the school. 863/

501. Žepa, a small mountain village in Rogatica county usually populated by 5,000, surged to 30,000 persons due to a huge influx of refugees during late 1992. The BBC traveled with a U.N. military convoy to bring food and other relief to the villagers during the winter months. The convoy was stopped 12 kilometres outside Žepa by Serbian militia, one of whom was wearing the badge of Arkan. The militiamen told the BBC reporter, "The people of Žepa need food, not journalists". While it seemed that the convoy would be allowed through, the soldiers had actually directed the convoy to the one road leading to Žepa that was impassable. More than 20 trees were splayed across the road, and it seemed likely that the road may have been mined or booby-trapped. The U.N. convoy was forced to turn back and attempt an alternative route on a different day. 864/

502. During this time, there was also an incident in which the paramilitary forces, under the command of an identified man, killed 49 prisoners during a fake prisoner exchange. 865/ Apparently, Serb forces, under the command of another identified man, forced prisoners from Višegrad onto a bus and headed north towards Rogatica. The Serb soldiers explained to the prisoners that they were going to be exchanged at Han Pijesak, but once on the bus, they were tied up and beaten. At some point during their trip, the bus was pulled off the road, the prisoners ordered off, killed, and piled in a pit. 866/ While the specific date of this incident is not noted, it was reported in the BiH Bulletin of March 1993 and must have occurred shortly before then.

503. In April of 1993, Šešelj called for the two Serb republics of BiH and Krajina to form a unitary state and reject the Vance-Owen plan. Šešelj pledged that his own party, the Serbian Radical Party, would do everything it could to gain recognition of a new joint state. He requested that the Serbian people "reject any signature that would mean the capitulation of the Serbian people to foreign powers. The Serbian people have to maintain all that they have won in a hard and bloody struggle." 867/

34. Sanski Most County 868/

504. Sanski Most is located in north-west BiH. According to the 1991 census, its population was 60,119, of which 47 per cent was Muslim, 42.2 per cent Serb, 7.1 per cent Croat, and 3.7 per cent "other".

505. There is one report of a Serbian paramilitary organization acting in this area called the Sixth District or Šesta Krajiška. 869/ Apparently, the Sixth District attacked Sanski Most on 9 May 1992 and occupied the police station and other municipal buildings. Seventeen days after their attack, the Serbian Regular Army arrived in the city. The Sixth District is said to often work with the army by conducting small-scale operations, like the attack at Sanski Most. 870/

35. Sarajevo County 871/

506. Sarajevo is in central BiH. In 1991, it had a population of 525,980, of which 49.3 per cent was Muslim, 29.9 per cent Serb, 10.7 per cent "Yugoslav", 6.6 per cent Croat, and 3.5 per cent "other". There are reports of Serbian, Croatian, and Muslim paramilitary activity in this region.

(a) Serbian paramilitary activity

507. In March of 1992, Zagreb Radio Croatia reported that large columns of Arkan's and Šešelj's troops were seen organizing at the entrance to Sarajevo, at the Višegrad gate, following the news that Muslim forces were in and around the Sarajevo area. Apparently, Arkan's and Šešelj's units were preparing to attack the town. 872/

508. In April of 1992, a series of violent attacks was launched on the citizens of Sarajevo. On 5 April, the police school at Vrace was attacked, and the students of the police school were beaten and mistreated. White Eagles later forcibly evicted many villagers from their homes and took them to Vrbanja. "Četniks" looted and set fire to the houses which earlier had been vacated by residents. A 14 year-old boy's arm was allegedly sawed off by Serbs with a handsaw. The boy was then taken away by the White Eagles. A report also stated that JNA forces, under the command of an identified man, used their heavy artillery to attack Sarajevo residents. 873/

509. Armed SDS and White Eagles members allegedly raped a woman, slit the throat of a man, and engaged in beating unarmed civilians. The specifics of these incidents, which took place between June and December 1992, are not disclosed for confidentiality reasons. 874/

510. In late April of 1992, the BiH Ministry of Internal Affairs linked the attacks on Sarajevo with Šešelj's units. One-hundred sixty-two of Šešelj's men reportedly moved to the Sarajevo district of Pale in early April, and more continued to go to Vrace. The identified commander of the unit is said to be the leader of Šešelj's Četniks in Slavonia, Baranja and western Srijem. The unit moved from Pale to Vrace on 14 and 15 April, during which time they planned to launch an artillery attack on the garages of the city transportation company. The reported goal was to massacre the population as revenge for the capture of two criminals and Dragiša Kuljačić, a terrorist. This attack was abandoned when the prisoners were released. 875/

511. This same unit participated in the attack of the Novo Sarajevo area. In this instance, one group of men were surrounded by those defending Sarajevo, and their leader was wounded. Šešelj then threatened to withdraw all of his

units in BiH if his men were not released from the siege on Grbavica. Serbian Democratic Party forces went in to rescue the men. Šešelj's units then withdrew back to Pale. 876/ In response to the withdrawal, Arkan considered an invitation by Biljana Plavšić, former member of the BiH Presidency, to bring his troops into Sarajevo. 877/

512. In Dobrinja, a suburb of Sarajevo, residents were confined to their homes in May and June of 1992, during an eleven-week attack on that city by Serb militia forces. Residents were told that they would be shot if they ventured outdoors. On 17 June, teams of Serb gunmen forced Muslims from their homes. The vacated residences were looted, and the ousted villagers were herded into a small basement room. Local Serb soldiers informed the residents that paramilitary units from neighbouring Serbia were mobilizing the drive to take Dobrinja, and that these units demanded that all Muslims be killed. One of the Serbs identified these units as led by Arkan and Šešelj. Two days later, the villagers were ordered outside their holding room and were taken to a trench in a highway that lay between Serb and Muslim forces. They were told to begin walking down the highway and were then forced to evade sniper fire. Two women were killed. As the sniper fire escalated, the 40 villagers began running. A woman's arm was severed by gunfire. The villagers then dove into a ditch on the side of the road and crawled a half a kilometre in the rain and mud, at times over dead bodies. They were finally escorted to safety in territory controlled by BiH Government forces. 878/

513. Arkan's men also allegedly operated in the area of Grbavica. In late September 1992, at least 500 Grbavica residents were seen fleeing their village amidst gunfire. Apparently, they were crossing over the bridge leading to Sarajevo's city centre after Serb soldiers gave them less than 15 minutes to leave their homes with all they could carry. The soldiers threatened that they would kill the residents if they did not turn over all gold, jewelry, and foreign currency. The Grbavica Muslims said that many of the soldiers wore black jumpsuits and double-headed eagle badges, insignias which are said to be those of Arkan's forces. Others related that before the mass evictions, people were subjected to midnight searches, denied pension payments, and harassed on the street. Some Muslim men were taken to detention camps or made part of working parties.

514. Another report implied that both Arkan and Šešelj deployed forces in Grbavica. At least 130 residents had been evicted from their homes and were seen fleeing Serb forces in Grbavica. A meeting at the commune building in Grbavica was reportedly held by the Serbian Democratic Party and its military command in September of 1992. An agreement was reached at the meeting, wherein all Muslims and Croats would be removed. To accomplish this goal, forces of Arkan and Šešelj were called in to help and to kill all Muslims of military age. This plan was said to be the final offensive in "cleansing" this area of Sarajevo. 879/

515. Muslims were imprisoned, interrogated, tortured, and killed at the concentration camp "Health Centre Stari Grad" in Ilidža, a section of Sarajevo. Arkan's Četniks reportedly ran the camp. 880/

516. In July of 1992, the Sonja cafe and hotel, just outside Vogošća, served as the site for scores of rapes and killings of Muslim women by Serb forces. The "commander" of this detention facility was Commander Miro Vuković, a loyalist of Šešelj's forces. Vuković reportedly established a system for Serb fighters to rape and kill women. 881/ Borislav Herak, a Serbian soldier standing trial for 35 killings and 14 rapes, related that soldiers were encouraged to go to the Sonja cafe to rape women and then take them elsewhere to be killed. Herak also witnessed or participated in the killings of at least 220 other Muslim civilians. Specifically, he watched as 120 civilians

were gunned down by a Serbian unit called the "special investigation group" in a field outside Vogošća. Herak was told by his commanders that raping Muslim women was "good for raising the fighters morale". He and three friends raped one woman and then shot her in the back of the head near a mountain bridge. He went to the Sonja cafe once every three or four days, and reported that even though soldiers were raping and killing women every day, more women were always arriving. He describes, ". . . it was never a problem. You just picked up a key and went to a room." 882/ Vuković provided the soldiers with justifications for killing the women after raping them. 883/ Vuković once told Herak, "You can do with the women what you like. You can take them away from here--we don't have enough food for them anyway--and don't bring them back." 884/

517. Herak said he was ordered to go to the Sonja cafe by his commander, Captain Borov. As he went to the cafe, he was met by Miodrag and Dragan, two members of Šešelj's private army. When Herak related that he had been sent by Borov, the two "Četniks" ushered Herak into a waiting room containing about 60 young women, from which Herak could select his rape victim. 885/

518. In August of 1992, the administrators of the Sonja cafe were asked to release all women, children, and elderly in preparation for a visit by an English delegation to the site. Consequently, 150 persons were released. "Četniks" reportedly cleared the camp and removed blood from the walls and floors. Three thousand civilians were said to have passed through the camp at Vogošća, hundreds of them dying at the hands of Arkan's and Šešelj's men and other "Četniks". 886/

519. The hotel "Park" was also the location of at least two rapes by members of Šešelj's units. 887/

(b) Croatian paramilitary activity

520. There are reports of two separate Croatian groups acting in Sarajevo and the surrounding region. These are the Croatian Armed Forces (HOS) and the forces under Jusuf Prazina, alias "Juka" or "Yuka".

521. The Republic of Serbia reports that an HOS unit, together with an unnamed Muslim paramilitary group, helped run the "Viktor Bubanj" detention facility in Sarajevo where Serb civilians have allegedly been tortured, raped, and killed. 888/ There are no dates noted as to when the HOS was present at the camp.

522. The Croatian forces were also involved in criminal activity at the "Viktor Bubanj" camp. 889/ It was reported that the leader of this group was appointed head of the BiH Army paramilitary units and became warden of the prison camp. For this reason, "Viktor Bubanj" was also called "Juka's Prison". Over 200 prisoners were held there and were tortured and forced to do heavy manual labour. "Juka" himself is accused of raping and killing prisoners at this camp. 890/

(c) Muslim paramilitary activity

523. Alija's Army and the Green Berets are two Muslim paramilitary units reportedly acted in the Sarajevo area.

524. A rape victim testified to the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia that she was held in a brothel in Livno and then in Sarajevo by "Alija's warriors". It is not clear from the report whether the group she refers to is the same

paramilitary organization as Alija's Army, or whether she is referring generically to the army of BiH as President Alija Izetbegović's "warriors". 891/ Her testimony does not indicate any precise dates of custody.

525. The Green Berets also operated in Sarajevo. On 22 May 1992, a Serbian woman was picked up by two Green Berets and taken to "Viktor Bubanj" in Sarajevo, where she was questioned and raped repeatedly. 892/ Another report alleges that the Green Berets were responsible for the death of an unspecified number of Serb children at the Koševo Stadium near this time as well. Apparently, the members threw the children in the animal cages. Serb soldiers could hear the children being killed from their surrounding positions in Kromolj and Jezero. 893/

36. Srebrenica County 894/

526. Srebrenica is in eastern BiH bordering Serbia. As of 1991, it had a population of 37,211, of which 74.8 per cent was Muslim and 25.2 per cent Serb.

527. In May 1992, Arkan's men allegedly removed machinery and equipment from local factories and looted appliances from local stores in Srebrenica and loaded them into stolen cars and took them to Belgrade. 895/

528. Also in May 1992, the town of Rogatica was shelled, and other reported violations took place, which are not disclosed for confidentiality and prosecutorial reasons. 896/

37. Teslić County 897/

529. Teslić County is in the central northern region of BiH. In 1991, it had a population of 59,632, of which 55.1 per cent was Serb, 21.5 per cent Muslim, 16 per cent Croat, 5.7 per cent "Yugoslav", and 1.7 per cent "other".

530. Arkan and his forces led the near-fatal attack on Kamenica in Teslić during early spring of 1992. The Muslim enclave finally collapsed after enduring 10 months of Serbian onslaughts. The entire village was abandoned by its residents, and Serbs quickly moved to bomb the mosque and loot and burn private homes. Mass graves were opened, which Serbs claimed to bury their own who had died in combat.

531. A professor from Sarajevo University also reports that paramilitary units of the Armada Forces, along with the Serbian militia and the Red Berets, were brought into Teslić to perform "ethnic cleansing" operations there. 898/ The report does not disclose any dates.

38. Tomislavgrad County 899/

532. Tomislavgrad is a western county of BiH bordering Croatia at Imotski County. According to the 1991 census, it had a population of 29,261. Of this population, 86.6 per cent was Croat, 10.8 per cent Muslim, and 2.6 per cent "other".

533. Witness testimonies submitted by the Serbian Council Information Centre allege that members of the Black Legion, a Croatian paramilitary force, took prisoners from Split and Kupres and held them at Tomislavgrad. Women who were detained report that they were kept in cellars with no toilets or

beds. 900/ The Croatian Armed Forces (HOS) are also reported to have participated in the operation of a detention facility in Tomislavgrad. 901/

39. Travnik County 902/

534. Travnik is in central BiH. Its pre-war population was 70,402, with 45.3 per cent Muslim, 36.9 per cent Croat, 11 per cent Serb, and 6.8 per cent "other". There are reports of Croatian and Muslim paramilitary activity in this county.

(a) Croatian paramilitary activity

535. UNPROFOR reports that a Croatian paramilitary formation called Medići was responsible for attacks, kidnappings, bombings, and artillery firing on Muslim residents in and around Travnik during the first weeks of April 1993. The HVO has claimed that the Medići are not under its military control. 903/

(b) Muslim paramilitary activity

536. The US Government claims that Mecet's Bebe, or Mecetove Bebe, is a Muslim paramilitary organization that carried out criminal activity, including theft and sabotage in the Travnik area. 904/ It does not specify any dates of their activity.

40. Tuzla County 905/

537. Tuzla is in north-east BiH. Its population in 1991 was 131,861, of which 47.6 per cent was Muslim, 16.6 per cent "Yugoslav", 15.6 per cent Croat, 15.5 per cent Serb, and 4.7 per cent "other".

538. The chlorine-alkaline complex in Tuzla and Lukavac was bombarded with artillery by Šešelj's men and local "Četniks" during June of 1992. The attack was backed by aircraft from the military air force and an anti-aircraft defence provided by the JNA. 906/

41. Veljina

539. According to an April 1992 report, the Pan-Yugoslav television network YUTEL, carried videotape footage of the attack on Veljina. The report states that Veljina was "overrun" by Arkan and his men, who were claiming to liberate it for the Serbs. Arkan told reporters that his forces were in BiH to prevent Muslim fundamentalism from gaining a foothold in Europe. 907/

42. Višegrad County 908/

540. Višegrad is in eastern BiH. According to 1991 census figures, it had a population of 21,202, with 62.8 per cent Muslim, 32.8 per cent Serb and 4.4 per cent "other". There are numerous reports of Serbian paramilitary activity in this county.

541. In 9 April 1992, Zagreb Radio Croatia Network reported that all Muslims from Višegrad had left in fear that Arkan was headed for the town. 909/

542. Between 12 and 13 April 1992, residents of Višegrad were informed by their Serbian neighbours that Šešelj's and Arkan's units were coming into the area to perform a mass killing. Some residents left, and their houses were ransacked and riddled with bullets. Fourteen houses were burned down, leaving only five undamaged. 910/

543. On 13 April 1992, the city of Višegrad was occupied by the Užice Corps. This group consisted of JNA soldiers, reservists, Užice territorial defence forces, and White Eagles. They brought a large amount of JNA heavy equipment with them. The JNA forces wore their traditional uniforms, while the White Eagles wore identifiable outfits, combining military and civilian clothes. Some wore hats with the kokada emblem. Upon the corps' siege, the civilian population fled the city and was fired upon. The corps then broadcast a message instructing the residents to return to Višegrad and assuring their safety. When they returned, the village was in shambles, with many homes burned. 911/ The JNA then blocked all roads leading out of Višegrad with help from the White Eagles and Užice Corps. Soldiers at the roadblocks would take away Muslims, whose names appeared on a master list. 912/ Between 18 and 25 May, the Užice Corps left Višegrad, leaving it to fall under the control of the White Eagles, Četnik gangs and Šešelj's forces. 913/

544. After the retreat of the Užice Corps, the killing and torturing of Muslims began. Residents could not leave the city without permission. Many Serbs were seen throwing bound Muslims into the river to drown them. In early June, many girls were taken to the hotel Vilina Vlas, interrogated, and raped. 914/ Some of the females were not returned.

545. On 13 April 1992, Momir Savić's Četniks set fire to the villages of Repuševići, Jarci, Brezje, Šip, Bodežnik, Blaž, and Moremeslje. 915/ They harassed and arrested Muslims, defaced a mosque, destroyed Muslim property, and stole humanitarian aid. Witness testimony submitted by the Republic of BiH identified one of the men who organized "ethnic cleansing" in the Višegrad region. Apparently, once the Užice Corps left on 18 June 1992, the criminal activity of Momir Savić's Četniks grew markedly worse. 916/

546. Then in July, civilians were evicted and convoys left the city. 917/ Some of the men on the convoy were killed and thrown into the River Drina before they arrived in Olovo. The women were taken to Olovo, then to Visoko, then to Zenica. 918/

547. According to a witness, the Popović Group led by Srpko Popović was also involved in criminal activity in the Višegrad area during this time. 919/ On 18 June 1992, the Popović Group is claimed to have killed 22 Muslims in Višegrad under the direction of Milan Lukić. 920/ The Popović Group is also alleged to have killed Muslims at the Višegrad Electric Plant and then to have thrown the corpses in the Drina River. In addition, Popović members allegedly burned 60 civilians detained in a house and drowned others by tying them up and throwing them into the river. They are also said to have regularly looted Muslim homes. In addition, Srpko Popović, himself, is claimed to have killed 17 civilians in one day.

548. The Višegrad Militia was also active in the area. A witness from the village of Koritnik near Višegrad stated that he narrowly escaped when the house he was being detained in was set afire by Višegrad Militia guards in June 1993. 921/ The witness stated that in June 1993, an identified man, whose name is not disclosed for confidentiality and prosecutorial reasons, came to Koritnik and told the Muslims that they would be evicted. The next day, members of the Višegrad militia came to the village and loaded 51 civilians onto buses headed towards Višegrad. At a Serbian checkpoint on a bridge outside Višegrad, the civilians were searched and forced to give up

their money and jewelry. The prisoners were then transferred to a house where the women were kept separately for supposed "interrogations".

549. The witness goes on to describe that there were already five prisoners in the house when they arrived. At 10:30 p.m., one of the Višegrad Militia guards threw a torch into the house and fired a machine-gun into the various rooms where he and others were held. The witness escaped through a window and ran. In the field behind the house, he was again fired upon. He does not expect that anyone else survived.

550. On 18 June 1992, the paramilitary forces under Milan Lukić killed 22 Muslims on the new bridge in Višegrad. 922/ The Lukić forces are said to have killed Muslim civilians in a variety of ways: children were dropped from the bridge and then shot before they hit the water; others were killed by pulling their kidneys out while they were still alive; and still others were tied to car bumpers and dragged across the bridge and through the streets of Višegrad. The report links the actions of Lukić's forces with those of the Popović Group. 923/

551. On 22 October 1992, Milan Lukić and his men allegedly abducted 16 Sandžak Muslims from the village of Sjeverin. 924/ According to Amnesty International, eight armed and masked men boarded the bus that the Muslims were travelling on as it entered BiH at the Višegrad municipality. The men, identified as Milan Lukic's, then ordered the passengers off the bus and onto an army truck. The truck, which had no license plates, headed towards the town of Višegrad. At this time, the passengers were told that they would be exchanged for Serbs who were captured the previous night. According to the Belgrade newspaper Borba, which cites military sources in Serbia, these Muslim hostages were killed near Višegrad that same day. 925/

552. On 19 February 1993, Lukić's forces reportedly performed a similar operation, this time at the Strpci train station. 926/ Witnesses state that 19 Muslim passengers on a train at Strpci were abducted by Lukić's forces, led onto a military truck, and driven away. The present whereabouts of these Muslims are not reported.

553. Finally, these reports indicate that Lukić was briefly detained on 26 October 1992 and again in February 1993 for the kidnapping of the Muslims from the bus and from the train. 927/ Furthermore, according to the Amnesty International report, the leaders of the "Serb Republic of BiH" deny the existence of paramilitary forces in Višegrad and refer to Lukić's forces as "volunteers" fighting under the command of the Višegrad Brigade. However, according to Borba, Lukić's forces are not under the direction of the army nor the local Višegrad authorities. 928/

554. Finally, it is reported that the paramilitary forces under the command of Rajko Kušić were also involved in the kidnapping and killing of Muslims in Višegrad. 929/ It is not clear whether their actions are linked to those of the Lukić forces. In this case, a witness claims that Kušić forces under the direction of an identified man, whose name is not disclosed for confidentiality and prosecutorial reasons, forced 49 Muslim prisoners from Višegrad onto a bus. The paramilitaries told the prisoners that they were going to be exchanged in Han Pijesak. Yet, once on the bus, the prisoners were tied up and beaten. The bus pulled off the road somewhere between Višegrad and Rogatica, and the prisoners were ordered off. Then, they were killed and piled into a pit. 930/

555. A Serbian irregular force called Commander Turtle's units is said to have worked in portions of eastern BiH, including Višegrad. 931/ This group was led by a Bosnian Serb doctor named Duško Kornjača and operated

sometime after September 1992. 932/

556. Other testimony indicates that the Serbian forces under Risto Perišić, the president of the Serbian community, were active in Višegrad. Perišić is alleged to be one of the organizers of "ethnic cleansing" in the region. 933/

43. Vitez County 934/

557. Vitez is in central BiH. The pre-war population was 27,728. Of that population, 45.7 per cent was Croat, 41.4 per cent Muslim, 7.5 per cent "other", and 5.4 per cent Serb. There are reports of both Croatian and Muslim paramilitary activity in this region.

(a) Croatian paramilitary activity

558. According to UNPROFOR personnel, the Croatian Knights paramilitary group set up a checkpoint approximately three kilometres north-west of Vitez, where they detained a convoy of trucks for several days. Although the convoy was eventually returned, the action was apparently one of many designed to agitate the Muslim population in the region. 935/ HVO officials have stated that the Knights were an independent group that did not follow official military command.

(b) Muslim paramilitary activity

559. The Muslim Armed Forces (MOS) are alleged to have looted and burned homes and to have threatened Croatian civilians in the Vitez municipality. Specifically, witnesses report MOS activity in Čajdraš, Vjetrenica Mountain, and Busovača. Many civilians are said to have been killed in the area; their bodies have most often been found burned with their homes. 936/ It is also reported that the MOS acted as local police and arrested HVO personnel earlier released by the Army of BiH. 937/

44. Vogošća County

560. Vogošća is a small county in central BiH just west of Sarajevo. There are reports that the Serbian paramilitary units under the command of Dragan Ikanović operated there.

561. A witness who was held for several weeks at the army barracks in Rajlovac reports that Ikanović and his men were responsible for the deaths of approximately 50 Muslim prisoners. He claims that Ikanović and his men loaded prisoners onto a bus and drove them from Vogošća towards a village called Srednje. At one point in the journey, the passengers were told that the bus had overheated and needed water. The guards on the bus then got off. Immediately afterward, the bus was fired upon by Serbian forces using rocket launchers, bazookas, machine-guns, and hand grenades. 938/

562. The BiH Bulletin also reports details of this incident. 939/ It states that Serb forces took 55 Muslim prisoners, some of whom were from Dobroševići, Bojnik, and Mihaljevići, on a red bus to a supposed prisoner exchange. Then an identified man was said to take the prisoners. The report does not indicate whether other forces under Joja Tintor were involved. Later, the bus was fired upon as described above. Forty-seven prisoners were killed. 940/

45. Zenica County 941/

563. Zenica County is in central BiH. In 1991, it had a population of 145,577, of which 55.2 per cent was Muslim, 15.6 per cent Croat, 15.5 per cent Serb, 10.9 per cent "Yugoslav", and 2.9 per cent "other". Croatian and Muslim paramilitary activity has been reported in this area.

(a) Croatian paramilitary activity

564. The Croatian Armed Forces (HOS) is an organization of Croatian and Muslim forces that have acted in the Zenica region. It is estimated that of the 1,500 troops in Zenica, there are at least 800 Muslim members. 942/

(b) Muslim paramilitary activity

565. The Zenica Hoodlums (or Green League), the Muslim Armed Forces (MOS), and the Patriotic League have all been named in connection with the attack on Zenica on 25 April 1992. 943/

46. Zvornik County 944/

566. Zvornik is located in eastern BiH on the Serbian border. It had a pre-war population of 81,111. Of that population, 59.4 per cent was Muslim, 38 per cent Serb, and 2.6 per cent "other". Here, there are reports of Serbian and Muslim paramilitary activity.

(a) Serbian paramilitary activity

567. In late March, Šešeljovci units arrived in the area and informed the Muslim residents that they had 10 days in which to turn in their weapons. 945/ At a party held in April at the Tezeko Hotel in Zvornik, Šešelj read the names of local Muslim intellectuals from a list to an audience partly comprised of members of Arkanovci, Šešeljovci, and White Eagles. The people on this list were to be killed. 946/

568. On 7 April 1992, the predominantly Muslim village of Grbavci was surrounded on three sides by the Serbian paramilitary units of Šešelj, Arkan and the White Eagles. They took over the village's important buildings and announced that all Muslims were to turn in their weapons. They had a list prepared by local Serbs of the names of all the Muslims in the village who owned weapons. Those on the list who did not turn in a weapon were taken away and not seen again. Shortly after they were removed, gunshots were heard in the forest outside the village. 947/

569. Zvornik was attacked on 8 April 1992. Arkan's troops reportedly led the attack. 948/ They were aided by JNA forces, Šešelj's, and Arkan's men. Identified perpetrators included regular JNA troops, paramilitaries, and special police, 949/ but names are not disclosed for confidentiality and prosecutorial reasons. The attack began with artillery fire that continued without interruption from 9:00 a.m. to 3:00 p.m. 950/

570. Zvornik was shelled from all sides, but especially from a hill 12 kilometres away. 951/ On 9 April 1992, Zagreb Radio Croatian Network reported that Serbian forces had entered the centre of Zvornik and that fighting had diminished. 952/ Likewise, Sarajevo Radio reported that Serbian troops had captured the town at about midday on 9 April. 953/

Fighting, however, reportedly continued in the suburbs, which were under heavy mortar fire. A school, a timber processing plant, a secondary school centre, and many multi-story buildings in the centre of Zvornik were hit. Hospital staff reported 10 people wounded and one killed at the time of the broadcast on 9 April. A transmitter allegedly was damaged so that citizens of Zvornik could not receive information other than one channel of Belgrade television. 954/

571. General Milutin Kukanjac, the Yugoslav Army's local commander, reportedly said in a Sarajevo radio interview that an army unit in the Zvornik area would intervene only if the town's civil defence forces surrendered their weapons. 955/ Zvornik's Muslim fighting force, poorly armed and coordinated, held the city for five days before retreating to a castle near Kula Grad. They conducted night attacks from the castle but had to withdraw due to lack of ammunition. Some of these forces were later arrested and imprisoned. 956/

572. During the attack on Zvornik, approximately 200 houses were burned and 76 Muslims were killed. Young males were told that they either had to join the Serbian forces, leave, or be shot. The old men, women, and children were allowed to stay. Many of the males that left reported seeing JNA tanks on the Serbian side of the Drina. 957/

573. In the Kula section of Zvornik, no advanced warning was given to turn in weapons. The men were gathered in the basement of the hospital, where the younger ones were beaten in a Serbian attempt to find out information on the defending forces. Those that refused to give information were taken away and not seen again. After a few days, the others were allowed to return to their homes. 958/

574. Serbian forces positioned across the Drina in Serbia began shelling the Muslim village of Divič, two kilometres north of Zvornik. The village was then occupied by Serbian forces, who forced the residents to turn in their weapons. The residents were subjected to regular beatings by the occupying forces, but the village was relatively calm. 959/

575. People reportedly were imprisoned, first the intellectuals, and then others as well. Various registrations were ordered, and if they were not obeyed, all property would be taken away. Many people who had left the town earlier came back for this reason. Many of them were then taken to concentration camps, tortured, and killed. Certain villagers were forced to sign statements that they "voluntarily renounce" all of their property. 960/ At least two prison camps were established in the Zvornik suburb of Karakaj: one at the Standard Shoe Factory, holding 35 prisoners, and another at the Ekonomija, holding 600 prisoners. The prisoners at Ekonomija were reportedly beaten on a regular basis by the Šešeljovci. 961/

576. A series of killings reportedly followed the fall of Zvornik. 962/ A number of them of have been attributed to Arkan's soldiers: 963/ Arkan's men allegedly stopped at each house checking the identification of residents. 964/ According to a Sarajevo radio report, on 9 April elders of the Islamic community of BiH accused Arkan's units of committing crimes against the Muslims in Zvornik. The elders claimed that Muslims were subjected to "a pogrom" because of their religion. The elders' statement disclosed that there were many Muslims killed, and a great number wounded. The elders appealed to legal entities of BiH, to members of the public, and to the United Nations and international humanitarian organizations for protection. 965/ Another Sarajevo radio report on the same day stated that Arkan's units were perpetrating a "massacre" of the Muslim population of

Zvornik. The report said that six people had died that day and 15 people were injured as a result of grenades and bombs launched from 120 millimetre calibre mortars. 966/

577. A Serbian woman told US Embassy officers in Budapest that several Yugoslav army tanks, led by Arkan, had come to Zvornik on 10 April. About 30 masked irregulars belonging to a unit under Arkan conducted a house-to-house search for Bosnian Muslim men by checking identity cards. The Serbs then allegedly cut off the heads, hands, and feet of their victims. 967/

578. According to the witness who made a statement to Amnesty International, Serbian paramilitaries, who described themselves as Arkan's men, strangled six people. At about 3:00 p.m. on 10 April, a group of about 30 men arrived at the outskirts of Zvornik and rounded up residents. They were taken out into the orchard and forced to lie down. There were 15 captives in total, nine women and six men. The men were killed, and the women were locked in the cellar of a house. After three days, people from a nearby village discovered the women. About 10 days later, the survivors were driven from the site at gunpoint and made to cross into Mali Zvornik in Serbia, from where they made their way to Hungary. 968/

579. An unidentified witness states that Arkan's soldiers visited Hasim Hadžiavić's home. The witness maintains that the soldiers interrogated Hadžiavić and his 74 year-old neighbour about where Muslim money and guns were hidden. When the men could not or did not answer, a soldier reportedly slit Hadžiavić's throat. The neighbour fainted, and the soldier stepped on his chest and slit his throat as well. Then, the soldiers went to the next home, that of Šehić Hakiija, and demanded the same information from him and his son. The soldiers slit the throats of Hakiija and his son. It is alleged that 46 people were killed by Arkan's men in one hour on this day. 969/

580. The Zvornik hospital was overrun by Serb forces during the occupation. Arkan's men stored weapons and set up headquarters there. All those at the hospital were taken hostage until the body of "Rambo", Arkan's second in command, was returned. Around 20 April, White Eagle members arrived at the hospital, harassed hostages, threatened to kill the Muslims, shot from windows, and made people stand or squat in line. 970/

581. In mid-April 1992, Serbian forces began digging pits with a bulldozer in the Muslim cemeteries south-west of Zvornik. Trucks were seen there three times a day dumping bodies. Trucks loaded with bodies were also seen frequently in Mali Zvornik at the stone quarry near the Hotel Drina. 971/ Citizens hidden in "Little Zvornik" allegedly saw the digging of mass graves at the northern entrance of the town called Kazambašća.

582. On 11 April 1992, a news report stated that UN refugee workers had reported a day earlier that 10,000 Muslim women and children had been found huddled in a single village without food or shelter. Alija Izetbegović, the Muslim President of BiH, appealed to the international community for help after claiming that Serbian guerrillas had threatened to kill 3,000 civilians trapped near Zvornik. According to the news article, a UN refugee official had reported seeing heavily armed Serbian guerrillas clearing dead bodies from the streets. A shortage of bus drivers and concern about "armed gangs" controlling the region prevented Red Cross aid workers from approaching the area at that time. 972/ Relief workers said that Arkan's forces controlled Zvornik's centre, while Yugoslav army forces were stationed around the area. 973/

583. On 14 April 1992, Sarajevo Radio reported that members of Arkan's units were looting empty houses and apartments in Zvornik and taking the goods away

on trucks. Those who had left the village and returned to recover their property were taken to camps, tortured, and killed. Others were forced to sign statements wherein they surrendered all of their property. 974/ Dead bodies were lying in the streets, private houses, and apartment buildings. Shops had been closed for eight days, and the town lacked basic foodstuffs and medicine. The report carried an appeal on behalf of citizens remaining in Zvornik for EC observers and food. The report said that more than 10,000 refugees wanted to leave for a safe place but were unable to do so. 975/

584. Arkan reportedly appeared on Serbian state-controlled television, discussing his "exploits" in Zvornik, saying that he had "liberated" the area. 976/ Apparently, Arkan had most recently said on television that he would go on vacation with his family. 977/ Another news report said that international human rights organizations had accused the Serbian Volunteer Guard under Arkan of atrocities against civilians in Croatia before the cease-fire, whose observance was marked by Arkan's vacation.

585. Civilians continued to be assailed in May. Muslims were taken to facilities around Zvornik, where they were detained and beaten severely by Serbs. Shooting began in Zvornik on 18 May, causing most Muslims to flee to other villages or the woods at the edge of the village. Some of those in the woods returned to the village, following Serb instructions. The men who returned were shot in front of their families. 978/

586. On 17 May 1992, Šešeljovci entered Divič in Zvornik County and began to loot and pillage Muslim property for nine days. 979/ On 26 May 1992, the residents of Divič were loaded onto buses supposedly headed to Olovo. Instead the buses went to Tuzla and on to Zvornik. In Zvornik, they were housed for 36 hours on the second floor of an office building, where they were given regular meals and water. 980/

587. On 29 May 1992, the 174 male residents from Divič were moved to a movie theatre in a cultural centre in Čelopek, seven kilometres north of Zvornik. The prisoners were threatened with death unless they could come up with 2,000 DM per person, which they did. Nevertheless, the prisoners were still beaten, tortured, sexually abused, and killed. 981/

588. In May 1992, Serbian forces moved into the Zvornik village of Djulići, killing 60 residents. 982/

589. Also in May, local Serbs, including a policeman, attacked Kostjerevo village. Their names are not disclosed for confidentiality and prosecutorial reasons. Apparently, the entire population of the village was taken away to Drinjača where 35 men were beaten and killed in a hall. A dozen teenage boys were taken prisoner and led in the direction of Zvornik. Women were raped and tortured. According to the witness, on 31 May, about 150 women and children were taken in two buses in the direction of Tuzla. 983/

590. In June and July, the number of detentions increased and the beatings continued. Both the Bosnian Serb police and Šešelj's men were responsible. 984/ A former prisoner related that on 4 June, the detainees were moved to a neighbouring house with another 120 Muslims, and kept there six weeks, during which time they were repeatedly beaten. Men from Šešelj's unit carved crosses into the heads of 10 Muslim prisoners. Bosnian Serb police tightened wires around other prisoners' necks. On 15 July, the prisoners were taken to a detention camp in Batković, where they were beaten regularly with sticks. The witness was finally released as part of a prisoner exchange. 985/

591. On 26 June 1992, Muslim men, women, and children were rounded up by what were believed to be Šešelj's men, as well as White Eagles. They were taken to the centre of town where they were put onto trucks that took them to Loznica. In Loznica, they boarded a train that took them to Subotica. After spending several days on the train in Subotica, the Muslims were moved to a campsite at Palić, where they were issued Yugoslav passports stamped by the Ministry of Internal Affairs. Then they were taken in groups to the Hungarian border and accepted as refugees. 986/

592. Charles Lane wrote in The New Republic in July 1992 that he, along with about eight carloads of Sarajevo-bound journalists, passed through Zvornik. He wrote that Zvornik had been the scene of numerous alleged atrocities against Muslims and perpetrated by paramilitary Serbian bands such as those of Arkan. Lane wrote that Arkan's name was daubed in black paint on the walls of burned-out homes and businesses in the town. He and the other journalists arrived shortly after midday. The Serb gunmen manning the local checkpoint "were drunk, mad, and in a mood to poke us with their automatic weapons". A policeman intervened, informing the journalists that "a battle" was going on up ahead which made the way dangerous. The journalists waited as a Serb paramilitary officer dressed in a camouflage tunic and riding breeches drove up in a Mercedes and waved an AK-47 at them. Reportedly the paramilitary officer said in "precise English", "If you take a single picture between here and Sarajevo, I will personally kill you".

593. Within moments, three buses passed through the checkpoint. Each bus contained Muslim men, their heads bowed and touching the seats in front of them, and their hands behind their necks. Lane caught a glimpse of one man's "fearful" eyes through the window. 987/

594. According to a US Government report, Radoja Nikolić allegedly led Serbian paramilitary groups in Grbavci near Zvornik and an identified man, whose name is not disclosed for confidentiality and prosecutorial reasons, served as chief of the Serbian Guard in Karakaj. 988/

(b) Muslim paramilitary activity

595. Quoting Tanjug, the Democratic League of Koševo reports that in the second week of October 1992, a unit of Muslim fighters called the Mosque Doves attacked the villages of Pantići and Miloševići which are about 20 kilometres from Zvornik. 989/ There are only approximations of the number of people killed since Tanjug was inconsistent in its reports on these attacks. On 12 October, it reported that 50 villagers, mainly the elderly, were killed. Then, the next day, they reported that 13 civilians and 23 members of the Serb forces were killed. The Mosque Doves were said to use "rifles from Hungary and Arabic countries" and included Muslims and some Croatians from the Zvornik area. 990/

B. Croatia

1. Beli Manastir County 991/

596. This county is located in north-eastern Croatia, bordered by Serbia to the east. According to the 1991 census, Beli Manastir had a population of 54,160, of which 25.5 per cent was Serbian, 41.7 per cent Croatian, 16.5 per cent Hungarian, 7.9 per cent "Yugoslavs", and 8.4 per cent "other".

597. In August of 1991, 260 Croat citizens of the Baranja area were killed by local Serbs and Šešelj's soldiers. Marko Kvesić, representative of the

Government of the Republic of Croatia for the Beli Manastir District, stated that the Croatians of Baranja were ordered to leave their homes, and that those who refused to do so were shot. Explosions were set off, property was taken, and people were beaten. Those fleeing the village into Hungary were seen with broken limbs and disfigured faces. 992/

598. Furthermore, the Serbian paramilitary group, Martić's Militia, led by Milan Martić, was alleged to have been conducting paramilitary operations in Beli Manastir and to have organized camps and prisons in the county. In these camps, captured civilians and members of the Croatian Army were severely mistreated and/or killed. 993/

2. Benkovac County 994/

599. Benkovac County is located in west-central Croatia. The pre-war population was 33,079. The ethnic breakdown of the population was 57.4 per cent Serbian, 40.6 per cent Croatian, and 2 per cent "other".

600. On 21 December 1991, a paramilitary group under the leadership of Bogdan Gagić allegedly killed nine Croatians and one Serbian in the village of Bruška in Benkovac. Other inhabitants were reported to have been tortured or evicted. Although the report indicates that Gagić's group had 31 members it does not identify them nor does it provide any information as to the ethnicity of its members. 995/

601. In February 1993, the town of Benkovac in Benkovac County was reported to be under the complete control of Arkan. No details as to how this was accomplished were reported. 996/

3. Daruvar County 997/

602. This county is located in north-central Croatia with a pre-war population of 29,978. Of this population 33.2 per cent was Serbian, 34.3 per cent Croatian, 27 per cent "other", and 5.5 per cent described as "Yugoslav".

603. In June 1991, the JNA and the Serbian Democratic Party (SDS) for Slavonia and Baranja allegedly formed the XII Slavonian Shock Brigade for the area of Daruvar, Grubišno Polje, Pakrac, Virovitica, Podravska Slatina and Slavenska Požega. One formation of the brigade was the Unit of Daruvar, headquartered in Bijela. They also formed the Police of SAO Krajina and West Slavonia. 998/

604. The Unit of Daruvar and members of their police units allegedly participated in a number of attacks and incidents, often in concert with the JNA and other "Četnik" forces. On 19 and 20 June 1991, five policemen were killed and five wounded during two separate attacks by members of the Unit of Daruvar. On 21 August 1991, the Unit of Daruvar began shelling Daruvar. The report indicated that the shelling of various villages within this county continued through 12 November 1991. 999/

4. Dvor County

605. Dvor County is located in south-central Croatia with BiH at its southern border. According to the 1991 census, the population was 14,636, of which 85.6 per cent was Serbian, 9.5 per cent Croatian, and 4.9 per cent "other".

606. According to the Croatian Information Centre, a Serbian paramilitary

group from Dvor na Uni, attacked two nearby villages, Kozibrod and Struga on 26 July 1991. The attack began at 10:30 a.m. and lasted until 9:00 p.m. that night. Allegedly, the attackers used civilians from the two villages as shields as they advanced on the Croat police station at Kozibrod. Once in control of the police facilities, the paramilitaries killed seven civilians and eight policemen. The report also lists eight civilians as seriously wounded by gunfire. 1000/

5. Glina County 1001/

607. This county is located in central Croatia, with Zagreb to the north and BiH to the south. The pre-war population was 22,997, of which 60.5 per cent were Serbian, 35 per cent Croatian, and 4.5 per cent "other".

608. Martić's Militia allegedly organized camps and prisons in Glina. In these camps, captured civilians and members of the Croatian Army were allegedly severely mistreated and killed. 1002/

609. According to a report from the Republic of Croatia, 22 Croatians, mostly elderly, were killed in the Glina village of Glinska Joševica on 16 December 1993 by a special Serbian Territorial Defence unit, the Visors, led by an identified man, whose name is not disclosed for confidentiality and prosecutorial reasons. Victims were killed in their homes with small-bore, silencer-equipped guns. The Croatian report claims that the attack was initiated by Serbian authorities in Glina to revenge the death of 19 members of Territorial Defence units killed in battle with the Croatian Army. 1003/

6. Gračac County

610. Gračac County is located in the central coastal area of Croatia. According to the 1991 census, its population was 11,060. The ethnic make up of this population was 82.3 per cent Serbian and 17.7 per cent Croatian.

611. On 20 July 1991, about 10 members of the Serbian group the Velebit Unit allegedly carried out a mortar attack on Lovinac, killing one local woman. According to the report of the Republic of Croatia, they attacked the village again on 5 August 1991. One civilian was killed, and one reserve policeman and another civilian wounded. The perpetrators also caused significant property damage. On that same day, the members of the Velebit Unit took five villagers from their homes and killed them about 2 kilometres from Lovinac in the direction of Rađuča. 1004/

7. Grubišno Polje County 1005/

612. This county is located in the central region of northern Croatia. Its pre-war population was 14,186, of which 32.1 per cent was Serbian, 42.3 per cent Croatian, 4.5 per cent "Yugoslav", and 21.1 per cent "other". There are reports of both Serbian and Croatian paramilitary activity in this county.

(a) Serbian paramilitary activity

613. In June 1991, the JNA and the Serbian Democratic Party (SDS) for Slavonia and Baranja formed the XII Slavonian Shock Brigade for the area of Grubišno Polje, Daruvar, Pakrac, Virovitica, Podravska Slatina, and Slavonska Požega. The Bilogora Unit was formed as part of this brigade and allegedly

took part in several attacks, in concert with the JNA throughout August, September, and October 1991. These attacks resulted in several casualties and mistreatment of the non-Serbian population. 1006/

(b) Croatian paramilitary activity

614. According to witness testimonies reported by the Serbian Council Information Centre, the Croatian paramilitary group, the Black Shirts from Virovitica, arrived in Grubišno Polje on 13 August 1991, and proceeded to arrest and kill civilians, destroy property, and steal the villagers' money. 1007/

615. The Black Shirts allegedly began their activities in the area by blocking roads, setting up check-points, and taking over police duties. They arrested, according to a previously compiled list, 124 people and held them in the Grubišno Polje Hotel. Twenty well-respected men in the community, who were on the previously mentioned list, were later found dead. The Black Shirts are reportedly led by an identified man, whose name is not disclosed for confidentiality and prosecutorial reasons. 1008/

8. Knin County 1009/

616. Knin County is located in the central, southern region of Croatia with BiH on its eastern border. According to the 1991 census, its population was 42,337, with 88.6 per cent Serb, 8.6 per cent Croat and 2.8 per cent "other".

617. In January of 1993, Petar Pašić, Commissioner of the Croatian Government for the Knin municipality, requested that UNPROFOR do everything possible to protect the Croats who had chosen to remain in Knin, 800 of them in all. Refugees had been pouring into Knin from Benkovac and Obrovac, and Pašić described that because local troops had organized under the command of "Captain Dragan" and Četnik formations and units of Arkan and Šešelj had arrived in the region, life was rendered "unbearable and impossible". The report notes that refugees were forcibly moved into Croatian homes, and that Croats were being taken to concentration camps and killed. 1010/

618. Serbian paramilitary forces led by Milan Martić are also alleged to have operated in and around Knin. Milan Martić is Minister of the Interior for the Republic of Serbian Krajina and, according to reports, he trained forces called the Martićevci for operations in Croatia and gave commands from offices stationed in Knin.

9. Krajina

619. A cease-fire between Croat and Serb forces broke down during the third week of January 1993, when Croat troops launched an offensive in and around Krajina. This act, along with reports of Croat soldiers committing atrocities upon Serbian civilians, prompted hundreds of Serbians to volunteer their services in the fight against the Croats. 1011/ In addition to the independent Serb volunteers traveling to the front lines, militiamen belonging to Šešelj and Arkan had already arrived in Krajina and had seen action. 1012/ In an interview, Šešelj stated, "We will not allow Croats, who killed one million Serbs, to gain Serbian territory". Šešelj also bragged that his men were responsible for killing 12 Croatian policemen in a 2 May ambush in north-eastern Croatia. In all, close to 4,000 of Šešelj's and Arkan's men were said to have reinforced the Serb volunteers fighting in Krajina. 1013/

10. Metković County

620. This county is located north of Dubrovnik in southern Croatia with BiH on its eastern border. According to the 1991 census, the population was 22,774, of which 3.1 per cent was Serb, 93.7 per cent Croat, and 3.2 per cent "other".

621. Paramilitary units of the Croatian Armed Forces (HOS) allegedly ran detention facilities for Serbian civilians at sites along the Dalmatian coast including one in Metković. Allegedly, these facilities contained civilians taken from the Čapljina municipality of BiH.

11. Nova Gradiška County

622. Nova Gradiška County is located in central Croatia along the northern border of BiH. According to the 1991 census, the population was 60,461 of which 20.8 per cent was Serb, 71.5 per cent Croat, 3 per cent "Yugoslav", and 4.5 per cent "other".

623. Serbian paramilitary forces commanded by Milan Martić allegedly operated at Stara Gradiška, a village in Nova Gradiška on the Sava river.

12. Osijek County 1014/

624. Osijek County is located in eastern Croatia, just north of Vukovar County. As of 1991, it had a population of 164,577. The ethnic breakdown of the population was 20 per cent Serb, 66.6 per cent Croat, 8.4 per cent "other", and 5 per cent "Yugoslav". There were reports of both Serbian and Croatian paramilitary activity in this county.

(a) Serbian paramilitary activity

625. On 15 February 1991, Arkan's police entered the village of Šodolovci and invaded the homes of several Croatian residents. Eight of the civilians were abducted and taken to a home, and then to another home in Koprivna. They spent two nights there, during which time they were questioned, humiliated, and mistreated. On 17 February, 15 additional residents arrived. The next morning all 23 were loaded onto a truck and driven to the centre of Paulin Dvor. The residents were positioned into line-formation, and one resident was given a white flag. They were then ordered to walk over minefields towards Hrastin. 1015/

626. A 29 November 1991 news report said that the Serbian-led Yugoslav People's Army had conquered one-third of Croatia and had turned the territory over to Serb leaders, who had declared the area a new autonomous Serbian province. At the village of Erdut on the Danube River, temporary regional capital of the purported province, Arkan reportedly made clear that his irregular forces would never be replaced by U.N. troops. Arkan is alleged to have said, "United Nations forces are welcome in Croatia, but they should be sent to Zagreb. They aren't needed here." According to the report, like most Serbian fighters, Arkan and his Tigers did not consider the occupied regions to be part of Croatia. Therefore, they thought them exempt from a U.N. condition that all areas of conflict in Croatia be demilitarized. 1016/
A contemporaneous report states that Arkan, in the Serb-held village of Erdut, 12 miles from Osijek, said, "It would be better for the Croats to surrender Osijek without a fight, if they do not want a repeat of their defeat in Vukovar". 1017/

627. A December 1991 report states that Arkan and his troops held the town of Erdut. According to the report, Arkan said, "Next we are going to liberate Osijek, and then we are going to liberate Zagreb . . . We don't care about borders . . . We will respect the U.N. solution, but the U.N. must count all Serbs as one people. What I really want is for Serbian people to live in one state covering every place Serbs live now." At this time, Arkan was reportedly nursing "a bullet wound in his hand from the Serb-won battles for Vukovar and Borovo Naselje". 1018/

628. On 23 June 1992, between 25 and 30 people were killed in the village of Ernestinovo, reportedly by Arkan supporters, the JNA and "Četniks". Ten of the victims were Croatian soldiers, and there were indications that they were killed in combat. All of the bodies were buried in a mass grave, alongside the bodies of farm animals, in an Ernestinovo park between June and November of 1992. There is a possible second mass grave which also contains farm animals. 1019/

(b) Croatian paramilitary activity

629. According to US Government reports, paramilitary forces under Commander Glavaš were responsible for criminal acts designed to intimidate the Serbian population in Osijek. Glavaš himself is alleged to have killed many civilians there and one Croat fighter from the region was reportedly captured wearing a necklace made from the fingers of young children. 1020/

13. Pakrac County 1021/

630. This county is located in UNPA Sector West. The 1991 census listed Pakrac County's population as 27,288, of which 46.4 per cent was Serb, 36 per cent Croat, 4.8 per cent "Yugoslavs" and 12.8 per cent "other".

631. According to a report from the Republic of Croatia, on 19 August 1991, 39 members of the Serbian paramilitary units, called the XII Slavonian Shock brigade, attacked Pakrac. Croatian civilians were killed, evicted, or imprisoned at a camp in Bučje, and Croatian property in Pakrac was stolen or destroyed. The XII Slavonian Shock brigade was allegedly formed by the JNA and the Serbian Democratic Party and included troops from the Unit of Daruvar and the Bilogorski Odred paramilitary units. 1022/

632. Croatian civilians in the village of Prekopakra were reportedly attacked by units of the XII Slavonian Shock brigade on 19 August 1991. An unspecified number of Croatian civilians was killed, evicted, or imprisoned at a camp in Bučje. Also, Croatian property in Prekopakra was allegedly stolen or destroyed. 1023/

633. The Serbian paramilitary group Martić's Militia allegedly organized camps and prisons in the village of Bučje, Pakrac county. In these camps, captured civilians and members of the Croatian Army were allegedly severely mistreated and/or killed. No further details were given in the report. 1024/

14. Petrinja County 1025/

634. Petrinja County is located in central Croatia, with a population of 35,622. This population was 44.9 per cent Serb, 44.2 per cent Croat, 5.1 per cent "Yugoslav" and 5.8 per cent "other".

635. In September 1990, Serbs from Petrinja and surrounding villages reportedly attacked the police station in Petrinja. It is alleged that they demanded the surrender of arms belonging to the Croatian Police Reserve. The Croatian Ministry of the Interior organized a transfer of arms in the direction of Sisak, but the Serbs reportedly stopped it at Mošćenica and returned it to Petrinja. 1026/

636. The tension in Petrinja increased and reached a peak in 1991. As early as June 1991, Serbs from the villages surrounding Petrinja, helped by Arkan's and Šešelj's men and units of the former Yugoslav army, attacked the Croatian Ministry of the Interior police station in the village of Kraljevčani. The policemen withdrew to Petrinja.

637. Mass killings of civilian villagers allegedly followed in July 1991. A witness reported that frequent explosions at night were targeted at, among others, Serbs who remained loyal to the Croatian authorities.

638. By 23 September 1991, all the defenders had left the city.

15. Podravska Slatina County 1027/

639. Podravska Slatina County is located in north-eastern Croatia, on the Hungarian border. The county had a population of 31,155 in 1991, of which 35.8 per cent was Serb, 57.2 per cent Croat, 3.5 per cent "Yugoslav" and 3.5 per cent "other".

640. During June 1990, the Serbian Democratic Party was established in Podravska Slatina. On 19 August 1991, paramilitary troops under the command of Borivoje Lukić and Borivoje Radosavljević occupied the police station at Voćin. 1028/ In December 1991, 42 Voćin Croats were killed by Serbian paramilitary forces, including local Serbs, White Eagles, and "Četniks". Many of the corpses were severely burned. Twenty other Croatians from nearby villages were also reportedly killed. The Roman Catholic church was blown up and many of the houses in Voćin were destroyed. 1029/

641. On 4 September 1991, Šešeljovci and White Eagles allegedly attacked the villages of Voćin, Četekovac, Balinci, and Čoljug killing 44 residents. Some of those killed were said to have been tortured. 1030/

642. During the months of October to December 1991, units of the XII Slavonian Shock Brigade also attacked villages in Podravska Slatina. They used mortars, tank grenades, and rocket launchers in the attacks. 1031/

16. Sisak County 1032/

643. This county is located in central Croatia, south-east of Zagreb. The pre-war population was 84,247, of which 22.8 per cent was Serb, 64.5 per cent Croat, 3.1 per cent Muslim, 4.4 per cent "Yugoslav" and 5.2 per cent "other".

644. A report, sent from the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia to the Commission of Experts, alleges that, during the first half of 1991, a paramilitary unit called the Hawks destroyed a slaughterhouse and four shops belonging to Serbian residents in Sisak. The Hawks were reportedly linked to the Croatian Ministry of Internal Affairs. 1033/

17. Slavonska Požega County

645. This county is located in the central eastern region of Croatia. As of 1991, its population was 71,299, of which 14 per cent was Serbian, 79.4 per cent Croatian and 6.6 per cent "other".

646. After June 1991, the Bilogorski Odred participated in attacks in Slavonska Požega, along with other units of the XII Slavonian Shock Brigade and the JNA. Allegedly, the JNA and the Serbian Democratic Party (SDS) for Slavonia and Baranja formed the XII Slavonian Shock Brigade for operations in Slavonia, including Slavonska Požega county. However, reports submitted to the Commission of Experts are not specific regarding paramilitary activity there. 1034/

18. Split County 1035/

647. Split County is located on the southern coast of Croatia. It's population, according to the 191 census, was 206,612. The ethnic mix in Split was 4.2 per cent Serb, 87.3 per cent Croat, 8.5 per cent "other".

648. Before being disbanded in August 1992, members of the Croatian Armed Forces (HOS) ran the Lora camp in Split for Bosnian Serb prisoners captured in Čapljina County in south-west BiH. 1036/

19. Titova Korenica County 1037/

649. This county is located in southern Croatia. The pre-war population was 11,307, of which 75.8 per cent was Serb, 16.8 per cent Croat, 3.5 per cent "Yugoslav", and 3.9 per cent "other".

650. Serbian paramilitary forces commanded by Milan Martić also are alleged to operate in Titova Korenica County.

20. Virovitica County

651. This county is located in northern Croatia. According to the 1991 census, the county's population was 46,498. This population was 15.7 per cent Serb, 76.8 per cent Croat, and 7.5 per cent "other".

652. Virovitica is one of several Slavonian counties where the XII Slavonian Shock Brigade operated after June 1991. The Brigade launched infantry and mortar attacks and took prisoners throughout Slavonia, including Virovitica County.

21. Vukovar County 1038/

653. Vukovar County is in eastern Croatia, separated from Serbia by the Danube River. According to the 1991 census, the population of Vukovar County was 84,024, of which 37.4 per cent was Serb, 43.7 per cent Croat, 7.4 per cent "Yugoslav", and 11.6 per cent "other". There are reports of both Serbian and Croatian paramilitary activity in Vukovar County.

(a) Serbian paramilitary activity

654. On 1 April 1991, in the town of Borovo in Vukovar County, six weeks

before Croatian Stipe Mesić was to become the president of the collective head of state, some of Šešelj's troops moved into the village of Borovo. 1039/ The "Četniks" had been sent to the region to protect the minority Serbs from the increasingly nationalistic Croatians. 1040/ The "Četniks" allegedly surrounded two police patrols, injuring five, one critically. 1041/ Barricades and armed sentries were established at various locations in the region, but reports suggest that they were mainly staffed by Serbs from the neighbouring communities of Vukovar and Vinkovci. 1042/ Šešelj, however, had personally visited Vukovar the night of 31 March. 1043/ The "Četniks" remained in the region and the JNA remained silent and made no attempt to disarm them. 1044/

655. Šešelj returned to the region on 21 April 1991 to give a speech in the village of Jagodnjak. 1045/ The speech prompted the district public prosecutor's office to issue a warrant for Šešelj's arrest on 7 May for provoking and fomenting national hatred and intolerance between Croatians and Serbians. 1046/

656. On 8 May 1991, a gun-fight broke out in the region between police in the village of Borovo Selo and 14 members of the "Četniks" accompanied by two members of the Serbian Renaissance Movement, and six local Serbs. 1047/ The shooting began as a result of an alleged ambush of the police by the "Četniks", in which 12 police were killed and at least one had his eyes extracted. 1048/

657. Šešelj publicly acknowledged that his Četniks killed the 12 Borovo Selo police, but insisted that the altercation resulted after an attack by members of the Croatian Ministry of Internal Affairs and was an alleged ambush. 1049/ Šešelj confirmed that the eyes of one policeman were missing and attributed it to the strong impact of the bullet from the Thompson automatic sub-machine-gun to the head of the victim. 1050/

658. The names of the 12 or 13 police that were killed were not disclosed in the reports, nor were the names of the witnesses. According to a Newsday report, the deputy commander of the Četnik operation was 23 year-old Oliver Denis Barret. 1051/ A Los Angeles Times report did name Vladimir Mrklja, a 21 year-old unemployed Serbian, as one of the "Četniks" involved in the incident. 1052/

659. The battle over Vukovar raged in the summer and fall months of 1991. A report quoted Arkan, while in battle over Serb-populated areas of Croatia, as saying, "We have to free our children and our women which are holding [sic] as hostages there". 1053/

660. On 14 October 1991, Serbian irregulars and members of the JNA entered the village of Bapska. In the first few days of occupation, 70 Croatian houses were burned and 18 Croatian civilians killed. In November 1991, Arkan's troops arrived and the assaults against the Croatians increased. 1054/

661. A Yugoslav army internal memorandum, signed by Colonel Milan Eremija a month before the fall of Vukovar and sent to the army's regional command office, identified two militia groups in the Vukovar region as dangerous to "military morale". One was a band led by Arkan and the other, the Četniks led by Šešelj. The memorandum said that there were many paramilitary formations from Serbia and self-proclaimed volunteers, whose primary motive was not fighting against the enemy but robbery of private property and inhuman treatment of Croatian citizens. The memorandum reportedly recommended that all paramilitary groups in the area be disarmed. 1055/

662. In November of 1991, Serb militia forces devastated the city of Vukovar. According to a New York Times report, during the final days of the Vukovar battle, Western reporters saw Serbian soldiers pulling men in civilian clothes from columns of refugees and shooting them on the spot. 1056/ Women, children and the elderly were among the victims. In late November 1991, the last defenders of Vukovar, which had been predominantly Croatian, hid in cellars with their families to escape the shelling. Reportedly, those who had refused to surrender when the army took the city's centre were blasted when guerrillas lobbed grenades to flush out each basement. 1057/ Reports describe that on 19 November 1991, Serbian paramilitary units under the command of Vlado Kovačević took Vukovar civilians from their basements to the Pekara bakery, where they were reportedly killed with knives and burned in a baker's oven. 1058/

663. According to several witness testimonies, Šešelj himself was in Vukovar on 19 November 1991. He allegedly paid each of his troops 23,000 dinars. 1059/ He gave the instruction, "Surrender and stab to death". About 960 persons were allegedly stabbed to death that day. 1060/

664. On 19 November 1991, having heard a report that hundreds of wounded Croatsians, many with gangrene, were hiding in the hospital basement without medicine or electricity, U.N. peace envoy Cyrus Vance and International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) representatives reportedly demanded access to the hospital in Vukovar. The field commander of the Serb-led Yugoslav army, which had captured the city, did not permit access. The commander reportedly said that the hospital was mined, and he could not guarantee their safety. 1061/

665. Concurrent with the Vance/ICRC visit, Yugoslav Army soldiers and Serb paramilitaries put Vukovar hospital patients and medical personnel on several buses to Ovčara and frequently beat and mistreated the prisoners during the journey. Along the way, the buses stopped at the JNA barracks where the prisoners were again beaten. Upon their arrival at Ovčara, the prisoners were stripped of their belongings and further beaten. One witness stated that at least two men were beaten to death. On 20 November, the Yugoslav army soldiers divided the prisoners into groups of 20 and loaded each group onto a truck to be driven away. Fifteen minutes later the truck would return, empty and ready to take on another group of prisoners. A witness said that many of the Serb paramilitaries spoke openly of the shootings. One gunman reportedly said: "Since five in the afternoon to one in the morning, we were killing them in Ovčara". According to the 29 November 1991 edition of the Croatian magazine Globus, a Serbian soldier who introduced himself as one of Arkan's men told a reporter who visited Vukovar one day after it fell: "We summarily executed 300 prisoners. We have a people's court here, you shoot and that's it." 1062/

666. Several witnesses related that several factions were involved in the imprisonment and eventual mass killing of the Croatsians from Vukovar Hospital: the White Eagles, the Serbian Volunteer Guard (led by Arkan), the Četniks (led by Šešelj), the first company of the territorial defence unit of Vukovar, and other Yugoslav army regulars. 1063/ The SAO Krajina Police (possibly Martić's Militia) were also mentioned. A witness mentioned several individuals as perpetrators of the detention, beating, and killing of between 200 to 300 Croatsians. The witness identified six of the men who beat the prisoners while they waited at the JNA barracks to be transported to Ovčara. However, their names are not disclosed for confidentiality and prosecutorial reasons. The witness identified the officer who directed the Vukovar hospital evacuation and named four others. 1064/ Names are not disclosed for confidentiality and prosecutorial reasons.

667. In the fall of 1992, international forensic experts discovered a shallow mass grave about six miles south-east of Vukovar. The scientists found the mass grave by following detailed map information provided by a Vukovar hospital patient, who said he escaped from a truck full of prisoners by jumping out. At the mass grave, the scientists saw hundreds of bullet holes in nearby saplings and mounds of metal casings from spent machine-gun bullets. The experts reportedly concluded that the grave was the site of a machine-gun execution of about 200 people. 1065/ They found an area of disturbed earth and, within minutes, skeletons. Reportedly the area looked as if a bulldozer had shoveled out a trench. 1066/ Scientists had a list of 180 missing patients and 30 staff members who were in the hospital when Vukovar fell as well as hospital records showing what wounds the patients had when they were admitted to the hospital. 1067/

668. Clyde Snow, an American forensic anthropologist who headed the team investigating the Vukovar case, said in a January 1993 interview that evidence found at the mass grave was consistent with witnesses' testimony of how Croatian patients were taken from the hospital by Serb combatants. Snow indicated that the artifacts found on the bodies were Croatian, and that the bodies were suspiciously close to where witnesses said they would be. According to Snow, Roman Catholic crosses and rosary beads found on two bodies exhumed at the site suggested that the dead were Croats. Of the two bodies examined thus far, both had gunshot wounds to the head. Snow's team, organized by a US-based group called Physicians for Human Rights, released a report in January 1993. 1068/

669. Šešelj and his men were also said to have been at Velepromet, the holding facility for civilians who were eventually taken to other prison camps. This report stated that with help from local "Četniks", 250 persons were stripped and killed with a knife. The bodies were stacked one upon another, face down. Croats were forced to bury the bodies at an old brickyard at Sajmište. From there, the corpses were transported to Grabovo and thrown into a hole. 1069/

670. As a result of the fighting in Vukovar, 1,798 people are known to have died and 2,500 are missing on the Croatian side. The Serbian side has not released casualty figures. 1070/ Another report puts the death toll at 5,000. 1071/ Slavko Dokmanovic, the Serb-installed president of Vukovar's city council, said that about 5,000 people had died in the fight but did not indicate how he calculated the figure. 1072/

671. The city of Vukovar sustained massive destruction: every tree was reduced to splinters; every vehicle perforated; every roof torn off; not a single home habitable; no shop, church, or public building intact; and a rubber factory which had provided 60,000 jobs was in shambles. A report said that the stench of rotting flesh emanated from under the piles of rubble. 1073/ In September 1992, a reporter observed in residential neighbourhoods, reportedly with no strategic value, that every single home had been gutted by grenades, tank fire, and machine-gun salvos, every window broken, and every roof blown off. Some homes had Orthodox Serbian cross painted on ruined walls, others the Catholic cross of Croatia, symbols reportedly intended to protect the homes from respective opposing armies. 1074/

672. According to a San Francisco Chronicle report, Arkan's troops were responsible for much of the destruction in the Croatian neighbourhoods. 1075/ Another report attributed the wreckage to the work of Yugoslav federal forces, and quoted Arkan as saying that the destruction of Croatian "fascists" had been necessary in order to protect against "genocide". 1076/ Shortly after the fall of Vukovar, Arkan

reportedly said that his forces were under the direct command of the Yugoslav armed forces. A news article claims that he told reporters in Erdut that Osijek would fall more easily than Vukovar. 1077/

673. By the end of November 1991, Vukovar was named the capital of the Serbian Autonomous Region of Slavonia, Baranja, and West Srem. After surveying the ruins of Vukovar, Belgrade, Mayor Milorad Unković vowed to rebuild the city as a monument to Serbian determination. Unković told a handful of unshaven, middle-aged guerrillas, "To rebuild this town is the humane thing to do. It's something that has to be done for the people who lived here and wish to remain." These guerrillas, who had stopped looting to join the Belgrade delegation, wore Serbian nationalist insignia. 1078/

674. Serb paramilitary groups also allegedly operated in Lovas and Borovo, two villages within Vukovar county. Arkan himself was once in Borovo, at which time he personally killed a village resident in front of witnesses. 1079/

675. The attack on Lovas began on 10 October 1991. During the first few days of the attack, "Četniks" allegedly killed over 70 persons and burned over 50 houses. The report identified the "Četnik units" as those of Dušan Silni and the White Eagles. 1080/

676. On 22 December 1991, a resident of Lovas was taken from his house with another civilian to the town police station, where Arkan's units were located, along with White Eagles and Knindža's units. The citizens were beaten, kicked, and abused. They were then taken to a garage with other villagers, and three of them were crucified and made to sing Croatian songs. Eventually all of the villagers were released. 1081/

677. In addition, an Amnesty International Report from March 1992 refers to numerous summary executions of civilians in the Lovas area. These executions were carried out by several different paramilitary groups, including the Beli Orlovi (White Eagles), Dušan Silni (Dušan the Great), Arkan's and Šešelj's men, Jovičevići and Martičevići. 1082/ Specifically, the report notes that on an unspecified date, 51 Croatian civilians were killed by Serb irregulars, and an additional 17 civilians were forced to hold hands and enter a minefield. Many of them were seriously wounded in the subsequent explosions. 1083/

678. Serb paramilitary forces were also active in Tovarnik, a town south-east of Vukovar city, on the border separating Croatia from Serbia. According to reports, on 7 September 1991, Dušan Silni forces killed a Catholic priest and set homes on fire there. 1084/ Reports also describe how, between 27 and 30 September 1991, a Serbian paramilitary unit called Drago's Group raped two 14 year-old girls in front of their grandmother and killed approximately 80 people. 1085/

679. In Borovo Naselje, a local paramilitary unit allegedly detained civilians and transported them to a prison camp at Stajićevo in Serbia. A witness stated that during the ride to the prison camp, members of the paramilitary unit beat the prisoners. The same witness stated that the Stajićevo prison camp held 6,500 people from Vukovar County and that many women were detained there. 1086/

(b) Croatian paramilitary activity

680. Allegedly, Mile Dedaković, alias "Jastreb", commanded Croatian paramilitaries in Vukovar who killed and tortured civilians. 1087/

22. Zadar County 1088/

681. This county is located on the western coast of Croatia. Its population in 1991 was 134,881, of which 10.5 per cent was Serb, 83.4 per cent Croat and 6.1 per cent "other".

682. The Belgrade news agency, Tanjug, reported that the Italian mercenary unit trained by Serbian commander Captain Dragan carried out reconnaissance and sabotage missions along combat lines in the Velebit mountains, north of Zadar. 1089/

683. On 18 November 1991, Serbian paramilitaries, belonging to Šešelj, reportedly attacked the civilian population of Škabrnja in the county of Zadar using tank and infantry units, and killing 16 civilians. 1090/

C. Serbia

1. Hrtkovci

684. The activities of Šešelj's men in Hrtkovci began in early May of 1992, when Šešelj delivered a speech on 6 May stating that all Croats and Hungarians who had been disloyal in the last year's war would have to leave the town. One of his followers had a list which contained the names of 17 residents who were selected as the first group to leave. At the time, 70 per cent of the 3,000 person population was Croat. The first 17 left, but other lists followed. As of August of 1992, only 400 Croats remained in the village. Those who chose to stay were forced to endure threatening letters, beatings, and attacks on their homes. 1091/ Streets were renamed after Serb historical figures. The Šešelj party even devised a slogan for its campaign to rid the area of Croats: "All Croats Out Of Hrtkovci". 1092/

685. Gangs of Serbs have forced Croats out of their homes, at times giving them mere days or hours to vacate their premises. 1093/ Residents complained to the local police, but the police said that lacked authorization to act. Several people have been killed. 1094/ Many citizens traveled to Belgrade in August of 1992 to protest the mistreatment of the Croats in Hrtkovci. 1095/

2. Kosovo

686. The province of Kosovo, which is 90 per cent Albanian, has been the site of much tension between Serb forces and the Albanian civilian population. Serbs began their attempts to influence the Albanians' lives, both culturally and politically, in 1992 by closing colleges, dismissing 100,000 Albanian workers and replacing them with Serbs, and arming massive numbers of Serbs who live in the province. President of the Kosovo Albanians, Ibrahim Rugova, reported that he possessed secret information that paramilitary groups led by Arkan and Šešelj were already present in Kosovo in 1992. Shots were fired at Albanian civilians and their houses. 1096/ In December 1992, Arkan was elected to the Serbian parliament to represent Kosovo, and he established his headquarters in a Priština hotel. Šešelj called for the expulsion of 360,000 Kosovo Muslims in January of 1993, adding yet another cultural group to the conflict in that province. 1097/ Priština, the capital of Kosovo, was selected by Šešelj in May of 1993 as the site for an anti-Albanian rally. This rally was planned in response to a strike by 1,500 journalists and other employees of the Rilindja newspaper. 1098/

687. By June 1993, Serb police were noted to "control everything and

constantly terrorize the Albanian Kosovars". Belgrade had issued orders to "shoot to kill", and 25 innocent Albanians had already been shot at point-blank range. In all, 40,000 Serb military and 25,000 Serb policemen, as well as large numbers of the Serbian civilian population, were heavily armed. Thousands of Serb refugees from BiH and Croatia were purposefully resettled in Kosovo to weaken the huge Albanian majority in the province. Two Serb policemen were murdered in June, reportedly under Šešelj's order so that he could blame the murders on the Albanians and fan the flames of an already tense situation. 1099/ President Rugova hypothesized that Serb aggression in the area might provoke a wave of Albanian radicalism, whereby Šešelj's followers might supply arms to radical Albanian groups to provoke incidents against the civilian population. 1100/

688. Although no longer Kosovo's representative in Parliament, Arkan was recently quoted as saying: "We are going to deport Rugova and open the border to (send back) all the emigrants from Albania. Over 700,000 Albanians must be sent back...Only those loyal citizens of Serbia will stay here." 1101/

3. Pljevlja

689. Six of Šešelj's followers were arrested for alleged involvement in acts of terrorism in the predominantly Muslim town of Pljevlja on 6 and 7 August 1992. The group was also charged with violent behaviour, interference with the work of the police, and aiding in the escape of arrested persons for incidents occurring on 8 and 9 August 1992. 1102/

4. Sandžak

690. Sandžak, the border area between Serbia and BiH, which is largely dominated by Muslims, was the locale for a wave of arson, kidnapping, and killing by Serb forces against the Muslim population. Allegedly, these acts were committed to distance Serbian Muslims from their ties with Bosnian Muslims. In March of 1993, 18 Muslims from Serbia and Montenegro were abducted from a train and remain missing. Other Muslims have been kidnapped from hospitals and villages. Beatings of civilians and the looting and burning of homes occurred in indeterminate numbers. A total of 9,500 people have fled from Sandžak and other Muslim districts in Serbia and Montenegro. Muslim party leaders charge that the attacks are another example of Serbian "ethnic cleansing", noting that Šešelj himself had previously called for the "cleansing" of Muslims from the Sandžak region. 1103/

5. Vojvodina

691. In the Vojvodina city of Sombor in late December 1991 and early January 1992, explosives damaged a Croatian church, two Croatian restaurants, and the home of a prominent Croatian political leader. Arkan announced these bombings on the local radio. The Croatians have been told that they must leave the city by a certain date or be killed. 1104/

692. In May 1992, Vojvodina Muslims and Croatians, as well as Hungarians, fled their homes in fear of Šešelj's men. Šešelj's forces were reportedly threatening the villagers of Vojvodina during June 1992. Witnesses claim that the men told the villagers that they would not leave Vojvodina alive because Šešelj's forces would kill them all. At night the forces were heard chanting, "Move out, Ustaše, today is your last day, we will slaughter all of you tomorrow". 1105/ The exact number of departures is unknown. Serbia denies that the refugees were forced out of their homes, saying that Croats

departed voluntarily after agreeing to swap their properties for those belonging to Serbs in Croatia. 1106/

693. On 29 September 1992, in the northern Vojvodina town of Subotica, the local SRS leader stated that the party would be forming a paramilitary group to "cleanse Subotica of all those who do not recognize Serbia and its political and territorial integrity". Šešelj was reportedly handing out arms to Serbian farmers in the region. 1107/

Notes

1/ For a more detailed historical discussion of the conflict in the former Yugoslavia, see Annex IV, and for a more detailed discussion of the military structure, see Annex III.

2/ Some of the reports received by IHRLI do not contain sufficient information to categorize all identified groups within these four categories. Therefore, further investigation is needed to separate these groups by some organizational or other criteria as well as to determine the internal and external chains of command.

3/ For the purpose of this report, county is used to refer to a region known as an "opština". An opština is larger than a municipality or town, and includes smaller villages and hamlets which surround the larger cities.

4/ This is a well-established definition for "Paramilitary" organizations or groups. See The Random House Dictionary of the English Language, The Unabridged Edition (1967).

5/ For a more detailed discussion of the military history and command structure of the armies of the former Yugoslavia, see Annex III, Military Structure.

6/ This was later known as "People's Total Defence".

7/ This figure counts the White Eagles as one group, even though there may be several separate groups operating under this name. For a more detailed discussion, see the section on White Eagles below.

8/ These numbers are estimates based on a review of the reports submitted to the Commission of Experts and have not been verified. Those same characteristics that make the use of organizations desirable, i.e., lack of uniforms and lack of an identifiable chain of command, also make it difficult to accurately state the number of paramilitary troops.

9/ United Nations Commission on Human Rights, Report on the Question of the Use of Mercenaries as a Means of Violating Human Rights and Impeding the Exercise of the Right of People to Self-determination, submitted by Mr. Enrique Bernales Ballesteros, Special Rapporteur, Pursuant to Commission Resolution 1993/5, U.N. Doc. E/CN.4/1994/23, at 25 (12 January 1994).

10/ In addition to the 72 counties, there were reports of paramilitary activity in eight villages (four in BiH and four in Croatia) in undetermined counties. For purposes of statistical analysis, these villages will be counted as counties.

11/ Paramilitary activity was reported in 45 counties in BiH, 21 counties in Croatia, and six in FRY.

12/ There were reports that Serbian paramilitary groups were operating in 39 counties in BiH, 22 in Croatia, and six in FRY. Croatian paramilitaries were reported to be operating in 11 counties in BiH and six in Croatia. There were reports that the groups supporting BiH were operating in 11 counties throughout BiH.

Notes (continued)

13/ Ten of the 14 groups working in support of BiH, eight of the 13 groups supporting Croatia, and 41 of the 56 Serbian paramilitary forces were reported to have operated locally.

14/ Paramilitary units working in support of BiH were reported to be conducting joint operations in five counties, those supporting Croatia in six counties, and those supporting FRY or the self-declared Serbian republics in 36 counties.

15/ Arkan's troops were reported in 28 counties and Šešelj's troops were reported in 34.

16/ Allegedly 55 paramilitary groups killed civilians, 26 allegedly destroyed property, 25 looted, 14 tortured, and 10 forcibly evicted.

17/ Of the 72 counties where paramilitary activity was reported, rape and sexual assault were reported in 32, prison camps in 46, and mass graves in 24. See Annex IX, Rape and Sexual Assault; Annex X, Mass Graves; Annex VIII, Prison Camps.

18/ In fact, until August of 1992 the most notorious Croatian paramilitary, the HOS, and the regular Croatian Army often had conflicting military objectives.

19/ David C. Isby, "Yugoslavia 1991--Armed Forces in Conflict", Jane's Intelligence Review, September 1991, at 402.

20/ See UN Commission on Human Rights, Report on the Question of the Use of Mercenaries as a Means of Violating Human Rights and Impeding the Exercise of a Right of Peoples to Self-determination, submitted by Mr. Enrique Bernales Ballesteros, Special Rapporteur, pursuant to Commission resolution 1993/5, U.N. Doc. E/CN.4/1994/23 (12 January 1994).

21/ Juka's Army, led by Jusuf (Juka) Prazina, began its operations in support of BiH by defending the city of Sarajevo. However, it is reported that Juka's frustration with the political and military leaders within BiH Government forced him to switch alliances and fight against the BiH forces with the HVO.

22/ These forces are most commonly referred to as the Tigers, however, they have also known as the Serbian Volunteer Guard, Arkanovci, or generically as Arkan's Forces.

23/ Šešelj's forces are sometimes referred to as "Četniks" or "White Eagles". However, these names are also used by other groups or generically, referring to any Serbian Soldier. These forces are also called Šešeljovci or Šešelj's Forces.

24/ These counties are: Bihać, Bijeljina, Brčko, Donji Vakuf, Goražde, Gradačac, Ključ, Konjic, Livno, Odžak, Prijedor, Sarajevo, Srebrenica, Tuzla, Visoko, Vogošća, Zenica, and Zvornik.

Notes (continued)

25/ See Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Report Submitted from Charge d'Affairs to the United Nations Secretary-General, 6 November 1992, IHRLI Doc. No. 48294; Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Report Submitted by Professor Biljana Plavšić to the United Nations Secretary-General and Various State Embassies, 29 September 1992, IHRLI Doc. No. 5459; "Serbs Request Yugoslav Military Intervention as Fighting Worsens", BBC Summary of World Broadcasts, 12 November 1992; "Situation in Gorazde in Brief", BBC Summary of World Broadcasts, 17 August 1992; "Extent of Croatian Army Activity in Herzegovina Detailed in Serbian Report", BBC, 27 July 1992.

26/ See Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Information on the Aggression of the Republic of Croatia, 27 November 1992, IHRLI Doc. No. 3132; "Security Reports in Brief", BBC, 23 October 1992; "Other Reports in Brief", BBC, Summary of World Broadcasts, 14 September 1992.

27/ One report did indicate that at least 800 Green Berets from Hrasnica, along with the Croatian Defence Council allegedly attacked Bradina. Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Report Submitted by Professor Biljana Plavšić to the United Nations Secretary-General and Various State Embassies, 29 September 1992, IHRLI Doc. No. 5459.

28/ One report alleged that the Green Berets were using 82 and 120 mm mortars in an attack on Serbian positions in Sarajevo. "Fierce Battles Rage near Novi Grad, Bratunac; Air Raids Reported on Srebrenica", BBC, Summary of World Broadcasts, 13 January 1993. In a report on an ambush in Zvornik, the Green Berets allegedly used grenade launchers and bombs. "Other Reports in Brief; SRNA Reports Muslims Massacre 10 Civilians near Zvornik", BBC, Summary of World Broadcasts, 14 September 1992.

29/ "FRY Premier Panić in Turkey; Discussed Balkans, Bosnia", BBC, Summary of World Broadcasts, 15 August 1992.

30/ "Muslim and Croatian Fighting in Novi Travnik: New Croatian Offensive on Trebinje", BBC, Summary of World Broadcasts, 23 October 1992.

31/ For a more detailed discussion of the Green Berets activity, see the Geographical Analysis section below.

32/ "Humanitarian Aid Convoy Bound for Goražde Forced to Return to Sarajevo", BBC, Summary of World Broadcasts, 27 July 1992.

33/ "Fierce Fighting on the Main Bosnia and Herzegovina Fronts as UN Supervises Artillery", BBC, Summary of World Broadcasts, 14 September 1992.

34/ "Serbs Request Yugoslav Military Intervention in Herzegovina as Fighting Worsens", BBC, Summary of World Broadcasts, 12 November 1992.

35/ See "Muslim and Croatian Fighting in Novi Travnik: New Croatian Offensive on Trebinje", BBC, Summary of World Broadcasts, 23 October 1992; "Other Reports in Brief: Charges Brought against Muslim 'Terrorists' in Banja Luka", BBC, Summary of World Broadcasts, 3 November 1992.

Notes (continued)

36/ See an official source, IHRLI Doc. No. 5863 and No. 5867; Serbian Council Information Centre, Rape and Sexual Abuse of Serb Women, Men and Children in Areas Controlled by Croatian and Moslem Armed Formations in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Croatia, 1991-1993, 15 January 1993, IHRLI Doc. No. 46196; Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Information on the Aggression of Croatia, 27 November 1992, IHRLI Doc. No. 3140-3174; Unidentified Written Statement, IHRLI Doc. No. 18656.

37/ One report describes the arrest of a man in Visoko who was beaten by "policemen" for four hours and then kept on a stretcher for three days without food or water. An official source, IHRLI Doc. No. 5863.

38/ See Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Second Report Submitted Pursuant to UN Security Council Resolution 780 (1992), 2 July 1993, IHRLI Doc. No. 28401-29019, at 28463 and 28548; Serbian Council Information Centre, Rape and Sexual Abuse of Serb Women, Men and Children in Areas Controlled by Croatian and Moslem Armed Formations in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Croatia, 1991-1992, 15 January 1993.

39/ Serbian Council Information Centre, Rape and Sexual Abuse of Serb Women, Men and Children in Areas Controlled by Croatian and Moslem Armed Formations in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Croatia, 1991-1992, 15 January 1993.

40/ Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, "Second Report Submitted Pursuant to UN Security Council Resolution 780 (1992)", 2 July 1993, IHRLI Doc. No. 28401-29019, at 28548.

41/ Id.

42/ International Committee of the Red Cross, Memo from Team B3 in Belgrade to ECMM, 18 March 1993, IHRLI Doc. No. 19151; Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Information on the Aggression of the Republic of Croatia, 27 November 1992, IHRLI Doc. No. 3140-3147; Information Centre of the Democratic League of Kosova, Muslim Forces Massacre Serbs in Eastern Bosnia-Herzegovina, Victims Identified, 8 October 1992, IHRLI Doc. No. 48032; Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Report Submitted by Professor Biljana Plavšić to the U.N. Secretary-General and Various State Embassies, 29 September 1992, IHRLI Doc. No. 5459; "Information from Command of the Herzegovina Corps in Bileca", Večernje Novosti, 22 September 1992, IHRLI Doc. No. 48001.

43/ The villagers involved are reported to have come from Pazarić, Osenik, Luka, Tarčin, Japaluci, Budmolići, Gornja Bioča, Duranovići, Trzanj, and Vukovići. See Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Report Submitted by Professor Biljana Plavšić to the U.N. Secretary-General and Various State Embassies, 29 September 1992, IHRLI Doc. No. 5459; Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Information on the Aggression of the Republic of Croatia, 27 November 1992, IHRLI Doc. No. 3140-3147.

44/ See Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Report Submitted by Professor Biljana Plavšić to the U.N. Secretary-General and Various State Embassies, 29 September 1992, IHRLI Doc. No. 5459; Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Information on the Aggression of the Republic of Croatia, 27 November 1992, IHRLI Doc. No. 3140-3147.

Notes (continued)

45/ Green Berets entered the camp in the village of Vitkovci to kill Serb prisoners. Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Report Submitted by the Charge d' Affairs to the UN Secretary-General, 6 November 1992, IHRLI Doc. No. 48286. They were also present in the Čelebići Camp in Konjic which was under the command of the HOS. Id. Reportedly they killed and beat prisoners at Viktor Bubanj in Sarajevo. Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Information on the Aggression of the Republic of Croatia, 27 November 1992, IHRLI Doc. No. 3140-3147, at 3147.

46/ Tom Post & Joel Brand, "Help from the Holy Warriors", Newsweek, 5 October 1992, at 52.

47/ Christopher Lockwood, "Muslim Nations Offer Troops", Daily Telegraph, 14 July 1993, at 14. According to Lockwood, Muslim nations depended on Western logistical support to deliver troops to BiH. He concludes that the same logistical troubles which kept the Muslim troops promised in July of 1993 from joining UN forces in the UN declared "safe havens" also limited the number of Muslim volunteers in the BiH armed forces. He states that the number of Mujahedin in BiH never exceeded three or four hundred. See also Mohamed Sid-Ahmad, "Muslim World Between Two Fires", War Report, January 1993, IHRLI Doc. No. 63744. However, the Belgrade Daily, Večernje Novosti, reported that as many as 30,000 Mujahedin were operating in BiH. "Other Reports in Brief: Muslims from Abroad Settling in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Belgrade Daily Claims", BBC, Summary of World Broadcasts, 19 September 1992.

48/ Andrew Hogg, "Arabs Join in Bosnia Battle", Sunday Times, 30 August 1992.

49/ "Some 400 Mujahedin Volunteers are Fighting with Bosnian Muslims", Agence France Presse, 22 September 1992.

50/ Andrew Hogg, "Terror Trail of the Mujahedin", Sunday Times, 27 June, 1993.

51/ The leader of the Mujahedin in BiH, an Arab by the name of Abdul Aziz, has said, "In Bosnia we have two duties, the first is jihad and the second is dawa, which means to teach correct Islam". Id.

52/ Frank Viviano, "Bosnian Croats Praying at Alter of Vengeance: Anti-Muslim Feeling Grows Among Catholics", The San Francisco Chronicle, 17 August 1993, at p. A10; Robert Adams, "Bosnia and Herzegovina: The Price of Betrayal", Inter Press Service, 15 July 1993.

53/ These counties are Bihać, Foča, Konjic, Mostar, Teslić, Travnik, and Zenica.

54/ See "Some 400 Mujahedin Volunteers Fighting with Bosnian Muslims", Agence France Presse, 22 September 1992; Andrew Hogg, "Arabs Join in Bosnia Battle", Sunday Times, 30 August 1992; see also Charles McLoed, ECMM, "Report on Inter-Ethnic Violence in Vitez, Busovača and Zenica", April 1993, IHRLI Doc. No. 20178-20546, at 20207; Croatian Information Centre, Weekly Bulletin, No. 9, 4 October 1993, IHRLI Doc. No. 36434-36438, at 36435; US Department of State, 1993, IHRLI Doc. No. 62612-62877, at 62648, 62724, 62730, and 62756.

Notes (continued)

55/ US Department of State, 1993, IHRLI Doc. No. 62612-62877, at 62648; see also Croatian Information Centre, Weekly Bulletin, No. 9, 4 October 1993, IHRLI Doc. No. 36434-36438, at 36435; "Continuing Clashes in Northwestern Enclave Reported from Both Sides", BBC, Summary of World Broadcasts, 14 December 1993.

56/ Charles McLeod, ECMM, Report on Inter-Ethnic Violence in Vitez, Busovača and Zenica, April 1993, IHRLI Doc. No. 20178-20546, at 20207; Croatian Information Centre, Weekly Bulletin, No. 9, 4 October 1993, IHRLI Doc. No. 36434-36438, at 36435; US Department of State, 1993, IHRLI Doc. No. 62612-62877, at 62648, 62724, 62730, and 62756.

57/ Andrew Hogg, "Arabs Join Bosnia Battle", Sunday Times, 30 August 1992.

58/ "Continuing Clashes in Northwestern Enclave Reported from Both Sides", BBC, Summary of World Broadcasts, 14 December 1993.

59/ Andrew Hogg, "Terror Trail of the Mujahedin", Sunday Times, 27 June 1993.

60/ For a more detailed discussion of the activity of the Mujahedin, see the Geographical analysis section below.

61/ Charles McLeod, ECMM, Report on Inter-Ethnic Violence in Vitez, Busovača and Zenica, April 1993, IHRLI Doc. No. 29043-29131, at 29064; Biljaja Plavšić, Republic of Serbia Presidency, To Serbs All Over the World, 30 September 1992, IHRLI Doc. No. 48072-48093, at 48081.

62/ Id.; US Department of State, 1993, IHRLI Doc. No. 62612-62877, at 62629; see also Charles McLeod, ECMM, Report on Inter-Ethnic Violence in Vitez, Busovača and Zenica, April 1993, IHRLI Doc. No. 29043-29131, at 29072 (attack on Vitez).

63/ US Department of State, 1993, IHRLI Doc. No. 62612-62877, at 62650. Media reports however claim that Croats left Travnik voluntarily. The incident was investigated by an organization, which reported that the forceful eviction did not take place.

64/ Id. at IHRLI Doc. No. 62724.

65/ Id. at IHRLI Doc. No. 62616, 62620, and 62715.

66/ Id. at IHRLI Doc. No. 62730.

67/ Id. at IHRLI Doc. No. 62720.

68/ Croatian Information Centre, Weekly Bulletin, No. 1, 9 August 1993, IHRLI Doc. No. 32774-32782, at 32780. The incident was investigated by an organization, which reported that it did not take place.

69/ US Department of State, 1993, IHRLI Doc. No. 62612-62877, at 62756.

70/ Id. at IHRLI Doc. No. 62614.

Notes (continued)

71/ Id. at IHRLI Doc. No. 62752 and 62756. The village of Vrci was attacked on 25 May, and the village of Radešine was attacked on 10 June. See also Tadeusz Mazowiecki, Fifth Periodic Report on the Situation of Human Rights in the Territory of the Former Yugoslavia, U.N. Doc. E/CN.4/1994/47, 17 November 1993, IHRLI Doc. No. 52399-52435, at 52405 (alleging that the Mujahedin were involved in attacks at Kopjari on 21 October, Doljani on 27 and 28 June, and Maljane on 8 June). UN Special Rapporteur Mazowiecki claims that corpses of Mujahedin victims displayed evidence of protracted cruelty and mutilation.

72/ Id. at 62648 and 62756; Croatian Information Centre, Weekly Bulletin, No. 9, 4 October 1993, IHRLI Doc. No. 36434-36438, at 36435.

73/ US Department of State, 1993, IHRLI Doc. No. 62612-62877, at 62742 and 62677. For more details on the location of the Neretva living quarters, see Id. at 62739.

74/ Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Second Report Submitted to the Commission of Experts, 1993, IHRLI Doc. No. 28401-29019, at 28533.

75/ US Department of State, 1993, IHRLI Doc. No. 62612-62877, at 62648; Croatian Information Centre, Weekly Bulletin, No. 9, 4 October 1993, IHRLI Doc. No. 36434-36438, at 36435.

76/ Letter dated 7 December 1992 from the Deputy Representative of the US to U.N. Secretary-General, U.N. Doc. S/24918, 8 December 1992, IHRLI Doc. No. 3160-3177, at 3173; Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Second Report Submitted to the Commission of Experts, 1993, IHRLI Doc. No. 28401-29019, at 28566.

77/ Milan Vego, "The Croatian Defence Forces of Bosnia and Herzegovina", Jane's Intelligence Review, March 1993, IHRLI Doc. No. 26349A1-A63.

78/ Id. at IHRLI Doc. No. 26349A8.

79/ Serbian Republic Presidency, To Serbs All Over the World, IHRLI Doc. No. 48122-127, at 48124. But see Ian Katz and Maggie O'Kane, "Real Lives: In for the Kill", The Guardian, 4 February 1994 (describing members of the HOS wearing "black boiler suits").

80/ Serbian Republic Presidency, To Serbs All Over the World, IHRLI Doc. No. 48122-48127, at 48124.

81/ Milan Vego, "The Croatian Defence Forces of Bosnia and Herzegovina", Jane's Intelligence Review, March 1993, IHRLI Doc. No. 26349A1-26349A63, at 26349A9.

82/ Ian Katz and Maggie O'Kane, "Real Lives: In for the Kill", The Guardian, 4 February 1994.

83/ "Tanjug: Slovene Journal Reports Croatian Paramilitaries Trained in Slovenia", BBC Summary of World Broadcasts, 13 September 1993 (quoting the Slovene periodical Mladina).

Notes (continued)

84/ Serbian Republic Presidency, To Serbs All Over the World, IHRLI Doc. No. 48122-127, at 48124.

85/ "Croat Rightist Leader Acquitted of Treason", Reuter Library Report, 5 November 1993, available in LEXIS, News Library, Curnws File.

86/ For a more detailed discussion of HOS paramilitary activity, see the Geographical Analysis section below.

87/ Letter dated September 22, 1992, from the Deputy Permanent Representative of the United States of America to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary General, U.N. Doc. S/24583 (23 September 1992), IHRLI Doc. No. 87-96, at 93.

88/ Letter from the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Serbian Representative to the Commission of Experts Established Pursuant to Security Council Resolution 780 (1 December 1992), IHRLI Doc. No. 11521-11643, at 11540.

89/ Charles McLeod, ECMM, Report on Inter-Ethnic Violence in Vitez, Busovača and Zenica (April 1993), IHRLI Doc. No. 20128-20266, at 20226.

90/ Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Second Report Submitted to the Commission of Experts (1993), IHRLI Doc. No. 28401-29019, at 28682.

91/ Serbian Republic Presidency, To Serbs All Over the World, IHRLI Doc. No. 48122-48127, at 48124 (explaining that the HOS ran Dretelj from early August 1992, until the HVO assumed control on 21 September).

92/ Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Second Report Submitted to the Commission of Experts (1993), IHRLI Doc. No. 28401-29019, at 28567.

93/ Id. at IHRLI Doc. No. 28679.

94/ Id. at IHRLI Doc. No. 28777-28788 and 28792.

95/ Serbian Republic Presidency, To Serbs All Over the World, IHRLI Doc. No. 48122-48127, at 48278.

96/ Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Second Report Submitted to the Commission of Experts (1993), IHRLI Doc. No. 28401-29019, at 28592.

97/ Id. at IHRLI Doc. No. 28465. See also Letter Dated 6 November 1992, From the Charge D'Affaires A.I. of the Permanent Mission of Yugoslavia to the U.N. Addressed to the Secretary General, U.N. Doc. S/24779, (9 November 1992), IHRLI Doc. No. 48265-48301, at 48279 (stating that several murders attributed to the HOS occurred in villages on 7 June 1992, and not in detention facilities).

98/ Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Second Report Submitted to the Commission of Experts (1993), IHRLI Doc. No. 28401-29019, at 28679. On 10 June, 1992, Mirsad Repak, Mile Vego and one other HOS member allegedly looted an apartment and sent the victim to Dretelj detention facility. Id.

Notes (continued)

99/ Id. at IHRLI Doc. No. 28602-28603 (listing burned villages in Herzegovina).

100/ Id. at IHRLI Doc. No. 28614-28619, 48296-48297, 48301.

101/ Terrence Sheridan, "Sarajevo's Song of the Wolves", The Plain Dealer, 9 February 1994, at 7B.

102/ Alfonso Rojo, "Sarajevo's Godfather Turns Crimebuster", The Guardian, 3 June 1992, at 10-11.

103/ Patrick Bishop, The Daily Telegraph, 19 February 1994, at 38.

104/ Terrence Sheridan, "Sarajevo's Song of the Wolves", The Plain Dealer, 9 February 1994, at 7B.

105/ Letter from the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Serbian Republic to the Commission of Experts established pursuant to Security Council Resolution 780, 1 December 1992, IHRLI Doc. No. 11542.

106/ Patrick Bishop, The Daily Telegraph, 19 February 1994, at 38.

107/ "Crackdown on Bosnian Underworld", Agence France Presse, 9 November 1992.

108/ Roger Boyes, "Shadowy Irregulars Keep Alive City's Hopes", The Times, 28 August 1992.

109/ John Fullerton, "Sarajevo's 'Robin Hood' in Military Power Struggle", Reuters Library Report, 21 September 1992.

110/ Patrick Bishop, The Daily Telegraph, 19 February 1994, at 38.

111/ "Bosnian Troops Said Poised to Break Sarajevo Siege", Agence France Presse, 1 December 1992.

112/ "Tanjug Reports Bosnian Army Issues Warrant for Arrest of Former Commander", BBC Summary of World Broadcasts, 26 January 1993, at C1.

113/ "Bosnian Troops Said Poised to Break Sarajevo Siege", Agence France Presse, 1 December 1992.

114/ Patrick Bishop, The Daily Telegraph, 19 February 1994, at 38.

115/ For a more detailed discussion of Juka's paramilitary activities, see the Geographical Analysis section below.

116/ Terrence Sheridan, "Sarajevo's Song of the Wolves", The Plain Dealer, 9 February 1994, at 7B.

117/ Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Second Report Submitted to the Commission of Experts (2 July 1993), at Annex IV, "A New Genocide Against Serbs in Konjic Area", IHRLI Doc. No. 28653.

Notes (continued)

118/ Blaine Harden, "Juka's Wolves Prowl Sarajevo Streets for Serbs, Untended Merchandise", Washington Post, 18 September 1992, at A29.

119/ Letter from the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Serbian Republic to the Commission of Experts established pursuant to Security Council Resolution 780, 1 December 1992, IHRLI Doc. No. 11541 and 11550.

120/ Patrick Bishop, The Daily Telegraph, 19 February 1994, at 38.

121/ Andrew Hogg, "Robin Hood Hero Turns Enemy in Hell of Siege City", Sunday Times, 16 May 1993.

122/ Id.

123/ An official source, IHRLI Doc. No. 29760.

124/ Patrick Bishop, The Daily Telegraph, 19 February 1994, at 38.

125/ The term "counties" includes Hrtkovci, Kosovo, Pljevlja, Sandžak and Vojvodina in FRY.

126/ Although there have been no military operations between the warring factions in FRY, both Šešelj's and Arkan's troops allegedly harassed the non-Serb populations in some regions of FRY.

127/ Šešelj was reported to have operated in the BiH counties of: Banja Luka, Bosanski Šamac, Bratunac, Brčko, Derventa, Foča, Gacko, Kalinovik, Kupres, Maglaj, Modriča, Mostar, Nevesinje, Odžak, Pale, Prijedor, Rogatica, Sarajevo, Tuzla, Višegrad, and Zvornik.

Arkan was reported to have conducted operations in the BiH counties of: Banja Luka, Bijeljina, Bosanska Rača (county unknown), Bosanski Šamac, Bratunac, Brčko, Doboј, Foča, Konjic, Mostar, Odžak, Pale, Prijedor, Rogatica, Sarajevo, Srebrenica, Teslić, Veljina (county unknown), Višegrad, and Zvornik.

128/ "Četniks Reportedly Ambush Two Police Patrols", Zagreb Domestic Service, 2 April 1991.

129/ Davis C. Isby, "Yugoslavia 1991 - Forces In Conflict", 3 Jane's Intelligence Review 394 (1991).

130/ See Der Spiegel, 5 August 1991, at 124-126, trans. in FBIS, Daily Report (Eastern Europe), 5 August 1991, at 51-52 (interview with Šešelj).

131/ Salih Zvizdić, "Arkan's Life, Crimes, Prison Release Viewed", Vjesnik, 12 April 1992.

132/ Id.

133/ Šćepan Vuković, "Arkan Interviewed on Life War Arrest", Pobjeda, 13 January 1992.

134/ European Community Monitoring Mission, Information Section Briefing -Arkan, File 1002, IHRLI Doc. No. 25141-25142.

Notes (continued)

135/ Id.

136/ Id.

137/ Internal Commission of Experts' Memo to Chairman Cherif Bassiouni from Anton Kempnaars, Assistant to the Commission, 7 December 1993.

138/ See Der Spiegel, 5 August 1991, at 124-126, trans. in FBIS, Daily Report (Eastern Europe), 5 August 1991, at 51-52 (interview with Vojislav Šešelj).

139/ See section on Vojislav Šešelj below for a more detailed discussion.

140/ Chuck Sudetic, "A Shady Militia Chief Arouses Serbs", New York Times, 20 December 1992, at § 1 at 12. Arkan also testified in his 1986 trial for assaulting a man in an elevator that he worked "for the Federal Interior Ministry in the Division of Foreign Emigres." Id.

141/ Chuck Sudetic, "Rival Serbs are Admitting Bosnia-Croatia Atrocities", New York Times, 13 November 1993, at 6. Šešelj also alleges that the security service of the Yugoslav Army's main headquarters had received orders from government officials to attribute all misdeeds of Arkan's forces to SRS volunteers. "Šešelj Accuses Socialists of Putting Blame for War Crimes on His Party", BBC, 30 October 1993.

142/ Jonathan S. Linday, "Belgrade Regime Tied to Alleged War Crimes", The Christian Science Monitor, 26 November 1993, at 6.

143/ Salih Zvizdić, "Arkan's Life, Crimes, Prison Release Viewed", Vjesnik, 12 April 1992.

144/ George Rodrigue, "Serbs Systematic in Ridding Region of Muslims, Many Say: Bosnia Corridor Considered Crucial to 'Republic'", The Dallas Morning News, 27 December 1992.

145/ C.D. Popović, "Željko Ražnjatović Arkan Denies Rumors about his Leaving the Front in the Republic Serbian Krajina", Novosti, 23 February 1993.

146/ Id.

147/ Carol J. Williams, "A People Poisoned by Chaos: In What Remains of Yugoslavia, a Sense of Injustice is Pervasive and Violent Crime is Skyrocketing", Los Angeles Times, 27 March 1993, at A1.

148/ See the discussion of Šešelj's personal history below for a more detailed account of his political activities.

149/ Blaine Hardin, "Old Worlds, New Maps; Myth and Memory in Yugoslavia: A House Divided Risks Civil War", Washington Post, 23 June 1991, at B1; Michael Montgomery, "Ethnic Discord: World War II Lives on for Militant Serb Chetniks: the Disenchanted are Breathing New Life into an old Movement in Strife-Torn Yugoslavia", Los Angeles Times, 9 July 1991, at 1.

Notes (continued)

150/ See the section on the personal history of Arkan for a more detailed discussion of his political career.

151/ See John Kifner, "An Outlaw in the Balkans is Basking in the Spotlight", New York Times, 23 November 1993; "Nationalist Leads Serb Campaign", Chicago Tribune, 19 December 1993, at 14; Miloš Vanić, "The December Vote: Slobodan and Arkan's Flying Circus", War Report, December 1993.

152/ Blaine Harden, "Serbs Accused of '91 Croatian Massacre: U.S. Doctors Believe 200 Wounded Men Were Taken from Hospital and Shot", The Washington Post, 26 January 1993.

153/ UNPROFOR Local Press Summary--Belgrade, 29 September 1993, IHRLI Doc. No. 42678-42681 at 42680.

154/ Chuck Sudetic, "Rival Serbs are Admitting Bosnia-Croatia Atrocities", The New York Times, 13 November 1993, at 6.

155/ Id.

156/ For a more detailed discussion of the alleged activities of Šešelj's and Arkan's forces, see the Geographical Analysis section of Part I of this report.

157/ Arkan reportedly led the attacks on Bijeljina, Brčko, and Zvornik despite the presence of the JNA and other Serb forces.

158/ Arkan has stated that his troops were under the command of the JNA in the Vukovar operation.

159/ In the Vukovar village of Jagodnjak in April 1991, a speech by Šešelj prompted the local Croatian authorities to issue a warrant for his arrest for provoking and fomenting national hatred and intolerance between Croats and Serbs. Seventeen days later the Serbs launched an attack in the area.

160/ In Zvornik, Arkan was an active participant in the negotiations for a peaceful surrender of the village. However, he led the military operations to seize control of the village after becoming dissatisfied with these negotiations.

161/ Killing of civilians by Šešelj's and Arkan's troops was reported in the following counties: Banja Luka, Bijeljina, Bosanski Šamac, Bratunac, Brčko (allegedly 3,000), Derвента, Dragovci, Foča, Gacko, Kupres, Maglaj, Prijedor, Rogatica, Sarajevo, Srebrenica, Višegrad, and Zvornik in BiH and Beli Manastir, Petrinja, Podravska Slatina, Škabrnje, and Vukovar in Croatia.

162/ In Sarajevo, for example, Šešelj's forces ran the Sonja Cafe and Hotel in which Muslim women were raped, and some subsequently killed, by Serb soldiers. There were also allegations of rape in the following counties: Banja Luka, Bijeljina, Bosanski Šamac, Bratunac, Brčko, Derвента, Doboј, Foča, Gacko, Konjic, Kupres, Mostar, Nevesinje, Odžak, Prijedor, Rogatica, Srebrenica, Teslić, Tuzla, Višegrad, and Zvornik in BiH and Benkovac, Knin,

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Osiijek, and Vukovar in Croatia.

163/ Looting was reported in the following counties: Banja Luka, Bratunac, Brčko, Rogatica, Srebrenica, Teslić, and Zvornik in BiH and Vukovar in Croatia.

164/ The destruction or burning of homes belonging to non-Serbs was reported in the following counties: Banja Luka, Dragovci, Doboj, Gacko, Maglaj, Prijedor, Rogatica, Teslić, and Zvornik in BiH and Vukovar in Croatia. Šešelj's and Arkan's forces also targeted cultural and religious property. In Banja Luka, for example, two historic mosques were destroyed after Šešelj, reportedly said, "Is it possible that they are still standing?"

165/ Prison camps were reported in the following counties in which Seselj and Arkan were operating: Banja Luka, Bijeljina, Bosanski Šamac, Bratunac, Brčko, Derventa, Doboj, Dragovci, Foča, Gacko, Kalinovik, Konjic, Maglaj, Modriča, Mostar, Nevesinje, Odžak, Pale, Prijedor, Rogatica, Sanski Most, Sarajevo, Srebrenica, Teslić, Tuzla, Višegrad, and Zvornik in BiH and Beli Manastir, Knin, and Vukovar in Croatia.

166/ In Zvornik, for example, at a meeting held in April 1992, Šešelj read names from a list of local Muslim intellectuals to an audience comprised of local Serbs and members of the Arkanovci, Šešeljovci, and White Eagles. Those on the list were to be killed.

167/ In Brčko, for example, it was reported that after the initial occupation by Arkan's and Šešelj's forces, a new group would be in charge every two weeks.

168/ In Zvornik, a conflict arose between Arkan and a local paramilitary leader when Arkan remained in control of the town for too long. Although control was eventually given to the local leader, at least one of Arkan's men, Major Vojkan Djurković, remained in a key position as head of the "population exchange commission". In the Krajina region, Arkan's continued involvement in local politics prompted the commander of the HQ of the Army of the Republic of Serbian Krajina, Mile Novaković, to issue an order for the withdrawal of Arkan's troops from the region.

169/ Carol J. Williams, "Balkans' Graveyard of Hatred; There's been a Spate of War-Victim Remembrances in Yugoslavia's 'Bible Belt': Some Fear that Old Wounds are Being Reopened", Los Angeles Times, 17 August 1991, at A1. There have been media reports, however, that allege that Šešelj is a Slovene and reports that he is of Croatian origin. Slavoljub Ščekić, "Who Is the Serb of Croatian Origin?" Pobjeda, 21 March 1993.

170/ David Begoun, "Potential Presidential Challenger Serbia's Fastest-Rising Nationalist Leader", The San Francisco Chronicle, 7 June 1993, at A12. According to a classmate, Šešelj would beat up fellow students he thought were too nationalistic or insufficiently Marxist. Blaine Harden, "Serbia's Treacherous Gang of Three", The Washington Post, 7 February 1993, at C1.

171/ David Begoun, "Potential Presidential Challenger Serbia's Fastest-Rising Nationalist Leader", The San Francisco Chronicle, 7 June 1993, at A12.

172/ Id.

Notes (continued)

173/ Bradley Graham, "Yugoslavia Draws Unwanted Attention with Trial of 6 Dissidents", The Washington Post, 11 December 1984, at A21.

174/ Eric Bourne, "Yugoslavia Shaken by Recent Political Trial", The Christian Science Monitor, 7 August 1984, at 9; "Yugoslav Court Convicts a University Lecturer", The New York Times, 10 July 1984, at A5. The unpublished paper also proposed that the six Yugoslav republics and two autonomous provinces be consolidated into four republics. Bradley Graham, "Yugoslavia Draws Unwanted Attention with Trial of 6 Dissidents", The Washington Post, 11 December 1984, at A21.

175/ Eric Bourne, "Yugoslavia Shaken by Recent Political Trial", The Christian Science Monitor, 7 August 1984, at 9; Bradley Graham, "Yugoslavia Draws Unwanted Attention with Trial of 6 Dissidents", The Washington Post, 11 December 1984; "Yugoslav Court Convicts A University Lecturer", The New York Times, 10 July 1984, at A5.

176/ Blaine Harden, "Serbia's Treacherous Gang of Three", The Washington Post, 7 February 1993, at C1. Šešelj went on a 46 day hunger strike in protest over his being tortured. Adrian W. DeWind, "Yugoslav Repression", The Washington Post, 16 July 1984, at A23; James M. Markam, "Despite Trial, Talk is Lively in Yugoslavia", The New York Times, 13 February 1985, at A11.

177/ Blaine Harden, "Serbia's Treacherous Gang of Three", The Washington Post, 7 February 1993, at C1. One Belgrade academic colleague said, "When he came out of prison, he was disturbed, totally lost and out of his mind". Id.

178/ Id.

179/ Id.

180/ "Serbian Alternative Parties Meet", Tanjug, 9 March 1990. At the March meeting of the alternative parties, Šešelj stated his party's position that a state of war be declared in Kosovo, a military administration be established, and that people be moved to a 50 kilometre zone along the Albania border for Army control. Id. These positions were agreed upon by the other parties in attendance. Id.

181/ "Split in Serbian National Renaissance Cited", Tanjug, 14 March 1990. Vuk Drašković was the leader of the party which he said would fight "for an order that will rid the Serbian people of communists, papists and other shackles". Id. The Serbian Renaissance movement founded the paramilitary unit the White Eagles. European Community Monitoring Mission, Memo Regarding "White Eagles", 1 July 1993, IHRLI Doc. No. 25126. A more comprehensive discussion of the White Eagles follows.

182/ Bojan Veselinović, "Crowds Demand Early Multiparty Serbian Elections", Ljubljana, 13 June 1990.

183/ Id. Loudly singing members of his party disrupted a demonstration being held by opposition parties trying to force early elections. Id. Security forces prevented Šešelj's followers from getting out of control but not before Šešelj sent his guards after Vuk Drašković's bodyguard. Vojko Flegar, "The Serbs in the Cauldron", Ljubljana Delo, 14 June 1990.

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184/ "Serbian Radical Party Leader Calls for Calm", Belgrade Tanjug, 12 March 1991.

185/ Nenad Lj. Stefanović, "Claimant to Leadership", Vreme, 28 December 1992.

186/ Id.

187/ Id. "Šešelj himself was mainly described and perceived in personal terms as a grotesque figure and a disappointed man." Id.

188/ Michael Montgomery, "Ethnic Discord: World War II Lives on for Militant Serb Chetniks: the Disenchanted are Breathing New Life into an Old Movement in Strife-Torn Yugoslavia", Los Angeles Times, 9 July 1991, at 1; "Serbian Radical Party Leader Calls for Calm", Tanjug, 12 March 1991.

189/ Stana Ristic, "The Radicals Are on the Offensive", Politika, 22 April 1991.

190/ Momčilo Bošković, "Demonstrators Praise Volunteers in Borovo", Belgrade Domestic Service, 4 May 1991. One such demonstration took place on the steps of the Josip Broz Tito Memorial Centre in front of 3,000 to 4,000 participants protesting an altercation in Croatia that resulted in Serbian casualties. Šešelj was demanding that the remains of Tito be returned to Croatia. Id. Although frequently interrupted with chants of "We want arms, a Serbian army, and warlord, warlord we will kill Ustašas, and we will kill Tudjman", Šešelj addressed the crowd with the following:

"The Serbian people [have] already passed a sentence on Tudjman. The blood of the Serbian people that was shed will not be unrevenged. The Serbian people of the heroic Serbian Krajina, heroic Serbian Slavonia, Serbian Baranja, and the Western Srem are resisting fierce attacks by Ustasha bandits. Therefore, Serbs and our sister Serbs, Serbs from this reduced Serbia and other Serbian lands are also fighting arm in arm with Serbs in Croatia."

Id.

191/ Michael Montgomery, "Ethnic Discord: World War II Lives on for Militant Serb Četniks: the Disenchanted are Breathing New Life into an old Movement in Strife-Torn Yugoslavia", Los Angeles Times, 9 July 1991, at 1; "Serbian Radical Party Leader Wins Assembly Seat", Tanjug, 17 June 1991.

192/ Blaine Harden, "Old Worlds, New Maps; Myth and Memory in Yugoslavia: A House Divided Risks Civil War", The Washington Post, 23 June, 1991, at B1; Michael Montgomery, "Ethnic Discord; World War II Lives on for Militant Serb Chetniks; the Disenchanted are Breathing New Life into an old Movement in Strife-Torn Yugoslavia", Los Angeles Times, 9 July 1991, at 1.

193/ Michael Montgomery, "Ethnic Discord; World War II Lives on for Militant Serb Chetniks; the Disenchanted are Breathing new Life into an old Movement in Strife-Torn Yugoslavia", Los Angeles Times, 9 July 1991, at 1. In an interview on 22 March 1992, Milošević, in response to a question about Šešelj, commented: "I respect Seselj because he is consistent in his political beliefs and because I believe that both he and his party are not

Notes (continued)

financially dependent on foreign sources". "Milošević Interviewed on Royal Family, Šešelj", Tanjug, 22 March 1992. Milošević has also referred to Šešelj as his "favorite opposition politician". Blaine Harden, "Serbia Seems unmoved by Western Warnings; Belgrade Presses Offensive in Bosnia", The Washington Post, 17 April 1992, at A25.

194/ Gwynne Dyer, "How will it End in Yugoslavia?" The Washington Times, 17 November 1991, at B4. In response to the possibility of United Nations or European intervention to end the war, Šešelj stated:

"If the West interferes, tens of thousands of Western soldiers will be killed. It will be total war, a war without mercy...We would poison their food, we would poison their water. There is no means we would not use against foreign intervention."

Id.

195/ "End Sanctions, Serb Authorities Say: They Cite Comments in U.N. Report", Star Tribune, 5 June 1992, at 2A. Vuk Drasković, a former ally of Šešelj's, led a campaign by his and other opposition parties boycotting the election and denouncing the results. Id. An attempt was made on Šešelj's life a few days before the election. Adam Sabotić, a Moslem, threw a bomb in the car waiting to take Šešelj from a political rally he was attending. "Muslim Alleged Responsible in Attack on Seselj", Tanjug, 26 May 1992. Šešelj was not injured, but 61 other people were. Id.

Less than two weeks after the election, on 11 June, taxi drivers in Belgrade tied up traffic around government buildings in protest over gas rationing. Michael T. Kaufman, "Effects of War Come Home to Belgrade", The New York Times, 14 June 1992, at 24. The protest became violent when Šešelj allegedly traded punches with one of the drivers. Id. During the scuffle, according to Belgrade police, a shot was fired by one of Šešelj's men. "Shooting Occurs at Belgrade Taxi Protest", Tanjug, 11 June 1992. There were no casualties. Id.

196/ Šešelj is not a typical opposition leader. Šešelj, discussing the SRS relation with Milošević's Serbian Democratic Party (SPS), stated before the election:

"We are collaborating with the SPS, supporting its endeavors to change itself. As for reproaches that we are excessively inclined toward the SPS, I say we have not changed anything in our program, but perhaps others have inclined in our direction."

Nenad Lj. Stefanović, "Claimant to Leadership", Vreme, 28 December 1992.

Šešelj, however, often zealously supports Milošević. Šešelj was quoted as saying, "Milošević's opponents should be assured that if they try to overthrow him, we will shoot them". Jonathan S. Landay, "UN Sanctions Jolt Serbs into Resistance to Milošević Regime", The Christian Science Monitor, 15 June 1992, at 1. When student organizers were planning large demonstrations against Milošević, they received threats reportedly from Šešelj's men. "Sarajevo Radio Views FRY Political Scene", Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network, 23 June 1992. The students proceeded with the peaceful demonstration, at which Šešelj took out his gun and threatened to use it against them. "Students Demand Arrest of Radical Party Leader", Tanjug, 10

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June 1992.

197/ Nenad Lj. Stefanović, "Claimant to Leadership", Vreme, 20 December 1992. The election was held only days after United States Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger named Šešelj as a war criminal. Don Oberdorfer, "A Bloody Failure in the Balkans: Prompt Allied Action Might Have Averted Factional Warfare", The Washington Post, 8 February 1993, at A1. In an interview Šešelj called Eagleburger's attack the secret to his success and "a certificate of honor and patriotism". Id.

198/ Id. The surprisingly strong showing caused pollsters to say that they either made a mistake or that the results were fixed. Id. The gains were impressive as the SRS had not conducted a visible campaign and did not hold a single rally. Instead, Šešelj used all his free television exposure to praise Milošević. Id. SRS support came from those that agreed with the ideals of Milošević's party but were disappointed with the slow government pace in resolving the question of a united Serbia. Id.

199/ Jonathan S. Landay, "Vote puts Serbia on Road to Isolation and Hardship", The Christian Science Monitor, 24 December 1992, at 1; "Election Fair, Serb Panel Declares", Chicago Tribune, 25 December 1992, at 16.

200/ "Hard-line Serbs Vote to Oust Panic", St. Petersburg Times, 30 December 1992, at 13A; Christopher Spolar, "Nationalists Oust Yugoslav Premier: Serbian Radicals Strip Panic of Office in Overwhelming Vote of No Confidence", The Washington Post, 30 December 1992, at A14; Chuck Sudetic, "Yugoslav Premier Ousted by Foes 6 Months After Return from U.S.", The New York Times, 30 December 1992, at A1.

This was the second time Šešelj proposed a vote of no-confidence. The first was in September of 1992. Carol Williams, "Belgrade Ties Frayed on Panić Issue: Politics: Premier's Survival may Indicate Maneuvering to Undercut Serb Strongman Milošević", Los Angeles Times, 6 September 1992, at A5. The first attempt was in response to Panić suggesting acceptance of the pre-war republic borders as a condition of peace. Id. He accused Panić of taking "orders from some enemy Western powers". Id. Although this attempt fell short, Šešelj continued his attack on Panić. In response to Yugoslavia's expulsion from the United Nations later in September, Šešelj stated:

"Milan Panić held talks with foreign ministers of the five permanent members of the Security Council and, according to all reports, all of them supported him, all of them paid him respect, all of them gave him promises, which means they support Panić as head of the Yugoslav government, but as a traitor to Yugoslavia who will conclude their business for them here in Belgrade."

". . . Prime Minister Panić is again working as in the past, he is violating the constitution and the positive legal regulations of this country, thus demonstrating that he cannot retain the position as head of the federal government."

"Draskovic, Seselj Comment on UN Decision", Belgrade RTB Television Network, 23 September 1992.

In a speech in parliament before the successful no-confidence vote, Šešelj called Panić a traitor and foreign agent guilty of embezzlement and

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acts against the Serbian people's interests. Chuck Sudetic, "Yugoslav Premier Ousted by Foes 6 Months after Return from U.S.", The New York Times, 30 December 1992, at A1. Šešelj also indicated that Panić would end up in jail. Id.

201/ Ray Moseley, "Serb Leader Crowding out his Operation", Chicago Tribune, 1 February 1993, at 1.

202/ David B. Ottaway, "Serbian Leadership Divided Over U.N.-Backed Plan for Bosnian", The Washington Post, 4 May 1993; "Bosnia Serbs Face Aid Cutoff: Yugoslavia, Serbia Angered by Rejection of Peace Plan", Star Tribune, 7 May 1993, at A1.

203/ "Bosnian Serbs Face Aid Cutoff: Yugoslavia, Serbia Angered by Rejection of Peace Plan", Star Tribune, 7 May 1993, at 1A.

204/ David Ottaway, "Serbian Leadership Divided Over U.N.-Backed Plan for Bosnian", The Washington Post, 4 May 1993, at A17. These remarks were not reported on the state-run television. Id.

205/ Linnet Myers, "Bickering Serbs Talk Peace as War Rages", Chicago Tribune, 15 May 1993, at 1.

206/ Id.

207/ John F. Burns, "Conflict in the Balkans; Nationalist Says Serbs' Rejection of Pact Means the End of Bosnia", The New York Times, 17 May 1993, at A1. The campaign against the plan was helped by the presence of Šešelj in Pale, the capital of the Serbian Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina. John Pomfret, "Peace Plan Dead, Serb Leader Says; Karadzic Demand 3 States in Bosnia", The Washington Post, 17 May 1993, at A1.

208/ David Begoun, "Serbia Coalition Shows Signs of Coming Apart, Milošević's Alliance with Extreme Right in Question", The San Francisco Chronicle, 29 May 1993, at A8. Milošević could not control parliament without a coalition. If he lost the support of Šešelj's SRS, then he would be forced into a more moderate position to forge a coalition with the moderate opposition parties. Id. However, Šešelj's power relies heavily on access to the state-controlled television which Milošević could deny. Id.

209/ James Rupert, "Yugoslav President Removed in Serb Nationalist Showdown", The Washington Post, 1 June 1993, at A12.

210/ After Croatia attacked the Serbian enclave near the Adriatic Sea in January 1993, Šešelj demanded Čosić's resignation and referred to him as a traitor. Laura Silber, "Yugoslav Army Alerted as Battles Rage in Croatia, Bosnia", Los Angeles Times, 26 January 1993, at A10; Wilbur G. Landrey, "Crackdown a Brain Drain for Serbia", St. Petersburg Times, 1 February 1993, at 1A.

211/ John Darnton, "Belgrade Riots Follow President's Ouster", The New York Times, 2 June 1993, at A10.

Notes (continued)

212/ Linnet Myers, "Ultra-Nationalist Winning in Serbian Power Play", Chicago Tribune, 7 June 1993, at 7; "Belgrade Riots Lead to Arrest of Opposition Leader", The Christian Science Monitor, 3 June 1993, at 6.

213/ Linnet Myers, "Yugoslavia Asks Ban on Moderates", Chicago Tribune, 4 June 1993, at 7.

214/ John Darnton, "Serbians Veer Closer to Their Extreme Edge", The New York Times, 6 June 1993, at 5.

215/ UNPROFOR Local Press Summary-Belgrade, 28 September 1993, IHRLI Doc. No. 42673-42676, at 42675; Zoran Jeličić, "The Price of Pride", Vreme, 27 September 1993, at 9. Šešelj had formed a shadow cabinet a week before the announcement of the vote of no-confidence. European Community Monitoring Mission, Weekly Summary for the Week of 19 to 25 September 1993, IHRLI Doc. No. 42682-42688, at 42684.

216/ Chuck Sudetic, "Rival Serbs Are Admitting Bosnia-Croatia Atrocities", The New York Times, 13 November 1993, at 6.

217/ UNPROFOR Local Press Summary - Belgrade, 29 September 1993, IHRLI Doc. No. 42678-42681, at 42680. According to one published report, a hallmark of Milošević is comprehensive files he keeps on the activities of his political allies. If these people turn against him, or need to be disposed of for political reasons, the compromising material is leaked to the state-controlled media. Ian Traynor, "Serb Enemies Trade Claims of War Crimes", 15 December 1993.

218/ Chuck Sudetic, "Rival Serbs are Admitting Bosnia-Croatia Atrocities", The New York Times, 13 November 1993, at 6.

219/ Stan Markotich, "Serbia", RFE/RL Research Report, 22 April 1994, at 97, citing Radio Serbia, 5 and 6 November 1993.

220/ Jonathan S. Landay, "Belgrade Regime Tied to Alleged War Crimes", The Christian Science Monitor, 26 November 1993, at 6.

221/ Id.

222/ Id. Šešelj alleges that the security service of the Yugoslav Army's main headquarters had received orders, not from its military superiors but from Radmilo Bogdanović (former Serbian Interior Minister) to attribute all the misdeeds committed by the Red Berets and Arkan's paramilitary units to SRS volunteers. "Šešelj Accuses Socialists of Putting Blame for War Crimes on His Party", BBC, 30 October 1993.

223/ Id.

224/ Chuck Sudetic, "Rival Serbs are Admitting Bosnia-Croatia Atrocities", The New York Times, 13 November 1993, at 6.

225/ Id.

Notes (continued)

226/ Jonathan S. Lindsay, "Belgrade Regime Tied to Alleged War Crimes", The Christian Science Monitor, 26 November 1993, at 6.

227/ Jonathan S. Landay, "Serbian Opposition Tripped by Early Elections", The Christian Science Monitor, 27 October 1993, at 1.
"Opposition? What Opposition?", The Economist, 30 October 1993, at 61.

228/ UNPROFOR Press Summary--Belgrade, 26 October 1993, IHRLI Doc. No. 45402-45407, at 45406. Šešelj claimed there had been several such attempts, including an automatic weapon, which Šešelj claims was planted, found in a hotel room of a SRS parliamentary deputy. Id.

229/ "SPS Spokesman on Party's 'Convincing Victory'", Belgrade Radio, 22 December 1993.

230/ Id.

231/ See Stephen Engelberg, "Serbia Sending Supplies to Compatriots in Croatia", The New York Times, 27 July 1991, at 3, wherein Šešelj acknowledges training and arming a contingent of fighters he calls "Četniks". But see Yiorgos Harvalias, "We Must Parcel It Out", Eleftheros Tipos, 1 November 1992, in which Šešelj stated:

"We have no connection with paramilitary bands. Only some of our followers joined voluntarily when the war with Croatia broke out and were quickly incorporated into the Serbian army fighting in that region. Later we had cases of followers who joined the Serbian military forces in Bosnia. At this moment, however, we have no connection with paramilitary groups and our party machinery has no military character."

232/ White Eagles and "Četniks" are names associated with several paramilitary units and also are used when referring generically to Serbian soldiers. Therefore, only those reports that specifically link a White Eagle or Četnik unit to Šešelj are included in this section of the report.

233/ "Nearly 70,000 Illegal Fighters at Large in Serbia", Agence France Presse, 7 October 1993.

234/ Michael Montgomery, "Ethnic Discord: World War II Lives on for Militant Serb Četniks; the Disenchanted are Breathing New Life into an Old Movement in Strife-Torn Yugoslavia", Los Angeles Times, 9 July 1991, at 1. Šešelj's use of this name has made it more difficult to determine what alleged atrocities his men may be guilty of because Croatian and Muslim victims, remembering World War II, use "Četnik" as a generic term for Serbian soldier.

235/ Michael Montgomery, "Ethnic Discord: World War II Lives on for Militant Serb Četniks; the Disenchanted are Breathing New Life into an Old Movement in Strife-Torn Yugoslavia", Los Angeles Times, 9 July 1991, at 1.

236/ Id.

237/ Stephen Engleberg, "Serbia Sending Supplies to Compatriots in Croatia", The New York Times, 27 July 1991, at 3.

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238/ The White Eagles is the militant youth organization within the Chetnik organization. V.K. "Does Neofacism Threaten Yugoslavia?", Borba, 6 June 1991. The White Eagles most resemble the Četniks of World War II. P.D., "Party Armies in Yugoslavia", Danas, 1 October 1991. They are trained in Serbia and are under the command of Mirko Jović and Dragoslav Bokan. Id.

239/ Dejan Anastasijević, "Eagles with Clipped Wings", Vreme, 22 November 1993.

240/ Id.

241/ European Community Monitoring Mission Memo on the White Eagles, 1 July 1993, IHRLI Doc. No. 25126.

242/ Id.

243/ V.K., M.M., & G.K., "Does Neofascism Threaten Yugoslavia?", Borba, 6 June 1991. In an interview Dragoslav Bokan said of the White Eagles:

"I wanted the young to be involved in the national issue, so I thought of renewing the "Eagles". The name attracted the kids who were putting up posters all over the city so we drew a considerable membership. There were quite a few of them who had broken the law previously, but I tried to turn them into decent people and protect them from political manipulation. Many of them were pacifists. I was an ideologist, a kind of political commissar. The war broke out in the middle of our engagement. I simply had to act. Anything else would have only been phrases. There were a number of boys whose families were killed by Ustaši during the last war. I am one of them. They arrived and we sent them."

Dejan Anastasijević, "Eagles with Clipped Wings", Vreme, 22 November 1993.

The organization was financed by donations, and the training of young members was conducted in military camps under the guidance of top athletes and priests who educated them about Orthodox virtues. V.K., M.M. & G.K., "Does Neofascism Threaten Yugoslavia?", Borba, 6 June 1991. There were three camps: one on Ravna Gora, a second near Belgrade, and a third in Kosovo. Id. The association with the SPO weakened when Jović did not want the party to be accused by the Serbian Regime of being responsible for war crimes. European Community Monitoring Mission, Memo on the White Eagles, 1 July 1993, IHRLI Doc. No. 25126.

The White Eagles remain under the command of Bokan who, on several occasions, has been arrested and interrogated by government officials. Id. However, he claims that his troops at the front were under the command of and armed by the local territorial defence units. Dejan Anastasijević, "Eagles with Clipped Wings", Vreme, 22 November 1993. Bokan also said that his troops were not put under the command of the Serbian Ministry of the Interior. He explained that they never offered because they knew he would not agree to it. Id. Bokan indicated that his troops were not allowed to seize an area which would be kept under their control. Id. He said that they would make offers to transfer his people to other units such as those of Captain Dragan or the Red Berets. Id.

After surviving several assassination attempts, Bokan split with the SPO

Notes (continued)

and now claims to be devoting his life to reflection. Id.; European Community Monitoring Mission, Memo on the White Eagles, 1 July 1993, IHRLI Doc. No. 25126. Bokan denies committing war crimes and states that one reason he is disliked by the Serbian Regime is his punishment of persons under his command who committed war crimes. Dejan Anastasijević, "Eagles with Clipped Wings", Vreme, 22 November 1993. Bokan stated:

"No one in my vicinity ever raped anybody, and if he did, he had to pay for it dearly"

"The other day I gave a long interview to BBC television. They asked me whether I was ready for a hearing by an international commission for war crimes. I replied that I would first like to see the documents they are charging me with. But, I would be a poor example for such a trial. I don't belong to the same bag with the people on the list of Helsinki Watch."

". . . Even the Croatian press wrote about me with a certain dose of respect. They also predict that I will be sacrificed, and even they draw a distinction between me and the others on the list. I believe that such a process would do me more good [than] harm, compared to Šešelj."

Id.

244/ Stephen Engleberg, "Serbia Sending Supplies to Compatriots in Croatia", The New York Times, 27 July 1991, at 1.

245/ V.K., "Does Neofacism Threaten Yugoslavia?", Borba, 6 June 1991.

246/ Michael Montgomery, "Ethnic Discord: World War II Lives on For Militant Serb Četniks: the Disenchanted are Breathing New Life into an Old Movement in Strife-Torn Yugoslavia", Los Angeles Times, 9 July 1991, at 1.

247/ Id.

248/ Id.

249/ Id. Šešelj went on Serbian television with a Thompson sub-machine-gun, explained its operation, and described how the "victims eyes fall out" when they are shot in the head. Nenad Lj. Stefanović, "Claimant to Leadership", Vreme, 28 December 1992.

250/ Id. Blaine Harden, "Old Hatreds, New Allies Spur Serbs: Guerrilla Group Battling Croats", The Washington Post, 28 July 1991, at A1. These guns are difficult to buy in large quantities from arms dealers. Id. However, the US Government provided thousands of Thompsons to the Yugoslav army in the early 1950's as part of a military aid programme. Id. They were standard issue for the Yugoslav army until the 1970's when they were put in storage. Id.

251/ Blaine Harden, "Old Hatreds, New Allies Spur Serbs: Guerrilla Group Battling Croats", The Washington Post, 28 July 1991, at A1.

Notes (continued)

252/ Dada Vujasinović, "Biographic Data on Serbian Fighter Arkan", Duga, 1 February 1993.

253/ Id.

254/ Id. The inspectors who had dealings with him at the time say that [Arkan] was unusually strong for his age and as agile as a top, never dirty or sloven, always clean and properly dressed. In their first encounter's he confused them. During one of the first arrests, at the age of 14 or 15, two inspectors found him in a Čubura pastry shop. Without enough experience, they thought that arresting [Arkan] would be a routine matter. But [Arkan] resisted stubbornly, slipped away, and deftly escaped until the policemen realized that in this case they would have to apply treatment intended for much older delinquents. "If he had gone out for any sport, he certainly would have achieved extraordinary results. That was just the way he was-capable of anything," one Belgrade policeman stated. Id.

255/ Id.

256/ "Serbian Hit Man", The Washington Post, 9 January 1993, at A20.

257/ Chuck Sudetic, A Shady Militia Chief Arouses Serbs, 20 December 1992, at 12.

258/ Id. Arkan, along with Slobodan Kostovski and Carlo Fabiani, an Italian citizen, are suspected in a 5 September 1979 armed robbery in a bank in Stockholm. Fabiani was arrested and on 11 September 1979, he was taken to the City Court of Stockholm for a court hearing. When Fabiani was taken into the courtroom, Arkan and Kostovski reportedly helped him escape by firing several gunshots at the guards. On 21 September 1979, this same group is alleged to have committed armed robbery in a large department store in Gothenburg before moving on to the Netherlands. Memo to M. Cherif Bassiouni, Chairman, Commission of Experts, from Christina Steen Sundberg, Chief Prosecutor, Stockholm, Sweden, 18 November 1993, IHRLI Doc. No. 52361-52365.

259/ See "Serbia's Treacherous Gang of Three", The Washington Post, 7 February 1993, at C1; Cook Report. Goran Vuković, a Serbian criminal known as the murderer of Ljuba Zemunac, said the following about Arkan's skill as a bank robber:

"Of all of us, Arkan robbed the most banks: He walked into them almost like they were self-service stores. No one can quarrel with that fact about him. I don't know about politics, but as far as robbery is concerned, he was really unsurpassed. That is all he has done his entire life. Banks were his specialty, as well as spectacular escapes from prison. He managed to escape from the same prison two or three times. He even escaped from the Germans."

Dada Vujasinović, "Biographic Data on Serbian Fighter Arkan", Duga, 1 February 1993.

260/ Chuck Sudetic, "A Shady Militia Chief Arouses Serbs", The New York Times, 20 December 1992, at 12. Some reports have suggested that Arkan's father offered Arkan's services to Stane Dolanc, head of the SSUP, so that his son could expend his surplus energy, skill, and intelligence usefully. Id.;

Notes (continued)

see also Dada Vujasinović, "Biographic Data on Serbian Fighter Arkan", Duga, 1 February 1993. Arkan also had close relations with some of Tito's generals, including Jovo Popović, who is thought to be largely responsible for Arkan's physical and mental conditioning. Id.

261/ Chuck Sudetic, "A Shady Militia Chief Arouses Serbs", The New York Times, 20 December 1992, at 12.

262/ Id.

263/ Id.

264/ Dada Vujasinović, "Biographic Data on Serbian Fighter Arkan", Duga, 2 February 1993. An example of this was in early 1986 when Arkan beat someone up in an elevator after losing money gambling. The SSUP tried to clear Arkan of responsibility while the city police sought the harshest punishment possible. The court refused to exonerate Arkan because a search of his house revealed an arsenal of weapons, identification cards from several different countries, 11 passports from nearly every European country and the United States, a diplomatic passport and six press passports. Still he was only sentenced to eight months in prison. Id.

265/ Id. Allegedly, when at the casinos, if Arkan won, he would demand payment immediately. If he lost, he would use his gun to insure that he did not have to pay his debt. Id.

266/ Dada Vujasinović, "Biographic Data on Serbian Fighter Arkan", Duga, 2 February 1993.

267/ David Firestone, "Safety in Parliament; U.S. Calls Serbian Politician Vicious Killer", Newsday, 1 January 1993, at 4.

268/ Id.

269/ Dada Vujasinović, "Biographic Data on Serbian Fighter Arkan", Duga, 1 February 1993. The Serbian Minister of Interior publicly stated during the March 1991 demonstrations in Belgrade that "the demonstrators would have got what they deserved had Arkan not been [in prison] in Croatia". European Community Monitoring Mission, Information Section Briefing - Arkan, File 1002, IHRLI Doc. No. 25141-25142.

270/ European Community Monitoring Mission, Information Section Briefing - Arkan, File 1002, IHRLI Doc. No. 25141-25142. There was another incident involving a political party in opposition to Milošević, namely the party led by Šešelj. Šešelj tried to enter a soccer match with a group of his supporters but was denied entrance by security. This resulted in an uprising at the stadium. Arkan intervened in support of security officials and argued to bar Šešelj from the game because of the politically divisive effect on the fans. Eyewitnesses say that during the meeting between Arkan and Šešelj, their first, the conversation was the following:

"Do you know who I am? Do you know how many people I have killed for the fatherland?" Arkan asked."

Notes (continued)

"No, I don't. I have not killed a single one, but I will begin with you. I will strangle you with my bare hands." Šešelj responded."

Id.

271/ Salih Zvizdić, "Arkan's Life, Crimes, Prison Release Viewed", Vjesnik, 12 April 1992.

272/ Id.

273/ Andrew Bilski, "Wild in the Streets; Lawlessness in Belgrade is a Brutal Extension of Wars in Bosnia and Croatia--and it is Worsening", Maclean's, 14 December 1992, at 20.

274/ "World News Tonight with Peter Jennings", American Broadcasting Corporation, 7 June 1993. One Belgrade journalist who traveled with Arkan for several weeks stated: "I saw Arkan in his white Pajero driving in and out of eastern Croatia in the fall of 1991. He was supervising as his men drove truck after truck of plunder across the Danube into Serbia. They were taking blankets, tires, shoes and whiskey." Blaine Harden, "Serbia's Treacherous Gang of Three", The Washington Post, 7 February 1993, at C1.

275/ Carol J. Williams, "A People Poisoned by Chaos: In What Remains of Yugoslavia, a Sense of Injustice is Pervasive and Violent Crime is Skyrocketing. Experts Fear that what is also Growing is a Dangerous National Psychosis", The Los Angeles Times, 27 March 1993, at A1.

276/ Id.

277/ "Serbia; Beyond the Ultras", The Economist, 5 June 1993, at 56. There are several private banks in Belgrade offering outrageous interest rates to encourage deposits. The banks' interest rates are 10 per cent a month for foreign currency and 70 per cent for dinars. The interest payments provide the only means of support for most of the unemployed. However, as one Western diplomat stated: "These banks are going to crumble like houses of cards one of these days . . . It's pretty sure they are laundering Bosnian loot - but it defies any kind of logic that they can keep it up." Louise Branson, "Young Gangs Rule Belgrade Streets", The Christian Science Monitor, 6 November 1992, at 2. Arkan is said to have sent armed men to Belgrade's black market areas to threaten rivals who offer a higher rate of return on investors' money than he does. Andrew Bilski, "Wild in the Streets; Lawlessness in Belgrade is a Brutal Extension of Wars in Bosnia and Croatia--and its Worsening", Maclean's, 14 December 1992, at 20.

It is also reported that Arkan owns a "pizzeria" in Erdut near his training facility. Internal Memo of the Commission of Experts to M. Cherif Bassiouni, Chairman, from Anton Kempenaars, Assistant to the Commission, 7 December 1993.

278/ "World News Tonight with Peter Jennings", American Broadcasting Corporation, 7 June 1993. The Serbian Orthodox Church often blesses these boxing matches. Id.

279/ Id. Arkan allegedly received as much as \$1,000 per month from each business he protected. Id.

Notes (continued)

280/ Id.

281/ Andrew Bilski, "Wild in the Streets; Lawlessness in Belgrade is a Brutal Extension of Wars in Bosnia and Croatia--and its Worsening", Maclean's, 14 December 1992, at 20. In the summer of 1992, Montenegrin police arrested Alexander Knežević, a Belgrade gangster later killed on 28 October 1992 (possibly by Arkan because Knežević was gaining power). After Knežević was charged with killing another gangster, Serbia's interior ministry won his release and dispatched a helicopter to return him to Belgrade. Id. In another incident involving Knežević, during an anti-government demonstration in Belgrade's main Terazije Square, police withdrew moments before members of Knežević's gang began beating up the student protestors. Id.

Another indication of government or police involvement in Belgrade's organized crime is that with a force of 40,000 men only one in every 14 reported crimes was solved last year. "World News Tonight with Peter Jennings", American Broadcasting Corporation, 7 June 1993. In an ABC interview an anonymous Arkan insider stated: "It is certain that the police are involved with the highest government officials. In my opinion, up [as high as] the minister of the interior. The police are connected with the top gangsters who are doing the dirtiest jobs for the government." Id.

282/ Thom Shanker, "Yugoslav Vote Crucial to Balkans", Chicago Tribune, 20 December 1992, at 3.

283/ Jonathan Kaufman, "Kosovo Offers Another Flashpoint in the Complexity of Yugoslavia", The Boston Globe, 28 December 1992, at 1.

284/ Id.

285/ Id.

286/ "Arkan Reportedly Purchases Bozhur Hotel", Tirana, 24 February 1993.

287/ Thom Shanker, "Yugoslav Vote Crucial to Balkans", Chicago Tribune, 20 December 1992, at 3.

288/ Jonathan Kaufman, "Kosovo Offers Another Flashpoint in the Complexity of Yugoslavia", The Boston Globe, 28 December 1992, at 1.

289/ "Arkan Reportedly Purchases Bozhur Hotel", ATA, 24 February 1993.

290/ "Serbian Radical Party Proposes Vote of No-confidence in Serbian Government", Tanjug, 22 September 1993.

291/ Id.

292/ Chuck Sudetic, "Rival Serbs Are Admitting Bosnia-Croatia Atrocities", The New York Times, 13 November 1993, at 6.

293/ Miloš Vasić, "The December Vote: Slobodan and Arkan's Flying Circus", War Report, December 1993.

Notes (continued)

294/ John Kifner, "Majority Eludes Leader in Serbia: Three Seats Short of Control, Milosevic Is Seen as Still Likely to Retain Power", The New York Times, 23 December 1993.

295/ "Nationalist Leads Serb Campaign", Chicago Tribune, 19 December 1993, at 14.

296/ See John Kifner, "An Outlaw in the Balkans Is Basking in the Spotlight", The New York Times, 23 November 1993; "Nationalist Leads Serb Campaign", Chicago Tribune, 19 December 1993, at 14; Miloš Vasić, "The December Vote: Slobodan and Arkan's Flying Circus", War Report, December 1993. For a more detailed discussion of the rift between Milošević and Šešelj, see Šešelj below.

297/ Stan Markotich, "Serbia", RFE/RL Research Report, 22 April 1994, at 98.

298/ "Nationalist Leads Serb Campaign", Chicago Tribune, 19 December 1993, at 14.

299/ John Kifner, "Majority Eludes Leader in Serbia: Three Seats Short of Control, Milošević is Seen as Still Likely to Retain Power", The New York Times, 23 December 1993.

300/ Šćepan Vuković, "Arkan Interviewed on Life, War, Arrest", Pobjeda, 13 January 1992.

301/ Arkan has said that: "Those who join [the Tigers] have to lock up any politics in the lockers in their rooms." Id.

302/ European Community Monitoring Mission, Information Section Briefing -Arkan, File 1002, IHRLI Doc. No. 25141-25142.

303/ Roy Gutman, "Envoy Talks Tough: Calls Serb Destruction of City War Crime, but also Warns Croats", Newsday, 18 July 1993.

304/ Internal Commission of Experts Memo to Chairman Cherif Bassiouni from Anton Kempnaars, Assistant to the Commission, 7 December 1993.

305/ Id.

306/ "Arkan: No Longer any need for "Tigers" to be Concentrated in Erdut", BBC, BBC Summary of World Broadcasts, 4 April 1994.

307/ European Community Monitoring Mission, Information Section Briefing -Arkan, File 1002, IHRLI Doc. No. 25141-25142.

308/ Id.

309/ Id.

310/ Internal Commission of Experts Memo to Chairman Cherif Bassiouni from Anton Kempnaars, Assistant to the Commission, 7 December 1993.

Notes (continued)

311/ Id.

312/ All of the footnotes in section III of this report, entitled "Other Identified Paramilitary Groups," are cites to the sources contained in the text of this section.

313/ IHRLI Doc. No. 45763-45764.

314/ IHRLI Doc. No. 28661. A rape victim stated that she was held in brothels in Livno and Sarajevo by "Alija's warriors". It is not clear from the report whether the group she refers to is the same paramilitary organization as Alija's Army, or whether she is referring generically to the army of BiH as President Alija Izetbegović's "warriors".

315/ IHRLI Doc. No. 3129 and 5465. The report lists the villages which were attacked, namely, Zaslavlje, Zabrdje, Turija, Jošanica and Repovica.

316/ See IHRLI Doc. No. 11540-11550, 28645, 28652-28653 and 29760. Although some reports question the existence of this group, it was reported by an official source that the Black Swans exist and include many foreigners. Their headquarters, which reportedly displays a black flag with arabic writing, is east of Konjic on the Mostar to Sarajevo road.

317/ IHRLI Doc. No. 45763.

318/ IHRLI Doc. No. 62629.

319/ IHRLI Doc. No. 62756.

320/ IHRLI Doc. No. 62613 provides information on the troop strength at Handići there were allegedly 40 to 50 men and the forces from Pokojište contained 30 to 40.

321/ IHRLI Doc. No. 62613.

322/ IHRLI Doc. No. 62756.

323/ IHRLI Doc. No. 45756.

324/ IHRLI Doc. No. 2804.

325/ IHRLI Doc. No. 45764.

326/ Id.

327/ IHRLI Doc. No. 45768.

328/ IHRLI Doc. No. 62620

329/ IHRLI Doc. No. 51640.

330/ IHRLI Doc. No. 45752.

Notes (continued)

331/ IHRLI Doc. No. 41234. An official source reported that the MOS, like the HOS, is a term used by many paramilitary units. Much of what is written in this section was the responsibility of the 7th Muslimanska Brigada in Zenica, and some can be credited to Zuka's forces or to a mixture of foreign Mujahedin.

332/ See also IHRLI Doc. No. 45756, which states that the Black Swans commanded by Zulfikar Ali Spage were also involved in the attack at Stipića Meadow.

333/ IHRLI Doc. No. 45752.

334/ IHRLI Doc. No. 51637, 51631, 51640, 51669. Three villages, Čajdraš, Vjetrenica Mountain, and Busovača are mentioned in the reports. Witnesses also relate that many civilians were killed in the area. The bodies of the victims were usually found burned in their homes. Id.

335/ IHRLI Doc. No. 48029 and 48030.

336/ IHRLI Doc. No. 14581

337/ IHRLI Doc. No. 35750.

338/ IHRLI Doc. No. 28952

339/ IHRLI Doc. No. 28817 and 28977. Ibrahim Džinić, a member of both the 102 Odžak Brigade of the Croatian Defence Council (HVO) and the Municipal Committee of the Party of Democratic Action in Odžak, allegedly procured arms and matériel in Vinkovci, Croatia.

340/ IHRLI Doc. No. 25663.

341/ IHRLI Doc. No. 3129 and 5465. The villages attacked were Zaslavlje, Zabrdje, Turija, Jošanica, and Repovica.

342/ IHRLI Doc. No. 35750

343/ IHRLI Doc. No. 51657

344/ Documents submitted to the Commission of Experts indicate the existence of two paramilitary organizations, the "Black Legion" and the "Black Shirts", although at least one witness testimony implied that the names were interchangeable. See IHRLI Doc. No. 22201-22203.

345/ IHRLI Doc. No. 46203.

346/ IHRLI Doc. No. 22201-22203.

347/ Id.

348/ See IHRLI Doc. Nos.'s 46072-56106 (containing witness statements that refer consistently to attacking groups as "Croatian National Guardsmen").

Notes (continued)

- 349/ IHRLI Doc. No. 46078.
- 350/ IHRLI Doc. No. 28817-28825, 28952. See also IHRLI Doc. No. 28817-19 (containing information on CDU finances and how the organization purchased and transported war material).
- 351/ IHRLI Doc. No. 56202.
- 352/ Id.
- 353/ See IHRLI Doc. No. 56202.
- 354/ Id.
- 355/ "Croatian Public Opinion 'Divided' on Return of Serbs Who Fled", BBC Summary of World Broadcasts, 27 February 1992, at EE/1315/C1/1.
- 356/ IHRLI Doc. No. 56202.
- 357/ Mihajlo Crnobrnja, The Yugoslav Drama 170 (1994).
- 358/ Michael Ignatieff, "Nasty, Brutish and Short: Where the Warlords Hold Sway from Behind the Wheel of a Cherokee Chief", Ottawa Citizen, 11 April 1993, at C1.
- 359/ Mihajlo Crnobrnja, The Yugoslav Drama 170 (1994). See also Michael Ignatieff, "Nasty, Brutish and Short: Where the Warlords Hold Sway from Behind the Wheel of a Cherokee Chief", Ottawa Citizen, 11 April 1993, at C1.
- 360/ IHRLI Doc. No. 48295.
- 361/ Id.
- 362/ IHRLI Doc. No. 12623 and 29010. Translations of Vatreni Konji are varied. See, e.g., IHRLI Doc. No. 11932 ("Fire Horses Brigade"); IHRLI Doc. No. 29014 ("Flaming Horses"); IHRLI Doc. No. 28997 (Fiery Horses).
- 363/ IHRLI Doc. No. 28988.
- 364/ IHRLI Doc. No. 28644 and 28704-28705. The commander of the Horses of Fire, Majran Brnić, reportedly was from Posavska Mahala, Odžak (IHRLI Doc. No. 028965-67).
- 365/ The Horses of Fire reportedly operated at the following locations: Ristani, Bogodol, Raška Gora, Dobrić, Biogranci, Medjine, Vihovići, Slipčiči, Bačevići, Potoci, Salakovac, Vrapčiči (near Mostar), Gnojnica, Buna, Hodbina, Pijesci, Blagaj (near Mostar), Dračevo, Rečice, Burmazi, Paprati, Opličiči, Ošanići, Donji and Gornji Poplat, Pljesavac and Prenj (near Stolac), Čavaš, Dvrsnica, Orašje, Gornje Hrasno, Čvaljina and Orahov Do, Zavala, Golubinac, Belenići, Kijev Do, Gorogaše, Dobromiri, Pozamo, Baljivac, Rapti, Šćenica, Suše, Misite, Čopice, Podosoje, Slivnica and Lopoč, Bobani Plato, Zaplanik, Ivanjica, Začula and several other villages in the municipality of Trebinje. IHRLI Doc. No. 28602-28603.

Notes (continued)

- 366/ IHRLI Doc. No. 28539.
- 367/ IHRLI Doc. No. 28965-28967.
- 368/ IHRLI Doc. No. 12613-12614.
- 369/ IHRLI Doc. No. 28988.
- 370/ Id., IHRLI Doc. No. 28997-289001.
- 371/ IHRLI Doc. No. 28997-29001.
- 372/ IHRLI Doc. No. 12613-12164.
- 373/ IHRLI Docs. No. 28958-28962, 28965-28967, 28987-28992, 28602, 28603, 28708-28710.
- 374/ IHRLI Doc. No. 28708-28710.
- 375/ IHRLI Doc. No. 12613-12614.
- 376/ IHRLI Doc. No. 28958-28962.
- 377/ IHRLI Docs. No. 28539, 28602, 28644, 28704-28705, 28708-28710, 28958-28967, 28987-28992, 28997-29001, 29007, 29010-29014, 11932, 36606, 12613-12614.
- 378/ IHRLI Doc. No. 28704-28705.
- 379/ IHRLI Doc. No. 28644.
- 380/ IHRLI Doc. No. 11932..
- 381/ IHRLI Doc. No. 28966.
- 382/ IHRLI Doc. No. 28965-28967.
- 383/ IRHLI Doc. No. 28704-28705.
- 384/ Id.
- 385/ IHRLI Doc. No. 28958-28962.
- 386/ IHRLI Doc. No. 28539.
- 387/ Christopher Bellamy, "Bosnian Serbs Adjust to New Order", The Independent, 1 April 1994, at 10, available in LEXIS, News Library, Curnws File.
- 388/ Catherine Toups, "Bosnia-Hercegovina: Preparing for the Day of Reckoning", Inter Press Service, 15 February 1994, available in LEXIS, News Library, Curnws File.

Notes (continued)

389/ Id.

390/ Id.

391/ James O. Jackson, "No Rush to Judgement", Time, 27 June 1994, at 48-51.

392/ "Defence Minister Reports on Activities of Croatian Army Units in Bosnia", BBC Summary of World Broadcasts, 1 February 1994, available in LEXIS, News Library, Curnws File.

393/ Christopher Bellamy, "Bosnian Serbs Adjust to New Order", The Independent, 1 April 1994, at 10, available in LEXIS, News Library, Curnws File.

394/ Id.

395/ IHRLI Doc. No. 25523.

396/ IHRLI Doc. No. 25523.

397/ IHRLI Doc. No. 55366.

398/ IHRLI Doc. No. 45351, 41159. Reports mention that "Tiger" units joined the HVO forces in Mostar in June 1993. Later reports mention an HVO unit named "The Kiseljak Tigers" (also called "United to Death") in connection with the October 1993 massacre at the Muslim village of Stupni Do near Vareš. It is not clear whether these two groups are the same "Tiger" forces. Id.

399/ IHRLI Doc. No. 41159.

400/ IHRLI Doc. No. 45351.

401/ Id. For UNPROFOR press release, see IHRLI Doc. No. 43929-43930.

402/ IHRLI Doc. No. 45351.

403/ IHRLI Doc. No. 19947C.

404/ IHRLI Doc. No. 34965.

405/ Id.

406/ IHRLI Doc. No. 2804.

407/ Id.

408/ IHRLI Doc. No. 2805.

409/ Id.

410/ Id.

Notes (continued)

- 411/ Id.
- 412/ Id.
- 413/ Id.
- 414/ IHRLI Doc. No. 2806.
- 415/ Id.
- 416/ Id.
- 417/ Id.
- 418/ IHRLI Doc. No. 2807.
- 419/ IHRLI Doc. No. 2804. This brigade is also referred to as simply the XII Slavonian Brigade. IHRLI Doc. No. 2810.
- 420/ Id. See IHRLI summary sheet for Unit of Daruvar.
- 421/ IHRLI Doc. No. 2807. See IHRLI summary sheet for the Biloqorian Odred.
- 422/ IHRLI Doc. No. 2810.
- 423/ IHRLI Doc. No. 2926.
- 424/ Id.
- 425/ Id.
- 426/ Id.
- 427/ Id.
- 428/ Id.
- 429/ Id.
- 430/ Id.
- 431/ IHRLI Doc. No. 2927.
- 432/ After the first day of killing, on 2 May, a JNA commander passed the hotel and told a policeman that the killing should only be done on the front line. He said he would personally kill anyone who was killing people in the centre of town, IHRLI Doc. No. 39141.
- 433/ IHRLI Doc. No. 39141.
- 434/ Id.

Notes (continued)

435/ IHRLI Doc. No. 39140.

436/ IHRLI Doc. No. 63996.

437/ IHRLI Doc. No. 49197.

438/ IHRLI Doc. No. 2807.

439/ Id.

440/ IHRLI Doc. No. 2808.

441/ Id.

442/ Id.

443/ IHRLI Doc. No. 2894. But see IHRLI Doc. No. 2808 (indicating that the Bilogorjan Odred launched a mortar attack on Grubišno Polje and Ivanovo Selo in concert with JNA and ("Četnik" forces and that eight people were killed and an unspecified number wounded).

444/ IHRLI Doc. No. 2808.

445/ Id.

446/ IHRLI Doc. No. 47023.

447/ Id.

448/ IHRLI Doc. No. 56909.

449/ See IHRLI Doc. No. 56615, which reports that Captain Dragan Kalinić worked alongside Arkan as a commander of forces in Brčko on 1 May 1992.

450/ The BBC quoted Milan Martić who revealed in August 1991 that Captain Dragan's real name was Daniel Sneden.

451/ IHRLI Doc. No. 62124-62125.

452/ Id.

453/ "Croatian Serbs 'Recruit Italian Fighters'", The Independent, 21 October 1993, at 12.

454/ IHRLI Doc. No. 34965.

455/ IHRLI Doc. No. 42890. The witness provides a detailed account of the atrocities at Velepromet in Vukovar, but Captain Dragan is named only in regard to the incident regarding the witness's daughter. Id.

456/ Personal account of Zack Novković in Soldier of Fortune, April 1994, at 49-50.

Notes (continued)

- 457/ IHRLI Doc. No. 47018.
- 458/ IHRLI Doc. No. 63996 (listing the paramilitary units involved in the Zvornik assault under "Other Formations").
- 459/ IHRLI Doc. No. 34963.
- 460/ IHRLI Doc. No. 56995.
- 461/ IHRLI Doc. No. 2878.
- 462/ IHRLI Doc. No. 47019.
- 463/ IHRLI Doc. No. 34959, 42896 and 42899. Dušan the Great forces allegedly attacked Lovas with members of the "Territorial Defence".
- 464/ Id. See also IHRLI Doc. No. 15123, which reports that 51 people were killed in Lovas on 17 October.
- 465/ IHRLI Doc. No. 63996 (listing the paramilitary units involved in the Zvornik assault under "Other Formations").
- 466/ IHRLI Doc. No. 47022.
- 467/ IHRLI Doc. No. 62783.
- 468/ IHRLI Doc. No. 35705.
- 469/ IHRLI Doc. No. 35685.
- 470/ IHRLI Doc. No. 62782.
- 471/ IHRLI Doc. No. 35687. Karaman's house has also been described as a warehouse. Id.
- 472/ IHRLI Doc. No. 30291.
- 473/ IHRLI Doc. No. 49192.
- 474/ IHRLI Doc. No. 30246.
- 475/ IHRLI Doc. No. 63996 (listing the paramilitary units involved in the Zvornik assault under "Other Formations").
- 476/ "Nationalistic Serbs Threaten Terrorist Attacks if Intervention", Agence France Presse, 13 May 1993, available in LEXIS, News Library, Curnws File.
- 477/ Suzanne Nelson, "Yugoslavia: Extremist Groups Come to Life in Disillusioned Serbia", Inter Press Service, 17 November 1992, available in LEXIS, News Library, Curnws File.

Notes (continued)

478/ IHRLI Doc. No. 29875-6. See also IHRLI Doc. No. 11921, containing a witness statement which refers to the Užice Corps action at Površnica mountain.

479/ IHRLI Doc. No. 9157.

480/ Id.

481/ IHRLI Doc. No. 9158.

482/ Id.

483/ IHRLI Doc. No. 9159.

484/ IHRLI Doc. No. 56879.

485/ Chris Stephen, "View from the Zoo", Houston Chronicle, 5 December 1993, at A33.

486/ IHRLI Doc. No. 52131.

487/ See also IHRLI Doc. No. 29870 (alleging that Dragan Ikanović participated in operations in Vogosća County conducted by paramilitary leader Joja Tintor).

488/ IHRLI Doc. No. 29870.

489/ IHRLI Doc. No. 56879.

490/ IHRLI Doc. No. 42899. Devetak was apparently raised in Lovas, worked in Osijek and later moved with a private firm to Belgrade before the war.

491/ IHRLI Doc. No. 39953.

492/ The witness was held in the camp for several days, during which time many people were killed. He did not specifically identify the Zoran Karlica paramilitary group as perpetrators of the abuses that occurred at Trnopolje camp. Id.

493/ U.N. Military Information Branch, Who's Who in Former Yugoslavia, No. 1, 1 February 1994, IHRLI Doc. No. 62101-62173, at 62124 states that "Captain Dragan" "led a force called 'Knindže' in Knin during 1990-91." It is unclear whether the Knindža Turtles are the same 'Knindže' as those mentioned in Who's Who, or whether they operated under the command of Captain Dragan. The Turtles may be linked with Captain Dragan through his training camp, which contained over 1,000 Republic of Serbian Krajina volunteers.

494/ IHRLI Doc. No. 3620-3621.

495/ Id.

496/ IHRLI Doc. No. 34956.

Notes (continued)

- 497/ IHRLI Doc. No. 62141.
- 498/ IHRLI Doc. No. 29887.
- 499/ IHRLI Doc. No. 34734.
- 500/ IHRLI Doc. No. 49192.
- 501/ IHRLI Doc. No. 34993.
- 502/ IHRLI Doc. No. 52430.
- 503/ IHRLI Doc. No. 34993.
- 504/ "The Fighting in Croatia in Brief", BBC Summary of World Broadcasts, 25 July 1991.
- 505/ IHRLI Doc. No. 15903.
- 506/ See, e.g., IHRLI Doc. No. 55087.
- 507/ IHRLI Doc. No. 45390.
- 508/ IHRLI Doc. No. 24432.
- 509/ IHRLI Doc. No. 26349A26.
- 510/ Tyler Marshall, "Serbs and Croats Face Off Along Frontier of Hatred", Los Angeles Times, 14 July 1991, at 1.
- 511/ IHRLI Doc. No. 26349A26; Dessa Trevisan, "Yugoslavs Arm for All-Out War", The Times, 1 August 1991 (reporting that the special task force known as Knindže, commanded by Captain Dragan, is one of Martić's forces).
- 512/ IHRLI Doc. No. 24432.
- 513/ Misha Glenny, The Fall of Yugoslavia 17 (1993).
- 514/ IHRLI Doc. No. 26349A26.
- 515/ "Yugoslav Army Halts Croat-Serb Conflict", Washington Times, 1 April 1991, at A2.
- 516/ Dessa Trevisan, "Croat Police Given Army Ultimatum", The Times, 3 April 1993, available in LEXIS, News Library, Curnws File.
- 517/ IHRLI Doc. No. 18484, 26349A26.
- 518/ Blaine Harden, "Guerrillas, Army Shell Croatian City: Republics' Leaders Open Peace Talks", Washington Post, 21 August 1991, at A8.

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519/ Tyler Marshall, "Serbs and Croats Face Off Along Frontier of Hatred", Los Angeles Times, 14 July 1991, at 1.

520/ Alan Ferguson, "Belgrade Puts Pressure on Rebellious Republics", Toronto Star, 26 June 1991, at A1.

521/ Donald Forbes, "Croats and Serb Guerrillas Fight in a Dozen Towns", Reuters, 11 September 1991, available in LEXIS, News Library, Curnws File.

522/ Eileen Yin, "Yugoslav Political Leaders Hold Crucial Talks on Country's Future", UPI, 22 July 1991, available in LEXIS, News Library, UPI File.

523/ "Other Report on Croatian Conflict", BBC Summary of World Broadcasts, 2 August 1991.

524/ "The Fighting in Croatia in Brief", BBC Summary of World Broadcasts, 25 July 1991.

525/ Jonathan S. Landay, "Dispute Over Army Role in Croatia Focus of Presidency Meeting", UPI, 26 July 1991, available in LEXIS, News Library, UPI File.

526/ Meriel Beattie, "At Least Four Dead in Fresh Battles Between Serbs and Croats", Reuters, 14 August 1991, available in LEXIS, News Library, Curnws File.

527/ Nešo Djurić, "Serbian Guerrillas Fight for Croatian Territory", UPI, 19 August 1991, available in LEXIS, News Library, UPI File.

528/ Blaine Harden, "Guerrillas, Army Shell Croatian City; Republics' Leaders Open Peace Talks", Washington Post, 21 August 1991, at A8.

529/ Id.

530/ IHRLI Doc. No. 55087.

531/ Blaine Harden, "Guerrillas, Army Shell Croatian City; Republics' Leaders Open Peace Talks", Washington Post, 21 August 1991, at A8.

532/ IHRLI Doc. No. 2955.

533/ IHRLI Doc. No. 19123.

534/ IHRLI Doc. No. 49197.

535/ IHRLI Doc. No. 2813.

536/ IHRLI Doc. No. 2886.

537/ IHRLI Doc. No. 2895.

538/ IHRLI Doc. No. 2798.

Notes (continued)

539/ Id.

540/ Alan Ferguson, "Belgrade Puts Pressure on Rebellious Republics", Toronto Star, 26 June 1991, at A1.

541/ "Belgrade Radio Reports Martić's Claim of 30 Killed in Ljubovo", BBC Summary of World Broadcasts, 5 July 1991.

542/ IHRLI Doc. No. 2834.

543/ IHRLI Doc. No. 2846.

544/ IHRLI Doc. No. 55095.

545/ Peter Humphrey, "Bosnia Holds Emergency Defence Meeting after Serb Incursion", Reuters, 9 June 1991, available in LEXIS, News Library, Curnws File.

546/ "The Sandzak Referendum in Brief", BBC Summary of World Broadcasts, 4 November 1991, available in LEXIS, News Library, Curnws File.

547/ IHRLI Doc. No. 34170.

548/ IHRLI Doc. No. 29827-29828.

549/ IHRLI Doc. No. 62782-62786.

550/ IHRLI Doc. No. 56879.

551/ IHRLI Doc. No. 20271-20296.

552/ IHRLI Doc. No. 20272.

553/ IHRLI Doc. No. 20275.

554/ IHRLI Doc. No. 20271-20296.

555/ IHRLI Doc. No. 63996 (listing the paramilitary units involved in the Zvornik assault under "Other Formations").

556/ IHRLI Doc. No. 34734.

557/ IHRLI Doc. No. 49192-49193.

558/ IHRLI Doc. No. 2810.

559/ Id.

560/ Id. The source is ambiguous regarding the involvement of the unit commanded by Lukić and Radosavljević in the attacks and abuses committed by "Četniks". Id.

Notes (continued)

561/ IHRLI Doc. No. 62693.

562/ IHRLI Doc. No. 56883.

563/ IHRLI Doc. No. 29875-29876. See also the witness statement at IHRLI Doc. No. 11921, which refers to the Užice Corps action at Površnica mountain.

564/ IHRLI Doc. No. 39930.

565/ Id.

566/ Id.

567/ See also U.N. Military Information Branch, "Who's Who in Former Yugoslavia", No. 1, 1 February 1994, IHRLI Doc. No. 62101-62173, at 62124-5, where "Captain Dragan" is reported to command paramilitary forces called "Red Berets". It is unclear whether Captain Dragan is the commander of this unit, or whether this is one of many paramilitary units trained in camps run by Captain Dragan, which operate under independent command in the field.

568/ IHRLI Doc. No. 8276.

569/ IHRLI Doc. No. 57050.

570/ IHRLI Doc. No. 56328.

571/ IHRLI Doc. No. 56329.

572/ IHRLI Doc. No. 39242A. The victim states that she and up to 2,000 other women were raped repeatedly during her stay at the school, but the Red Berets are specifically identified as perpetrators in only one incident in her statement. Id.

573/ IHRLI Doc. No. 49197.

574/ IHRLI Doc. No. 34956.

575/ IHRLI Doc. No. 34733-34734. On 24 June 1992, a number of Muslim civilians were arrested in the stable of Salko Guso by order of Momir Savić. Savić's group also removed two Muslims from a bus carrying refugees from Višegrad. Id.

576/ The attack of Kozarac is described in IHRLI Doc. No. 62693.

577/ IHRLI Doc. No. 62711-62713.

578/ IHRLI Doc. No. 62711-62712.

579/ IHRLI Doc. No. 62712.

580/ IHRLI Doc. No. 62713.

Notes (continued)

581/ Id.

582/ IHRLI Doc. No. 30212.

583/ IHRLI Doc. No. 56632-56633.

584/ The US State Department document alleges that they personally killed 5,000 people, but there is no explanation under what circumstances this killing may have occurred.

585/ This is hearsay information.

586/ IHRLI Doc. No. 62684.

587/ Their names can be found in the April 1993 Banja Luka Serbian Voice, or Glas Srpski, newspapers.

588/ IHRLI Doc. No. 29868.

589/ IHRLI Doc. No. 29870.

590/ Kornjača means "turtle" in Serbo-Croatian. Kornjača claims it is his real name, while others claim he adopted it as a nom de guerre. Peter Maas, "In Bosnia War, a Serb Doctor Becomes 'Commander Turtle'", Washington Post, 12 September 1992, available in LEXIS, News Library, Curnws File.

591/ Id.

592/ IHRLI Doc. No. 11921.

593/ IHRLI Doc. No. 2894.

594/ IHRLI Doc. No. 29864.

595/ Id.

596/ IHRLI Doc. No. 2886.

597/ IHRLI Doc. No. 34186.

598/ IHRLI Doc. No. 25126.

599/ IHRLI Doc. No. 29843.

600/ But see IHRLI Doc. No. 2842 (describing members of the White Eagles beating Croatian soldiers in the village of Paklenica, 22 November 1992).

601/ IHRLI Doc. No. 5892-5895, 20271, 20277, 20281-20284, 20285-20291, 20317, 20320, and 62864.

602/ IHRLI Doc. No. 20277 and 20285.

Notes (continued)

603/ IHRLI Doc. No. 20281-20284.

604/ IHRLI Doc. No. 20292 (describing that on 19 and 20 July 1992, White Eagles, JNA, Nikšić Special Forces, and local Serbs reportedly shelled the forests from 6:00 p.m. to 5:00 a.m.).

605/ IHRLI Doc. No. 20317.

606/ IHRLI Doc. No. 20285-20291.

607/ Approximately 170 men at Gacko prison were later transferred to Bileća. IHRLI Doc. No. 5892-5895.

608/ IHRLI Doc. No. 20285-20291, 20320.

609/ IHRLI Doc. No. 5892-5895, 20317.

610/ IHRLI Doc. No. 20285-20291.

611/ IHRLI Doc. No. 20317.

612/ IHRLI Doc. No. 11945, 33248-33299.

613/ IHRLI Doc. No. 11945.

614/ Id.

615/ IHRLI Doc. No. 33248-33299, 35683.

616/ White Eagles arrived in Grbavica between 5 and 7 April 1992. IHRLI Doc. No. 33248-33299, 35683. They went to Kremaulusa 5 and 6 May 1992. IHRLI Doc. No. 11922-11923.

617/ IHRLI Doc. No. 62835, 11922-11923.

618/ IHRLI Doc. No. 11922-11923.

619/ IHRLI Doc. No. 29793-29832 (Banja Luka); IHRLI Doc. No. 11662-11663 (Bosanska Krupa); IHRLI Doc. No. 11916 (Novo Brčko); IHRLI Doc. No. 15123 (Lovas).

620/ See IHRLI Doc. No. 63996 for a list of paramilitary formations involved in the attack. The Boltzmann Institute of Human Rights reported many units participating in the attack and naming the units according to the regions where they were formed.

621/ IHRLI Doc. No. 63995.

622/ Id.

623/ IHRLI Doc. No. 90-91.

Notes (continued)

624/ This incident occurred on 5 September 1992. IHRLI Doc. No. 11925, 57034.

625/ IHRLI Doc. No. 56425 (Keraterm camp); IHRLI Doc. No. 56860 (Stara Gradiška camp).

626/ "Croatian Serbs 'Recruit Italian Fighters,'" The Independent, 21 October 1993, at 12.

627/ Id.

628/ IHRLI Doc. No. 62735.

629/ IHRLI Doc. No. 62736.

630/ IHRLI Doc. No. 62736-62737.

631/ For a discussion of the incidents of rape and sexual assault that occurred during the alleged paramilitary activity in this county, see Annex IX, Rape and Sexual Assault, paragraphs 28-34. For a detailed discussion of the prison camps reported in this county, see also Annex VIII, Prison Camps paragraphs 251-436.

632/ All following population and demographic figures are also from the 1991 census.

633/ David B. Ottaway, "Serbs in Bosnia Demand Aid For Allowing Trucks Through; Proposal Poses Moral Problem: Should U.N. Reward Aggression?", The Washington Post, 27 February 1993.

634/ United States Government Submission, IHRLI Doc. No. 62684.

635/ David B. Ottaway, "Serbs in Bosnia Demand Aid For Allowing Trucks Through; Proposal Poses Moral Problem: Should U.N. Reward Aggression?", The Washington Post, 27 February 1993.

636/ Id.

637/ Carol J. Williams, "Buying A Way Out of Terror: A Bosnian City Controlled By Serbs Offers A View of 'Ethnic Cleansing'. Muslims Must Pay For Their Own Deportation. Those Remaining Are Fired and Need Permission To Walk The Streets", The Los Angeles Times, 25 February 1993.

638/ United States Government Submission, at 94-310, IHRLI Doc. No. 62666-62667.

639/ Jonathan C. Randal, "Bosnian Serbs Increase the Pressure on Muslims, Croats in Banja Luka: Demolition of Two Historic Mosques Perpetuates Climate of Fear", The Washington Post, 11 May 1993.

640/ For a discussion of the incidents of rape and sexual assault that occurred during the alleged paramilitary activity in this county, see Annex IX, Rape and Sexual Assault paragraphs 35-36. For a detailed discussion of the prison camps reported in this county, see Annex VIII Prison Camps,

Notes (continued)

paragraphs 437-461.

641/ UNPROFOR Battle Command Kiseljak, Weekly Summary, December 1992, IHRLI Doc. No. 25661-25667, at 25663.

642/ For a discussion of the incidents of rape and sexual assault that occurred during the alleged paramilitary activity in this county, see Annex IX, Rape and Sexual Assault, paragraphs 37-41. For a discussion of the mass graves allegedly located in this county, see Annex X, Mass Graves paragraphs 25-31. For a detailed discussion of the prison camps reported in this county, see Annex VIII, Prison Camps, paragraphs 462-507.

643/ United States Government Submission, Case No. 092051Z, IHRLI Doc. No. 56826-56829, at 56826.

644/ United States Government Submission, Case No. 012114Z, IHRLI Doc. No. 62827-62289, at 62828.

645/ Andrew Bilski, with Louise Branson, "Terror Among the Ruins: War Takes a Heavy Civilian Toll", Maclean's, 4 May 1992. See also "Testimonies on Killing of Civilians Committed by Serbian Forces Outside a Combat Context in Bosnia-Herzegovina", Council of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms, Ljubljana Slovenia, September 1992, at IX, IHRLI Doc. No. 5190-5211, at 5201.

646/ Chuck Sudetic, "Serbs Attack Muslim Slavs and Croats in Bosnia", New York Times, 4 April 1992.

647/ Andrew Bilski, with Louise Branson, "Terror Among the Ruins; War Takes a Heavy Civilian Toll", Maclean's, 4 May 1992.

648/ Vladimir Mitrić, "Fighting Reportedly Continues in Bijeljina", Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network, 2 April 1992.

649/ "Karadzic, Izetbegovic To Discuss 'Serbian State'", Zagreb Radio Croatia Network, 3 April 1992.

650/ Andrew Bilski, with Louise Branson, "Terror Among the Ruins; War Takes a Heavy Civilian Toll", Maclean's, 4 May 1992.

651/ "Karadzic, Izetbegovic To Discuss 'Serbian State'", Zagreb Radio Croatia Network, 3 April 1992.

652/ Helsinki Watch, "War Crimes in Bosnia-Herzegovina (1992)", at 62-63, IHRLI Doc. No. 277-647, at 348-49.

653/ Chuck Sudetic, "Serbs Attack Muslim Slavs and Croats in Bosnia", New York Times, 4 April 1992.

654/ James L. Graff, "The Butcher of the Balkans: Sly, Intelligent and Ruthless, Slobodan Milosevic is Acting Out a Fantasy of Power in Yugoslavia that So Far Knows No Bounds", Time, 8 June 1992.

655/ Andrew Bilski, with Louise Branson, "Terror Among the Ruins; War Takes a Heavy Civilian Toll", Maclean's, 4 May 1992.

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656/ Id.

657/ Id.

658/ "Karadzic, Izetbegovic To Discuss 'Serbian State'", Zagreb Radio Croatia Network, 3 April 1992.

659/ Andrew Bilski, with Louise Branson, "Terror Among the Ruins; War Takes a Heavy Civilian Toll", Maclean's, May 4, 1992.

660/ United States Government Submission, Case No. 092051Z, IHRLI Doc. No. 56826-56828, at 56827.

661/ United States Government Submission, Case No. 012114Z, IHRLI Doc. No. 62827-62829, at 62828.

662/ United States Government Submission, Case No. 092051Z, IHRLI Doc. No. 56826-56829, at 56828.

663/ Elizabeth Sullivan, "No Peace Plan Will End the Hatreds", The Plain Dealer, 23 May 1993.

664/ Id.

665/ Laura Silber, "Bosnia Partition Plan Unleashes Expulsion Wave", The Financial Times, 11 October 1993. See also an official source, IHRLI Doc. No. 38300-38331, at 38306-38311.

666/ Yigal Chazan, "Serbs' Ethnic Policies Entering Chilling Phase", Civil Libertarians Maintain, The Ottawa Citizen, 18 October 1993.

667/ Jonathan S. Landay, "Bosnian Serbs Scour Land They Conquered", The Christian Science Monitor, 14 October 1993.

668/ Laura Silber, "Bosnia Partition Plan Unleashes Expulsion Wave", The Financial Times, 11 October 1993.

669/ Yigal Chazan, "Serbs' Ethnic Policies Entering Chilling Phase", Civil Libertarians Maintain, The Ottawa Citizen, 18 October 1993.

670/ Id.

671/ For a detailed discussion of the prison camps reported in this county, see Annex XIII Prison Camps, paragraphs 508-563.

672/ For details of the incident at Bileća, see US State Department, Supplemental U.S. Submission to the U.N. Security Council, 12 April 1993, IHRLI Doc. No. 11925 and US State Department, Submission to the U.N. Committee of Experts, IHRLI Doc. No. 57034.

673/ For a detailed discussion of reported camps in this county, see Annex VIII Prison Camps, paragraphs 588-604.

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674/ Croatian Information Centre, Written Statement, 3 November 1993, IHRLI Doc. No. 11662-11664, at 11663.

675/ United States Government, Eighth Submission, 16 June 1993, IHRLI Doc. No. 23444-23478, at 23476.

676/ For a discussion of the incidents of rape and sexual assault that occurred during the alleged paramilitary activity in this county, see Annex IX, Rape and Sexual Assault, paragraphs 47-60. For a discussion of the mass graves allegedly located in this county, see Annex X, paragraphs 32-34. For a detailed discussion of reported camps in this county, see Annex VIII, Prison Camps, paragraphs 605-628.

677/ US State Department, Submission to U.N. Security Council, IHRLI Doc. No. 62684.

678/ The HVO and the HOS joined under a signed agreement in August 23, 1992. The HOS is referred to as the Croatian Defence Forces. See Milan Vego, "The Croatian Forces of Bosnia and Herzegovina", Jane's Intelligence Review, March 1993, IHRLI Doc. No. 26349.

679/ See the following documents for a summary of HOS activities: Serbian Republic Presidency, To Serbs All Over the World, IHRLI Doc. No. 48122-48127 and Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Second Report Submitted to the Commission of Experts, 1993, IHRLI Doc. No. 28401-29019, at 28464-28796.

680/ Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Second Report Submitted to the Commission of Experts, 1993, IHRLI Doc. No. 28401-29019, at 18800-28825 and 28945-29000.

681/ Croatian Information Centre, Weekly Bulletin, No. 4, IHRLI Doc. No. 34962-34966, at 34965.

682/ Milan Vego, "The Croatian Forces of Bosnia and Herzegovina", Jane's Intelligence Review, March 1993, IHRLI Doc. No. 26349A1-26349A63.

683/ For a discussion of the incidents of rape and sexual assault that occurred during the alleged paramilitary activity in this county, see Annex IX, Rape and Sexual Assault, paragraph 64. For a detailed discussion of reported camps in this county, see Annex VIII, Prison Camps, paragraphs 659-693.

684/ Andrija Popović, "MOST for the Destruction of Bosnia-Herzegovina", Slovodna Dalmacija, 26 March 1992.

685/ Id.

686/ Council of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms, Testimonies on Killing of Civilians Committed by Serbian Forces Outside a Combat Context in Bosnia-Herzegovina, September 1992, at VII, IHRLI Doc. No. 5190-5211, at 5198.

687/ United States Government Submission, IHRLI Doc. No. 62684.

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688/ For a discussion of the incidents of rape and sexual assault that occurred during the alleged paramilitary activity in this county, see Annex IX, Rape and Sexual Assault, paragraphs 65-66. For a detailed discussion of reported camps in this county, see Annex VIII, Prison Camps, paragraphs 694-710.

689/ Inga Saffron, "Bosnia-Herzegovina Muslims Fleeing Feared Serbian Military Leader", The Miami Herald, 26 April 1992.

690/ World Campaign "Save Humanity", On War Destructions, Violations of Human Rights and Crimes Against Humanity in Bosnia and Herzegovina with Special Review of Suffering of Civilian Population in Concentration Camps and Prisons, 27 July 1992, Witness Number 18, IHRLI Doc. No. 52111-52135, at 52130; Report of Professor Zdravko Grebo, University of Sarajevo submitted to the Special Rapporteur, 19 November 1992, IHRLI Doc. No. 49183-49201, at 49187.

691/ Id.

692/ "Interior Ministry Updates Security Situation", Zagreb Radio Croatia Network, 18 April 1992.

693/ BiH Ministry of Internal Affairs, Report of Crimes Committed Against Humanity and the International Law and Concentration Camps Formed by the Aggressor in Bosnia and Herzegovina, August 1992, IHRLI Doc. No. 3305-3344, at 3309.

694/ World Campaign "Save Humanity", Report on War Destruction, Violation of Human Rights and Crimes Against Humanity in Bosnia and Herzegovina with Special Review of Suffering of Civilian Population in Concentration Camps and Prisons, 27 July 1992, Witness Number 19, IHRLI Doc. No. 52111-52135, at 52128.

695/ World Campaign "Save Humanity", Report on War Destruction, Violation of Human Rights and Crimes Against Humanity in Bosnia and Herzegovina, June 1992, IHRLI Doc. No. 649-679, at 677.

696/ Id.

697/ United States Government Submission, 1993, IHRLI Doc. No. 56320-57229, at 56909.

698/ For a discussion of the incidents of rape and sexual assault that occurred during the alleged paramilitary activity in this county, see Annex IX, Rape and Sexual Assault, paragraphs 67-76. For a discussion of the mass graves allegedly located in this county, see Annex X, paragraphs 49-63. For a detailed discussion of reported camps in this county, see Annex VIII, Prison Camps, paragraphs 711-865.

699/ First Report of the Danish Helsinki Committee, 23 May 1993, IHRLI Doc. No. 20974-20987.

700/ Helsinki Watch Report, War Crimes in Bosnia-Herzegovina (August 1992), IHRLI Doc. No. 277-647, at 418.

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701/ United States Government Submission, Case No. 072306Z, IHRLI Doc. No. 56615-56618.

702/ US Department of State, 1993, IHRLI Doc. No. 34165-34203, at 34186.

703/ United States Government Submission, Case No. 072306Z, IHRLI Doc. No. 56615-56618, at 56616.

704/ Helsinki Watch, War Crimes in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Volume II (April 1993), IHRLI Doc. No. 9279-9720, at 9488-9501. For further discussion of the alleged activities of Arkan's men at Luka Camp, see Staff Report to the Committee on Foreign Relations United States Senate, "The Ethnic Cleansing of Bosnia-Herzegovina", August 1992, at 15, IHRLI Doc. No. 8997-9038, at 9016.

705/ Danish Helsinki Committee First Submission, May 1993, IHRLI Doc. No. 20974-20987.

706/ IHRLI Doc. No. 39139-39141.

707/ Helsinki Watch, War Crimes in Bosnia-Herzegovina 98-99 (August 1992), IHRLI Doc. No. 277-647, at 384-385.

708/ United States Government Submission, Case No. 261827Z, IHRLI Doc. No. 56789-56790, at 56790. See also BiH Government Information Bureau, Daily Report on Aggression and Terrorism Against Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, 30 June 1992, IHRLI Doc. No. 30210-30213, at 30213.

709/ United States Government Second Submission, 22 October 1992, IHRLI Doc. No. 112-128, at 117.

710/ Helsinki Watch, War Crimes in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Volume II (April 1992), IHRLI Doc. No. 9279-9720, at 9488-9501.

711/ Danish Helsinki Commission First Submission, May 1993, IHRLI Doc. No. 20974-20978; see also Helsinki Watch, War Crimes in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Volume II (April 1992), IHRLI Doc. No. 9279-9720, at 9488-9501.

712/ United States Submission to the United Nations - Brčko, 28 September 1992, IHRLI Doc. No. 11347-11365, at 11363.

713/ Danish Helsinki Committee, First Submission, May 1993, IHRLI Doc. No. 20974-20987.

714/ Helsinki Watch, War Crimes in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Volume II (April 1992), IHRLI Doc. No. 9279-9720, at 9488-9501.

715/ Id. See United States Government Submission, Case No. 94-222, IHRLI Doc. No. 57050, wherein an ex-prisoner describes an incident in which Arkan's men brought a Croatian into a warehouse and asked the prisoners to kill him. When no one volunteered, Arkan's men forced the Croatian to kneel and shot him in the head.

716/ United States Government, Second Submission, 22 October 1992, IHRLI Doc. No. 112-128, at 117.

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717/ United States Submission to the United Nations - Brcko, 28 September 1992, IHRLI Doc. No. 11347-11365, at 11351-11353.

718/ Id. at 11363.

719/ Michael R. Gordon, "U.S. Says 3,000 May Have Died In Serbian-Run Detention Camps", New York Times, 26 September 1992.

720/ John Goshko, "U.S. Aides Cite 'Eyewitness Accounts' In Mass Killing of Muslims by Serbs", Washington Post, 27 September 1992.

721/ George Rodrigue, "Serb Describes War Atrocities: He Says He Was Forced to Rape, Kill", The Dallas Morning News, 17 December 1992. But see George Eykyn, "Interview with a Captain in the Bosnian Serb Army", BBC Breakfast News, 27 September 1993, wherein the captain states that there were 30-40 of Arkan's men at Luka but he did not think they were involved in the killings.

722/ George Rodrigue, "Serb Describes War Atrocities: He Says He Was Forced to Rape, Kill", The Dallas Morning News, 17 December 1992.

723/ United States Submission to the United Nations - Brčko, 28 September 1992, IHRLI Doc. No. 11347-11365, at 11351-11353.

724/ BiH Ministry of Internal Affairs, Report of Crimes Committed Against Humanity and the International Law and of Concentration Camps Formed by the Aggressor in Bosnia and Herzegovina, August 1992, IHRLI Doc. No. 3305-3344, at 3312.

725/ Amnesty International, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Rape and Sexual Abuse by Armed Forces, January 1993, at 10, IHRLI Doc. No. 5511-5527, at 5523.

726/ Amnesty International, Bosnia-Herzegovina: Rape and Sexual Abuse by Armed Forces, January 1993, IHRLI Doc. No. 5511-5527, at 5523.

727/ Roy Gutman of Newsday, "Serbs' Rape of Muslim Women in Bosnia Seen As Tactic of War", The Houston Chronicle, 23 August 1992.

728/ Salih Brkić, "Sarajevo Radio Updates Fighting", Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network, 9 March 1993.

729/ For a detailed discussion of reported camps in this county, see Annex VIII, Prison Camps, paragraphs 902-910.

730/ Peter Maas, "In Bosnia War A Serb Doctor Becomes 'Commander Turtle'", Washington Post, 12 September 1992, available in LEXIS News Library, Curnws File.

731/ Kornjača, which means "turtle" in Serbo-Croatian, claims it is his real name; others say he adopted it as a nom de guerre. Id.

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732/ For a discussion of the incidents of rape and sexual assault during the alleged paramilitary activity in this county, see Annex IX, Rape and Sexual Assault, paragraph 89. For a detailed discussion of reported camps in this county, see Annex VIII, Prison Camps, paragraphs 963-974.

733/ Committee on Foreign Relations, United States Senate, Staff Report: The Ethnic Cleansing of Bosnia-Herzegovina, August 1992, IHRLI Doc. No. 8997-9038, at 9017.

734/ United States Government Submission, IHRLI Doc. No. 62684.

735/ For a discussion of the incidents of rape and sexual assault during the alleged paramilitary activity in this county, see Annex IX, Rape and Sexual Assault, paragraphs 90-100. For a discussion of the mass graves allegedly located in this county, see Annex X, paragraphs 64-67. For a detailed discussion of reported camps in this county, see Annex VIII, Prison Camps, paragraphs 975-1020.

736/ United States Mission, Supplemental United States Submission of Information to the United Nations Security Council in Accordance with Paragraph 5 of Resolution 771 (1992) and Paragraph 1 of Resolution 827 (1993), 16 June 1993, at 34, IHRLI Doc. No. 23444-23478, at 23478.

737/ Amnesty International, Bosnia and Herzegovina Gross Abuses of Basic Human Rights, October 1992, IHRLI Doc. No. 3596-3648, at 3620-3621.

738/ Victim Testimonies submitted by Dr. Christina Doctare, World Health Organization, January 1993, IHRLI Doc. No. 39240A-39265A, at 39242A.

739/ United States Mission, Supplemental United States Submission of Information to the United Nations Security Council in Accordance with Paragraph 5 of Resolution 771 (1992) and Paragraph 1 of Resolution 827 (1993), 16 June 1993, at 34, IHRLI Doc. No. 23444-23478, at 23478.

740/ Victim Testimonies submitted by Dr. Christina Doctare, World Health Organization, January 1993, IHRLI Doc. No. 39240A-39265A, at 39242A.

741/ United States Mission, Supplemental United States Submission of Information to the United Nations Security Council in Accordance with Paragraph 5 of Resolution 771 (1992) and Paragraph 1 of Resolution 827 (1993), 16 June 1993, at 34, IHRLI Doc. No. 23444-23478, at 23478.

742/ For a detailed discussion of reported camps in this county, see Annex VIII, Prison Camps, paragraphs 1021-1034.

743/ Note dated 19 November 1992 from Anne-Marie Thalman, Humanitarian Affairs Officer, Special Procedures Section, Centre for Human Rights, Geneva, Zagreb, Regarding a Report by Zdravko Grebo, IHRLI Doc. No. 49183-49201, at 49197.

744/ United States Government Submission, Case No. 052329Z, IHRLI Doc. No. 56598.

745/ Id.

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746/ For a discussion of the incidents of rape and sexual assault during the alleged paramilitary activity in this county, see Annex IX, Rape and Sexual Assault, paragraphs 102-125. For a discussion of the mass graves allegedly located in this county, see Annex X paragraphs, 68-78. For a detailed discussion of reported camps in this county, see Annex VIII, Prison Camps, paragraphs 1035-1109.

747/ Peter Maass, "In Bosnia War, A Serb Doctor Becomes 'Commander Turtle'", Washington Post, 12 September 1992. According to this report, Commander Turtle, Duško Kornjača, was the boss of portions of eastern BiH, including Foča and Višegrad as of September 1992.

748/ United States Government Submission, 1993, IHRLI Doc. No. 62612-62877, at 62782-62786.

749/ Croatian Information Centre, SIL-418, IHRLI Doc. No. 4641-4645; Tom Post, "A Pattern of Rape", Newsweek, 4 January 1993, at 34, IHRLI Doc. No. 8551.

750/ "Casualties Continue In Foča Area Fighting", Sarajevo Radio Sarajevo Network, 26 April 1992.

751/ International Peace Centre Statement taken on 8 July 1992, IHRLI Doc. No. 11629-11630, at 11629.

752/ Šemso Tucaković, "Serbian Territorials Attack Bosanski Brod", Sarajevo Radio Sarajevo Network, 28 April 1992.

753/ Id.

754/ United States Government Submission, 1993, IHRLI Doc. No. 62612-62877, at 62782-62786.

755/ United States Government Submission, Case No. 186844Z, IHRLI Doc. No. 57040-57041.

756/ For a discussion of the incidents of rape and sexual assault that occurred during the alleged paramilitary activity in this county, see Annex IX, Rape and Sexual Assault paragraphs 126-127. For a discussion of the mass graves allegedly located in this county, see Annex X paragraphs 79-86. For a detailed discussion of reported camps in this county, see Annex VIII, Prison Camps, paragraphs 1116-1153.

757/ United States Submission, Supplemental Submission of Information to the United Nations Security Council, 12 April 1993, IHRLI Doc. No. 11912-11946 at 11941.

758/ BiH State Commission for Gathering Facts on War Crimes, Bulletin - Facts on War Crimes, Number 2, February 1993, IHRLI Doc. No. 13227-13325 at 13302.

759/ Submission from David Hepburn, European Community Monitoring Mission Liaison Officer, UK Mission, to the Commission of Experts, 29 April 1993, IHRLI Doc. No. 20269-20546 at 20271-20285.

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760/ United States Government Submission, Case No. 061833Z, IHRLI Doc. No. 56610-56612.

761/ Submission from David Hepburn, European Community Monitoring Mission Liaison Officer, UK Mission, to the Commission of Experts, 29 April 1993, IHRLI Doc. No. 20269-20546 at 20271-20285.

762/ United States Government Submission, Case No. 061833Z, IHRLI Doc. No. 56610-56612.

763/ Letter from David Hepburn, European Monitoring Mission Representative, 27 January 1993, IHRLI Doc. No. 5889-5895 at 5890-5892.

764/ Id. at IHRLI Doc. No. 5893-5895.

765/ Id. at IHRLI Doc. No. 5890.

766/ Id. at IHRLI Doc. No. 5893-5895.

767/ United States Mission, Supplemental United States Submission of Information to the United Nations Security Council, 16 June 1993, IHRLI Doc. No. 23444-23478 at 23454-23455.

768/ Letter from David Hepburn, European Community Monitoring Mission Representative, 27 January 1993, IHRLI Doc. No. 5899-5895 at 5893-5895.

769/ United States Mission, Supplemental Submission of Information to the United Nations Security Council, 12 April 1993, IHRLI Doc. No. 11912-11949 at 11941.

770/ Submission from David Hepburn, European Community Monitoring Mission Liaison Officer, UK Mission, to the Commission of Experts, 29 April 1993, IHRLI Doc. No. 20269-20546 at 20271-20285.

771/ For a discussion of the incidents of rape and sexual assault during the alleged paramilitary activity in this county, see Annex IX, Rape and Sexual Assault, paragraphs 128-129. For a detailed discussion of reported camps in this county, see Annex VIII, Prison Camps, paragraphs 1157-1161.

772/ For more on these groups' activities, see BiH State Commission for Gathering Facts on War Crimes, Bulletin, Number 3, March 1993, IHRLI Doc. No. 29841-29884, at 29875 and United States Mission, Supplemental Submission of Information to the Commission of Experts, 12 April 1993, IHRLI Doc. No. 11912-11946 at 11921.

773/ United States Mission, Supplemental Submission of Information to the Commission of Experts, 12 April 1993, IHRLI Doc. No. 11912-11946 at 11921.

774/ Id.

775/ For a discussion of the incidents of rape and sexual assault during the alleged paramilitary activity in this county, see Annex IX, Rape and Sexual Assault, paragraphs 131-132.

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776/ Republic of Croatia, Letter dated October 21, 1993 from the Permanent Representative of Croatia to the U.N. Security Council, U.N. Doc. S/26617 (23 October 1993), IHRLI Doc. No. 45732-45770 at 45756.

777/ Id.

778/ Id.

779/ "Sarajevo Radio Updates Fighting", Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network, 4 February 1993.

780/ For a discussion of the incidents of rape and sexual assault the alleged paramilitary activity in this county, see Annex IX, Rape and Sexual Assault, paragraphs 144-147. For a discussion of the mass graves allegedly located in this county, see Annex X, paragraphs 102-104. For a detailed discussion of reported camps in this county, see Annex VIII, Prison Camps, paragraphs 1259-1335.

781/ BiH State Commission for Gathering Facts on War Crimes, Bulletin, Number 3, March 1993, at 14, IHRLI Doc. No. 29841-29883 at 29856.

782/ Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Second Report Submitted to the Commission of Experts (1993), IHRLI Doc. No. 28401-29019 at 28777-28788 and 28792.

783/ United States Government Submission, IHRLI Doc. No. 62613, 62629, 62756-62757, at 62756.

784/ Id. at IHRLI Doc. No. 62613.

785/ Id. at IHRLI Doc. No. 62756.

786/ Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Information on the Aggression of the Republic of Croatia, 27 November 1992, IHRLI Doc. No. 3103-3156 and 5455-5470, at 3129 and 5465.

787/ Mission of the Republic of Croatia, Letter dated October 21, 1993, from the Permanent Representative of Croatia to the United Nations Addressed to the President of the Security Council, U.N. Doc. S/26617 (23 October 1993), IHRLI Doc. No. 45732-45770 at 45763-45764.

788/ Id. at IHRLI Doc. No. 45768.

789/ Id. at IHRLI Doc. No. 45764.

790/ For a discussion of the mass graves allegedly located in this county, see Annex X, paragraphs 112-119.

791/ United States Government Submission, Case No. 251441Z, IHRLI Doc. No. 62681.

Notes (continued)

792/ For a discussion of the incidents of rape and sexual assault during the alleged paramilitary activity in this county, see Annex IX, Rape and Sexual Assault, paragraph 153. For a detailed discussion of reported camps in this county, see Annex VIII, Prison Camps, paragraphs 1378-1395.

793/ See Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Second Report to the Commission of Experts (1993), IHRLI Doc. No. 28401-29019 at 28661.

794/ For a detailed discussion of reported camps in this county, see Annex VIII, Prison Camps, paragraphs 1412-1414.

795/ "Serbian Forces Attack, Destroy Maglaj", Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network, 23 May 1993.

796/ For a discussion of the mass graves allegedly located in this county, see Annex X, paragraphs 120-124. For a detailed discussion of reported camps in this county, see Annex VIII, Prison Camps, paragraphs 1415-1425.

797/ United States Government Submission, Case No. 081811Z, IHRLI Doc. No. 56822-56825.

798/ Amnesty International, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Gross Abuses of Basic Human Rights 19 (October 1992), IHRLI Doc. No. 3596-3648 at 3620.

799/ Id. at IHRLI Doc. No. 3620-3621.

800/ United States Government Submission, IHRLI Doc. No. 62684.

801/ Amnesty International, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Gross Abuses of Basic Human Rights 19 (October 1992), IHRLI Doc. No. 3596-3648 at 3620.

802/ For a discussion of the incidents of rape and sexual assault during the alleged paramilitary activity in this county, see Annex IX, Rape and Sexual Assault, paragraphs 155-167. For a discussion of the mass graves allegedly located in this county, see Annex X, paragraphs 125-144. For a detailed discussion of reported camps in this county, see Annex VIII, Prison Camps, paragraphs 1426-1467.

803/ IHRLI Incident No. 52064.000.

804/ United States Government Submission, Case No. 011707Z, IHRLI Doc. No. 62822.

805/ Id.

806/ Id.

807/ An official source, IHRLI Doc. No. 29751-29770 at 29760.

808/ European Community Monitoring Mission, Report on Possible War Crimes, IHRLI Doc. No. 41151-41170, at 41159.

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809/ United States Government Submission, IHRLI Doc. No. 62612-62877, at 62742 and 62677.

810/ For a discussion of the incidents of rape and sexual assault during the alleged paramilitary activity in this county, see Annex IX, Rape and Sexual Assault, paragraph 168. For a detailed discussion of reported camps in this county, see Annex VIII, Prison Camps, paragraphs 1474-1477.

811/ Ermin Kremic, "Serb Plan To Occupy Bosnia 'Leaked Out'", Zagreb Vjesnik, 3 April 1992.

812/ See the following documents for a summary of HOS origins and activities: Serbian Republic Presidency, To Serbs All Over the World, IHRLI Doc. No. 48122-48127 and Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Second Report Submitted to the Commission of Experts (1993), IHRLI Doc. No. 28401-29019, at 28464-28796.

813/ For a discussion of the mass graves allegedly located in this county, see Annex X, paragraphs 150-151. For a detailed discussion of reported camps in this county, see Annex VIII, Prison Camps, paragraphs 1478-1506.

814/ Statement by Croatian Army Chief of Staff Janko Bobetko, "Army Chief Claims Victory in Zadar Fighting", Zagreb HTV Television, 1 February 1993.

815/ Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Second Report Submitted to the Commission of Experts (1993), IHRLI Doc. No. 28401-29019 at 28800-28812 and 28945-29000.

816/ Inter-Agency Group of the Government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Violations of Human Rights of Women, 6 February 1993, IHRLI Doc. No. 22196-22226 at 22201-22203.

817/ Unidentified Written Statement, IHRLI Doc. No. 18656.

818/ Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Second Report Submitted to the Commission of Experts (1993), IHRLI Doc. No. 28401-29019 at 28952-28953.

819/ Id. IHRLI Doc. No. 28401-29019, at 28817.

820/ For a detailed discussion of reported camps in this county, see Annex VIII, Prison Camps, paragraphs 2378-2521.

821/ "Situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina Analyzed", Oslobodjenje, 29 February 1992.

822/ BiH State Commission for War Crimes, Bulletin, Number 3 (March 1993), IHRLI Doc. No. 29841-29884, at 29868-29870.

823/ For a discussion of the incidents of rape and sexual assault during the alleged paramilitary activity in this county, see Annex IX, Rape and Sexual Assault, paragraphs 172-189. For a discussion of the mass graves allegedly located in this county, see Annex X, paragraphs 196-275. For a

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detailed discussion of reported camps in this county, see Annex VIII, Prison Camps, paragraphs 1530-2255.

824/ Helsinki Watch, War Crimes in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Volume II 42-49 (April 1993), IHRLI Doc. No. 9279-9720, at 9332-9339.

825/ BiH Submission to the United Nations, IHRLI Doc. No. 6584.

826/ Id.; The Society of Threatened Peoples, Ethnic Cleansing - Genocide for Greater Serbia, IHRLI Doc. No. 14422-14502 at 14482.

827/ Helsinki Watch, War Crimes in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Volume II 51-73 (April 1993), IHRLI Doc. No. 9279-9720, at 9351-9363.

828/ United States Government Submission, Case No. 291546Z, IHRLI Doc. No. 56364-56365.

829/ Id.

830/ Id.

831/ Id.

832/ George Rodrigue, "Serbs Systematic in Ridding Region of Muslims, many say: Bosnia Corridor Considered Crucial to 'Republic'", The Dallas Morning News, 27 December 1992.

833/ Helsinki Watch, War Crimes in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Volume II 61-73 (April 1993), IHRLI Doc. No. 9279-9720, at 9351-9363.

834/ George Rodrigue, "Serbs Systematic in Ridding Region of Muslims, many say: Bosnia Corridor Considered Crucial to 'Republic'", The Dallas Morning News, 27 December 1992.

835/ Helsinki Watch, War Crimes in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Volume II 61-73 (April 1993), IHRLI Doc. No. 9279-9720, at 9351-9363.

836/ United States Government Submission, at 94-291, IHRLI Doc. No. 62631-62632.

837/ Id.

838/ George Rodrigue, "Serbs Systematic in Ridding Region of Muslims, many say: Bosnia Corridor Considered Crucial to 'Republic'", The Dallas Morning News, 27 December 1992.

839/ Helsinki Watch, War Crimes in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Volume II 61-73 (April 1993), IHRLI Doc. No. 9279-9720, at 9351-9363.

840/ George Rodrigue, "Serbs Systematic in Ridding Region of Muslims, many say: Bosnia Corridor Considered Crucial to 'Republic'", The Dallas Morning News, 27 December 1992.

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- 841/ IHRLI Incident No. 44126.000.
- 842/ US State Department, 1993, IHRLI Doc. No. 56320-57229 at 56328-56329.
- 843/ Id.
- 844/ United States Government Submission, Case No. 051459Z, IHRLI Doc. No. 56804-56805.
- 845/ Id.
- 846/ United States Government Submission, Case No. 051905Z, IHRLI Doc. No. 56912.
- 847/ Id.
- 848/ All information relating to the activities of the Zoran Karlica at Bišćani are from the Croatian Information Centre, Genocide: Ethnic Cleansing in Northwestern Bosnia (Ante Beljo ed., 1993), IHRLI Doc. No. 39889-40025, at 39953.
- 849/ "Zoka's" description is available, but not disclosed. Id.
- 850/ The witness does not indicate that the Zoran Karlica members were running either of these camps, just that the prisoners were brought there by them. Id.
- 851/ All incidents connected with the Rambos are described by the Croatian Information Centre, Genocide: Ethnic Cleansing in Northwestern Bosnia (Ante Beljo ed., 1993), IHRLI Doc. No. 39889-40025, at 39953.
- 852/ According to US Government documents, there is also a paramilitary commander named Mišo Radulović from Vukovar who led an attack on Kozarac, BiH, 23 May 1992. IHRLI Doc. No. 62693. The report of these men comes from the US State Department, 1993, IHRLI Doc. No. 56320-57229, at 56883.
- 853/ US Department of State, 1993, IHRLI Doc. No. 56320-57229, at 56883.
- 854/ For a discussion of the incidents of rape and sexual assault the alleged paramilitary activity in this county, see Annex IX, Rape and Sexual Assault, paragraphs 190-199. For a discussion of the mass graves allegedly located in this county, see Annex X, paragraphs 276-279. For a detailed discussion of reported camps in this county, see Annex VIII, Prison Camps, paragraphs 2276-2328.
- 855/ Statement of Berina Hurem, dated 19 August 1992 at Sarajevo.
- 856/ BiH Ministry of Internal Affairs, Report of Crimes Committed Against Humanity and the International Law and of Concentration Camps Formed by the Aggressor in Bosnia and Herzegovina, August 1992, IHRLI Doc. No. 3305-3344, at 3316.

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857/ United Nations Centre for Human Rights, Grebo Report, 19 November 1992, IHRLI Doc. No. 5492-5510, at 5502-5503..

858/ Statement of [Witness], dated 15 August 1992 at Sarajevo.

859/ Statement of [Witness], dated 19 August 1992 at Sarajevo.

860/ Statement of [Witness], dated 15 August 1992 at Sarajevo.

861/ BiH Ministry of Internal Affairs, Report of Crimes Committed Against Humanity and the International Law and of Concentration Camps Formed by the Aggressor in Bosnia and Herzegovina, August 1992, IHRLI Doc. No. 3305-3344, at 3317.

862/ Statement of [Witness], dated 15 August 1992 at Sarajevo.

863/ BiH State Commission on Gathering Facts on War Crimes, Testimony Number 10/04-55, IHRLI Doc. No. 25225-25234, at 25227.

864/ Transcript of Radio Broadcast, "All Things Considered, U.N. Relief Convoy Attempts Trek to Bosnian Village", National Public Radio, 16 January 1993.

865/ BiH State Commission for Gathering Facts on War Crimes, Bulletin, Number 3, March 1993, IHRLI Doc. No. 29841-29884, at 29866-29867.

866/ Id.

867/ Vladimir Nikolić, "Seselj Calls For Unification of 'Serbian Countries'", Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network, 1 April 1993.

868/ For a detailed discussion of reported camps in this county, see Annex VIII, Prison Camps, paragraphs 2336-2377.

869/ US Department of State, 1993, IHRLI Doc. No. 56320-56816 at 56632-56633.

870/ Id.

871/ For a discussion of the incidents of rape and sexual assault during the alleged paramilitary activity in this county, see Annex IX, Rape and Sexual Assault, paragraphs 201-217. For a discussion of the mass graves allegedly located in this county, see Annex X, paragraphs 288-296. For a detailed discussion of reported camps in this county, see Annex VIII, Prison Camps, paragraphs 2378-2521.

872/ Slavko Rako, "Village Barricades Protest Sarajevo Accord", Zagreb Radio Croatia Network, 3 March 1992.

873/ Statement of [Witness], dated 24 July 1992 at Sarajevo.

874/ Statement of [Witness], dated 19 April 1993.

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- 875/ "Irregulars From Serbia, Croatia Detailed", Slobodna Dalmacija, 27 April 1992.
- 876/ Id.
- 877/ "Irregulars From Serbia, Croatia Detailed", HINA Report, 27 April 1992.
- 878/ Blaine Harden, "Bosnia Bleeds Under Serb 'Purification'", Washington Post, 23 June 1992.
- 879/ "Serbs Accused of 'Definitive Ethnic Cleansing'", Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network, 30 September 1992.
- 880/ Rijaset Islamske Zajednice, 2 April 1993, IHRLI Doc. No. 9721-9786, at 9761.
- 881/ New York Times, 28 November 1992, IHRLI Doc. No. 8513-8514.
- 882/ John F. Burns, "A Killer's Tale--A Special Report: A Serbian Fighter's Path of Brutality", New York Times, 27 November 1992.
- 883/ John F. Burns, "Bosnia War Crime Trial Hears Serb's Confession", New York Times, 14 March 1993.
- 884/ John F. Burns, "A Killer's Tale--A Special Report: A Serbian Fighter's Path of Brutality", New York Times, 27 November 1992.
- 885/ George Rodrigue, "Politics of Rape: Brutal, Degrading Act a Powerful Weapon in Violence that Rends Former Yugoslavia", New York Times, 5 May 1993.
- 886/ "Serbs Try To Conceal Evidence of Vogosca Camp", Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network, 10 August 1992.
- 887/ Statement of [Witness] at Vogošca.
- 888/ See Republic of Serbia, Letter from the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Serbian Representative to the U.N. Commission of Experts, 1 December 1992, IHRLI Doc. No. 11521-11643, at 11540.
- 889/ Id.
- 890/ Id.
- 891/ Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Second Report Submitted to the Commission of Experts, 1993, IHRLI Doc. 28401-29019, at 28661.
- 892/ Serbian Council of Information Centre, Rape and Sexual Abuse of Serb Women, Men and Children in Areas Controlled by Croatian and Moslem Armed Formations in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Croatia, 1991-1993 (15 January 1993), IHRLI Doc. No. 46196.

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893/ Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Information on the Aggression of the Republic of Croatia (27 November 1992), IHRLI Doc. No. 3140-3147, at 3147.

894/ For a discussion of the incidents of rape and sexual assault during the alleged paramilitary activity in this county, see Annex IX, Rape and Sexual Assault, paragraph 22. For a discussion of the mass graves allegedly located in this county, see Annex X, paragraphs 304-305. For a detailed discussion of reported camps in this county, see Annex VIII, Prison Camps, paragraphs 2543-2545.

895/ United States Government Submission, Case No. 042054Z, IHRLI Doc. No. 56909.

896/ BiH State Commission for Gathering Facts on War Crimes, Victim Testimony No. 92/SS, IHRLI Doc. No. 30151-30152; see also BiH State Commission for Gathering Facts on War Crimes, Victim Testimony No. 4/92 SS, IHRLI Doc. No. 30254-30257, at 30256.

897/ For a discussion of the incidents of rape and sexual assault during the alleged paramilitary activity in this county, see Annex IX, Rape and Sexual Assault, paragraphs 224-227. For a detailed discussion of reported camps in this county, see Annex VIII, Prison Camps, paragraphs 2555-2575.

898/ Zdravko Grebo, Report sent to Tadeusz Mazowiecki, 19 November 1992, IHRLI Doc. No. 49183-49201, at 49197.

899/ For a discussion of the incidents of rape and sexual assault during the alleged paramilitary activity in this county, see Annex IX, Rape and Sexual Assault, paragraph 229. For a discussion of the mass graves allegedly located in this county, see Annex X, paragraphs 312-313. For a detailed discussion of reported camps in this county, see Annex VIII, Prison Camps, paragraphs 2583-2606.

900/ Serbian Council Information Centre, Rape and Sexual Abuse of Serb Women and Children, 15 January 1993, IHRLI Doc. No. 46176-46208, at 46203.

901/ Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Second Report submitted to the Commission of Experts, 1993, IHRLI Doc. No. 28401-29019, at 28592.

902/ For a discussion of the incidents of rape and sexual assault during the alleged paramilitary activity in this county, see Annex IX, Rape and Sexual Assault, paragraphs 230-231. For a discussion of the mass graves allegedly located in this county, see Annex X, paragraphs 314-320. For a detailed discussion of reported camps in this county, see Annex VIII, Prison Camps, paragraphs 2607-2612.

903/ UNPROFOR, Weekly Summary, April 1993, IHRLI Doc. No. 25522-25527, at 25523.

904/ US Department of State, 1993, IHRLI Doc. No. 62612-62877, at 62620.

905/ For a discussion of the incidents of rape and sexual assault during the alleged paramilitary activity in this county, see Annex IX, Rape and Sexual Assault, paragraphs 234-241. For a detailed discussion of reported

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915/ All details pertaining to Momir Savić's group come from BiH, Statement of [Witness], Case File 353/1992 (5 July 1992), IHRLI Doc. No. 34732-34759, at 34734.

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919/ All of the details of Popović activity come from the following report: Zdravko Grebo, Report sent to Tadeusz Mazowiecki, 19 November 1992, IHRLI Doc. No. 49183-49201, at 49192-49193.

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922/ Zdravko Grebo, Report sent to Tadeusz Mazowiecki, 19 November 1992, IHRLI Doc. No. 49183-49201, at 49192-49193.

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946/ United States Government Submission, Case No. 311358Z, IHRLI Doc. No. 57024.

947/ United States Government Submission, Case No. 112229Z, IHRLI Doc. No. 56639-56642, at 56640.

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950/ United States Government Submission, Case No. 131355Z, IHRLI Doc. No. 56516.

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962/ Austrian Government Submission, 3 February 1993, IHRLI Doc. No. 5814-5832, at 5819-5824.

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1026/ Submission by the Society of Croatian Professional Women, 10 March 1993, IHRLI Doc. No. 6150-6537, at 6532-6537.

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1040/ "Serbian Radical Leader Explains Use of Četniks", Tanjug, 8 May 1991. According to this press report Šešelj claimed to have sent Četnik units, well-armed and well-dressed for terrorist activities, to places in the territories of Croatia, BiH, and Macedonia to defend Serbians.

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- 1048/ Roy Gutman, "Murders Keep Hate Alive", Newsday, 19 May 1991, at 27; "Serbian Radical Leader Explains Use of Četniks", Tanjug, 8 May 1991.
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- 1051/ Roy Gutman, "Murders Keep Hate Alive", Newsday, 19 May 1991, at 27. In an interview Barret responded to the question of whether he killed any of the policemen with, "I don't know. But I hope someone died." Id.
- 1052/ Michael Montgomery, "Ethnic Discord: World War II Lives on for Militant Serb Četniks: The Disenchanted are Breathing New Life Into an Old movement in Strife-Torn Yugoslavia", Los Angeles Times, 9 July 1991, at 1.
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- 1055/ Blaine Harden, "Serbs Accused of '91 Croatian Massacre: U.S. Doctors Believe 200 Wounded Men Were Taken from Hospital and Shot", Washington Post, 26 January 1993.
- 1056/ Chuck Sudetic, "U.N. Investigating Croats' Grave Site", New York Times, 29 November 1992.
- 1057/ Carol J. Williams, "In Ruins of Vukovar, Serbs Make Plans for New Regime", Los Angeles Times, 28 November 1991.
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1079/ Krunoslava Banić, "Questions on Vukovar Crimes Remain", Zagreb Novi Vjesnik, 28 October 1992.

1080/ Ministry of Health of the Republic of Croatia, Testimony Identified as MG-8, IHRLI Doc. No. 4975.

1081/ Croatian Mission, Report on Mass Graves in the UNPROFOR Sector East, Permanent Representative of Croatia to the United Nations, IHRLI Doc. No. 4933-4985, at 4977.

1082/ Republic of Croatia, Report Submitted by the Republic of Croatia to the U.N. Security Council, War Crimes and Grave Breaches of Geneva Conventions Committed by Serbian Paramilitary Forces in United Nations Protected Areas (UNPA's) in the Republic of Croatia, 6 September 1993, IHRLI Doc. No. 42883-42918, at 42896-42901.

1083/ Amnesty International Report, March 1992, IHRLI Doc. No. 15123. The report cites the date of the killings as 17 October 1992. It is unclear whether the report date or the incident date is a misprint. However, the report goes on to cite additional incidents which occurred in October of 1991. See also Croatian Information Centre, Weekly Bulletin, Number 1, 4 (9 August 1993), IHRLI Doc. No. 32775-32782, at 32780.

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