

Notes (continued)

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 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.

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

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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.

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",

Notes (continued)

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).

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

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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.

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

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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.

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.

Notes (continued)

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.

128/ Arkan was reported to have conducted operations in the BiH counties of: Banja Luka, Bijeljina, Bosanska Rača (county unknown), Bosanski Šamac, Bratunac, Brčko, Doboj, Foča, Konjic, Mostar, Odžak, Pale, Prijedor, Rogatica, Sarajevo, Srebrenica, Teslić, Veljina (county unknown), Višegrad, and Zvornik.

129/ "Četniks Reportedly Ambush Two Police Patrols", Zagreb Domestic Service, 2 April 1991.

130/ Davis C, . Isby, "Yugoslavia 1991 - Forces In Conflict", 3 Jane's Intelligence Review 394 (1991).

131/ 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).

132/ Salih Zvizdić, "Arkan's Life, Crimes, Prison Release Viewed", Vjesnik, 12 April 1992.

133/ Id.

134/ Šćepan Vuković, "Arkan Interviewed on Life War Arrest", Pobjeda, 13 January 1992.

135/ European Community Monitoring Mission, Information Section Briefing -Arkan, File 1002, IHRLI Doc. No. 25141-25142.

136/ Id.

137/ Id.

138/ Internal Commission of Experts' Memo to Chairman Cherif Bassiouni from Anton Kempnaars, Assistant to the Commission, 7 December 1993.

139/ 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).

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140/ See section on Vojislav Šešelj below for a more detailed discussion.

141/ 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.

142/ 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.

143/ Jonathan S. Linday, "Belgrade Regime Tied to Alleged War Crimes", The Christian Science Monitor, 26 November 1993, at 6.

144/ Salih Zvizdić, "Arkan's Life, Crimes, Prison Release Viewed", Vjesnik, 12 April 1992.

145/ George Rodrigue, "Serbs Systematic in Ridding Region of Muslims, Many Say: Bosnia Corridor Considered Crucial to `Republic'", The Dallas Morning News, 27 December 1992.

146/ C. D. Popović, "Željko Ražnjatović Arkan Denies Rumors about his Leaving the Front in the Republic Serbian Krajina", Novosti, 23 February 1993.

147/ Id.

148/ 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.

149/ See the discussion of Šešelj's personal history below for a more detailed account of his political activities.

150/ 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.

151/ See the section on the personal history of Arkan for a more detailed discussion of his political career.

152/ 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.

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153/ 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.

154/ UNPROFOR Local Press Summary--Belgrade, 29 September 1993, IHRLI Doc. No. 42678-42681 at 42680.

155/ Chuck Sudetic, "Rival Serbs are Admitting Bosnia-Croatia Atrocities", The New York Times, 13 November 1993, at 6.

156/ Id.

157/ 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.

158/ Arkan reportedly led the attacks on Bijeljina, Brčko, and Zvornik despite the presence of the JNA and other Serb forces.

159/ Arkan has stated that his troops were under the command of the JNA in the Vukovar operation.

160/ 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.

161/ 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.

162/ 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.

163/ 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, Doboj, Foča, Gacko, Konjic, Kupres, Mostar, Nevesinje, Odžak, Prijedor, Rogatica, Srebrenica, Teslić, Tuzla, Višegrad, and Zvornik in BiH and Benkovac, Knin, Osijek, and Vukovar in Croatia.

164/ Looting was reported in the following counties: Banja Luka, Bratunac, Brčko, Rogatica, Srebrenica, Teslić, and Zvornik in BiH and Vukovar in Croatia.

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165/ 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?"

166/ Prison camps were reported in the following counties in which Seselj and Arkan were operating: Banja Luka, Bijeljina, Bosanski Šamac, Bratunac, Brčko, Derвента, 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.

167/ 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.

168/ 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.

169/ 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.

170/ 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.

171/ 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.

172/ David Begoun, "Potential Presidential Challenger Serbia's Fastest-Rising Nationalist Leader", The San Francisco Chronicle, 7 June 1993, at A12.

173/ Id.

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174/ 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; "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.

176/ 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.

177/ 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.

178/ 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.

179/ Id.

180/ Id.

181/ "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.

182/ "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.

183/ Bojan Veselinović, "Crowds Demand Early Multiparty Serbian Elections", Ljubljana, 13 June 1990.

Notes (continued)

184/ 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.

185/ "Serbian Radical Party Leader Calls for Calm", Belgrade Tanjug, 12 March 1991.

186/ Nenad Lj. Stefanović, "Claimant to Leadership", Vreme, 28 December 1992.

187/ Id.

188/ Id. "Šešelj himself was mainly described and perceived in personal terms as a grotesque figure and a disappointed man." Id.

189/ 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.

190/ Stana Ristic, "The Radicals Are on the Offensive", Politika, 22 April 1991.

191/ 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:

192/ "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. "

193/ Id.

194/ 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.

195/ Blaine Harden, "Old Worlds, New Maps; Myth and Memory in Yugoslavia: A House Divided Risks Civil War", The Washington Post, 23 June,

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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.

196/ 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 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.

197/ 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:

198/ "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. "

199/ Id.

200/ "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.

201/ 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.

202/ Šešelj is not a typical opposition leader. Šešelj, discussing the SRS relation with Milošević's Serbian Democratic Party (SPS), stated before the election:

203/ "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

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have inclined in our direction. "

204/ Nenad Lj. Stefanović, "Claimant to Leadership", Vreme, 28 December 1992.

205/ 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 June 1992.

206/ 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.

207/ 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.

208/ 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.

209/ "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.

210/ 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

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expulsion from the United Nations later in September, Šešelj stated:

211/ "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. "

212/ ". . . 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. "

213/ "Draskovic, Seselj Comment on UN Decision", Belgrade RTB Television Network, 23 September 1992.

214/ In a speech in parliament before the successful no-confidence vote, Šešelj called Panić a traitor and foreign agent guilty of embezzlement and 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.

215/ Ray Moseley, "Serb Leader Crowding out his Operation", Chicago Tribune, 1 February 1993, at 1.

216/ 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.

217/ "Bosnian Serbs Face Aid Cutoff: Yugoslavia, Serbia Angered by Rejection of Peace Plan", Star Tribune, 7 May 1993, at 1A.

218/ 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.

219/ Linnet Myers, "Bickering Serbs Talk Peace as War Rages", Chicago Tribune, 15 May 1993, at 1.

220/ Id.

221/ 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.

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222/ David Begoun, "Serbia Coalition Shows Signs of Coming Apart, Milosevic'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.

223/ James Rupert, "Yugoslav President Removed in Serb Nationalist Showdown", The Washington Post, 1 June 1993, at A12.

224/ 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.

225/ John Darnton, "Belgrade Riots Follow President's Ouster", The New York Times, 2 June 1993, at A10.

226/ 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.

227/ Linnet Myers, "Yugoslavia Asks Ban on Moderates", Chicago Tribune, 4 June 1993, at 7.

228/ John Darnton, "Serbians Veer Closer to Their Extreme Edge", The New York Times, 6 June 1993, at 5.

229/ 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.

230/ Chuck Sudetic, "Rival Serbs Are Admitting Bosnia-Croatia Atrocities", The New York Times, 13 November 1993, at 6.

231/ 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.

232/ Chuck Sudetic, "Rival Serbs are Admitting Bosnia-Croatia Atrocities", The New York Times, 13 November 1993, at 6.

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233/ Stan Markotich, "Serbia", RFE/RL Research Report, 22 April 1994, at 97, citing Radio Serbia, 5 and 6 November 1993.

234/ Jonathan S. Landay, "Belgrade Regime Tied to Alleged War Crimes", The Christian Science Monitor, 26 November 1993, at 6.

235/ Id.

236/ 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.

237/ Id.

238/ Chuck Sudetic, "Rival Serbs are Admitting Bosnia-Croatia Atrocities", The New York Times, 13 November 1993, at 6.

239/ Id.

240/ Jonathan S. Linday, "Belgrade Regime Tied to Alleged War Crimes", The Christian Science Monitor, 26 November 1993, at 6.

241/ 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.

242/ 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.

243/ "SPS Spokesman on Party's 'Convincing Victory'", Belgrade Radio, 22 December 1993.

244/ Id.

245/ 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:

246/ "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. "

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247/ 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.

248/ "Nearly 70, 000 Illegal Fighters at Large in Serbia", Agence France Presse, 7 October 1993.

249/ 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.

250/ 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.

251/ Id.

252/ Stephen Engleberg, "Serbia Sending Supplies to Compatriots in Croatia", The New York Times, 27 July 1991, at 3.

253/ The White Eagles is the militant youth organization within the Četnik organization. V. K. "Does Neofascism 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.

254/ Dejan Anastasijević, "Eagles with Clipped Wings", Vreme, 22 November 1993.

255/ Id.

256/ European Community Monitoring Mission Memo on the White Eagles, 1 July 1993, IHRLI Doc. No. 25126.

257/ Id.

258/ V. K. , M. M. , & G. K. , "Does Neofascism Threaten Yugoslavia?", Borba, 6 June 1991. In an interview Dragoslav Bokan said of the White Eagles:

259/ "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

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boys whose families were killed by Ustaši during the last war. I am one of them. They arrived and we sent them. "

260/ Dejan Anastasijević, "Eagles with Clipped Wings", Vreme, 22 November 1993.

261/ 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.

262/ 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.

263/ After surviving several assassination attempts, Bokan split with the SPO 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:

264/ "No one in my vicinity ever raped anybody, and if he did, he had to pay for it dearly "

265/ "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. "

266/ ". . . 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. "

267/ Id.

268/ Stephen Engleberg, "Serbia Sending Supplies to Compatriots in

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Croatia", The New York Times, 27 July 1991, at 1.

269/ V. K. , "Does Neofacism Threaten Yugoslavia?", Borba, 6 June 1991.

270/ 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.

271/ Id.

272/ Id.

273/ 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.

274/ 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.

275/ Blaine Harden, "Old Hatreds, New Allies Spur Serbs: Guerrilla Group Battling Croats", The Washington Post, 28 July 1991, at A1.

276/ Dada Vujasinović, "Biographic Data on Serbian Fighter Arkan", Duga, 1 February 1993.

277/ Id.

278/ 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 encounters 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.

279/ Id.

280/ "Serbian Hit Man", The Washington Post, 9 January 1993, at A20.

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281/ Chuck Sudetic, A Shady Militia Chief Arouses Serbs, 20 December 1992, at 12.

282/ 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.

283/ 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:

284/ "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. "

285/ Dada Vujasinović, "Biographic Data on Serbian Fighter Arkan", Duga, 1 February 1993.

286/ 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. ; 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.

287/ Chuck Sudetic, "A Shady Militia Chief Arouses Serbs", The New York Times, 20 December 1992, at 12.

288/ Id.

289/ Id.

290/ 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

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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.

291/ 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.

292/ Dada Vujasinović, "Biographic Data on Serbian Fighter Arkan", Duga, 2 February 1993.

293/ David Firestone, "Safety in Parliament; U. S. Calls Serbian Politician Vicious Killer", Newsday, 1 January 1993, at 4.

294/ Id.

295/ 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.

296/ 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:

297/ "'Do you know who I am? Do you know how many people I have killed for the fatherland?' Arkan asked. "

298/ "'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. "

299/ Id.

300/ Salih Zvizdić, "Arkan's Life, Crimes, Prison Release Viewed", Vjesnik, 12 April 1992.

301/ Id.

302/ 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.

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303/ "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.

304/ 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.

305/ Id.

306/ "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.

307/ 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.

308/ "World News Tonight with Peter Jennings", American Broadcasting Corporation, 7 June 1993. The Serbian Orthodox Church often blesses these boxing matches. Id.

309/ Id. Arkan allegedly received as much as \$1, 000 per month from each business he protected. Id.

310/ Id.

311/ 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

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in Belgrade's main Terazije Square, police withdrew moments before members of Knežević's gang began beating up the student protestors. Id.

312/ 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.

313/ Thom Shanker, "Yugoslav Vote Crucial to Balkans", Chicago Tribune, 20 December 1992, at 3.

314/ Jonathan Kaufman, "Kosovo Offers Another Flashpoint in the Complexity of Yugoslavia", The Boston Globe, 28 December 1992, at 1.

315/ Id.

316/ Id.

317/ "Arkan Reportedly Purchases Bozhur Hotel", Tirana, 24 February 1993.

318/ Thom Shanker, "Yugoslav Vote Crucial to Balkans", Chicago Tribune, 20 December 1992, at 3.

319/ Jonathan Kaufman, "Kosovo Offers Another Flashpoint in the Complexity of Yugoslavia", The Boston Globe, 28 December 1992, at 1.

320/ "Arkan Reportedly Purchases Bozhur Hotel", ATA, 24 February 1993.

321/ "Serbian Radical Party Proposes Vote of No-confidence in Serbian Government", Tanjug, 22 September 1993.

322/ Id.

323/ Chuck Sudetic, "Rival Serbs Are Admitting Bosnia-Croatia Atrocities", The New York Times, 13 November 1993, at 6.

324/ Miloš Vasić, "The December Vote: Slobodan and Arkan's Flying Circus", War Report, December 1993.

325/ 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.

326/ "Nationalist Leads Serb Campaign", Chicago Tribune, 19 December 1993, at 14.

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327/ 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.

328/ Stan Markotich, "Serbia", RFE/RL Research Report, 22 April 1994, at 98.

329/ "Nationalist Leads Serb Campaign", Chicago Tribune, 19 December 1993, at 14.

330/ 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.

331/ Šćepan Vuković, "Arkan Interviewed on Life, War, Arrest", Pobjeda, 13 January 1992.

332/ Arkan has said that: "Those who join [the Tigers] have to lock up any politics in the lockers in their rooms." Id.

333/ European Community Monitoring Mission, Information Section Briefing -Arkan, File 1002, IHRLI Doc. No. 25141-25142.

334/ Roy Gutman, "Envoy Talks Tough: Calls Serb Destruction of City War Crime, but also Warns Croats", Newsday, 18 July 1993.

335/ Internal Commission of Experts Memo to Chairman Cherif Bassiouni from Anton Kempnaars, Assistant to the Commission, 7 December 1993.

336/ Id.

337/ "Arkan: No Longer any need for "Tigers" to be Concentrated in Erdut", BBC, BBC Summary of World Broadcasts, 4 April 1994.

338/ European Community Monitoring Mission, Information Section Briefing -Arkan, File 1002, IHRLI Doc. No. 25141-25142.

339/ Id.

340/ Id.

341/ Internal Commission of Experts Memo to Chairman Cherif Bassiouni from Anton Kempnaars, Assistant to the Commission, 7 December 1993.

342/ Id.

343/ All of the footnotes in section III of this report, entitled

Notes (continued)

"Other Identified Paramilitary Groups, " are cites to the sources contained in the text of this section.

344/ IHRLI Doc. No. 45763-45764.

345/ 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".

346/ IHRLI Doc. No. 3129 and 5465. The report lists the villages which were attacked, namely, Zaslavlje, Zabrdje, Turija, Jošanica and Repovica.

347/ 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.

348/ IHRLI Doc. No. 45763.

349/ IHRLI Doc. No. 62629.

350/ IHRLI Doc. No. 62756.

351/ 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.

352/ IHRLI Doc. No. 62613.

353/ IHRLI Doc. No. 62756.

354/ IHRLI Doc. No. 45756.

355/ IHRLI Doc. No. 2804.

356/ IHRLI Doc. No. 45764.

357/ Id.

358/ IHRLI Doc. No. 45768.

359/ IHRLI Doc. No. 62620

360/ IHRLI Doc. No. 51640.

Notes (continued)

361/ IHRLI Doc. No. 45752.

362/ 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.

363/ 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.

364/ IHRLI Doc. No. 45752.

365/ 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.

366/ IHRLI Doc. No. 48029 and 48030.

367/ IHRLI Doc. No. 14581

368/ IHRLI Doc. No. 35750.

369/ IHRLI Doc. No. 28952

370/ 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 Odzak, allegedly procured arms and matériel in Vinkovci, Croatia.

371/ IHRLI Doc. No. 25663.

372/ IHRLI Doc. No. 3129 and 5465. The villages attacked were Zaslavlje, Zabrdje, Turija, Jošanica, and Repovica.

373/ IHRLI Doc. No. 35750

374/ IHRLI Doc. No. 51657

375/ 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.

376/ IHRLI Doc. No. 46203.

377/ IHRLI Doc. No. 22201-22203.

Notes (continued)

378/ Id.

379/ See IHRLI Doc. Nos. 's 46072-56106 (containing witness statements that refer consistently to attacking groups as "Croatian National Guardsmen").

380/ IHRLI Doc. No. 46078.

381/ 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).

382/ IHRLI Doc. No. 56202.

383/ Id.

384/ See IHRLI Doc. No. 56202.

385/ Id.

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

387/ IHRLI Doc. No. 56202.

388/ Mihajlo Crnobrnja, The Yugoslav Drama 170 (1994).

389/ 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.

390/ 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.

391/ IHRLI Doc. No. 48295.

392/ Id.

393/ 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).

394/ IHRLI Doc. No. 28988.

395/ 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).

Notes (continued)

396/ The Horses of Fire reportedly operated at the following locations: Ristani, Bogodol, Raška Gora, Dobrić, Biograci, Medjine, Vihovići, Slipčiči, Bačevići, Potoci, Salakovac, Vrapčici (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. IRHLI Doc. No. 28602-28603.

- 397/ IHRLI Doc. No. 28539.
- 398/ IHRLI Doc. No. 28965-28967.
- 399/ IHRLI Doc. No. 12613-12614.
- 400/ IHRLI Doc. No. 28988.
- 401/ Id. , IHRLI Doc. No. 28997-289001.
- 402/ IHRLI Doc. No. 28997-29001.
- 403/ IHRLI Doc. No. 12613-12164.
- 404/ IHRLI Docs. No. 28958-28962, 28965-28967, 28987-28992, 28602, 28603, 28708-28710.
- 405/ IHRLI Doc. No. 28708-28710.
- 406/ IHRLI Doc. No. 12613-12614.
- 407/ IHRLI Doc. No. 28958-28962.
- 408/ IHRLI Docs. No. 28539, 28602, 28644, 28704-28705, 28708-28710, 28958-28967, 28987-28992, 28997-29001, 29007, 29010-29014, 11932, 36606, 12613-12614.
- 409/ IHRLI Doc. No. 28704-28705.
- 410/ IHRLI Doc. No. 28644.
- 411/ IHRLI Doc. No. 11932.
- 412/ IHRLI Doc. No. 28966.
- 413/ IHRLI Doc. No. 28965-28967.
- 414/ IRHLI Doc. No. 28704-28705.

Notes (continued)

- 415/ Id.
- 416/ IHRLI Doc. No. 28958-28962.
- 417/ IHRLI Doc. No. 28539.
- 418/ Christopher Bellamy, "Bosnian Serbs Adjust to New Order", The Independent, 1 April 1994, at 10, available in LEXIS, News Library, Curnws File.
- 419/ Catherine Toups, "Bosnia-Herzegovina: Preparing for the Day of Reckoning", Inter Press Service, 15 February 1994, available in LEXIS, News Library, Curnws File.
- 420/ Id.
- 421/ Id.
- 422/ James O. Jackson, "No Rush to Judgement", Time, 27 June 1994, at 48-51.
- 423/ "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.
- 424/ Christopher Bellamy, "Bosnian Serbs Adjust to New Order", The Independent, 1 April 1994, at 10, available in LEXIS, News Library, Curnws File.
- 425/ Id.
- 426/ IHRLI Doc. No. 25523.
- 427/ IHRLI Doc. No. 25523.
- 428/ IHRLI Doc. No. 55366.
- 429/ 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.
- 430/ IHRLI Doc. No. 41159.
- 431/ IHRLI Doc. No. 45351.
- 432/ Id. For UNPROFOR press release, see IHRLI Doc. No. 43929-43930.

Notes (continued)

- 433/ IHRLI Doc. No. 45351.
- 434/ IHRLI Doc. No. 19947C.
- 435/ IHRLI Doc. No. 34965.
- 436/ Id.
- 437/ IHRLI Doc. No. 2804.
- 438/ Id.
- 439/ IHRLI Doc. No. 2805.
- 440/ Id.
- 441/ Id.
- 442/ Id.
- 443/ Id.
- 444/ Id.
- 445/ IHRLI Doc. No. 2806.
- 446/ Id.
- 447/ Id.
- 448/ Id.
- 449/ IHRLI Doc. No. 2807.
- 450/ IHRLI Doc. No. 2804. This brigade is also referred to as simply the XII Slavonian Brigade. IHRLI Doc. No. 2810.
- 451/ Id. See IHRLI summary sheet for Unit of Daruvar.
- 452/ IHRLI Doc. No. 2807. See IHRLI summary sheet for the Bilogorian Odred.
- 453/ IHRLI Doc. No. 2810.
- 454/ IHRLI Doc. No. 2926.
- 455/ Id.

Notes (continued)

456/ Id.

457/ Id.

458/ Id.

459/ Id.

460/ Id.

461/ Id.

462/ IHRLI Doc. No. 2927.

463/ 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.

464/ IHRLI Doc. No. 39141.

465/ Id.

466/ IHRLI Doc. No. 39140.

467/ IHRLI Doc. No. 63996.

468/ IHRLI Doc. No. 49197.

469/ IHRLI Doc. No. 2807.

470/ Id.

471/ IHRLI Doc. No. 2808.

472/ Id.

473/ Id.

474/ 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).

475/ IHRLI Doc. No. 2808.

476/ Id.

477/ IHRLI Doc. No. 47023.

Notes (continued)

478/ Id.

479/ IHRLI Doc. No. 56909.

480/ 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.

481/ The BBC quoted Milan Martić who revealed in August 1991 that Captain Dragan's real name was Daniel Sneden.

482/ IHRLI Doc. No. 62124-62125.

483/ Id.

484/ "Croatian Serbs `Recruit Italian Fighters'", The Independent, 21 October 1993, at 12.

485/ IHRLI Doc. No. 34965.

486/ IHRLI Doc. No. 42890. The witness provides a detailed account of the atrocities at Velepomet in Vukovar, but Captain Dragan is named only in regard to the incident regarding the witness's daughter. Id.

487/ Personal account of Zack Novković in Soldier of Fortune, April 1994, at 49-50.

488/ IHRLI Doc. No. 47018.

489/ IHRLI Doc. No. 63996 (listing the paramilitary units involved in the Zvornik assault under "Other Formations").

490/ IHRLI Doc. No. 34963.

491/ IHRLI Doc. No. 56995.

492/ IHRLI Doc. No. 2878.

493/ IHRLI Doc. No. 47019.

494/ IHRLI Doc. No. 34959, 42896 and 42899. Dušan the Great forces allegedly attacked Lovas with members of the "Territorial Defence".

495/ Id. See also IHRLI Doc. No. 15123, which reports that 51 people were killed in Lovas on 17 October.

496/ IHRLI Doc. No. 63996 (listing the paramilitary units involved in the Zvornik assault under "Other Formations").

Notes (continued)

- 497/ IHRLI Doc. No. 47022.
- 498/ IHRLI Doc. No. 62783.
- 499/ IHRLI Doc. No. 35705.
- 500/ IHRLI Doc. No. 35685.
- 501/ IHRLI Doc. No. 62782.
- 502/ IHRLI Doc. No. 35687. Karaman's house has also been described as a warehouse. Id.
- 503/ IHRLI Doc. No. 30291.
- 504/ IHRLI Doc. No. 49192.
- 505/ IHRLI Doc. No. 30246.
- 506/ IHRLI Doc. No. 63996 (listing the paramilitary units involved in the Zvornik assault under "Other Formations").
- 507/ "Nationalistic Serbs Threaten Terrorist Attacks if Intervention", Agence France Presse, 13 May 1993, available in LEXIS, News Library, Curnws File.
- 508/ Suzanne Nelson, "Yugoslavia: Extremist Groups Come to Life in Disillusioned Serbia", Inter Press Service, 17 November 1992, available in LEXIS, News Library, Curnws File.
- 509/ 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.
- 510/ IHRLI Doc. No. 9157.
- 511/ Id.
- 512/ IHRLI Doc. No. 9158.
- 513/ Id.
- 514/ IHRLI Doc. No. 9159.
- 515/ IHRLI Doc. No. 56879.
- 516/ Chris Stephen, "View from the Zoo", Houston Chronicle, 5 December 1993, at A33.

Notes (continued)

517/ IHRLI Doc. No. 52131.

518/ See also IHRLI Doc. No. 29870 (alleging that Dragan Ikanović participated in operations in Vogosća County conducted by paramilitary leader Joja Tintor).

519/ IHRLI Doc. No. 29870.

520/ IHRLI Doc. No. 56879.

521/ 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.

522/ IHRLI Doc. No. 39953.

523/ 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.

524/ 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.

525/ IHRLI Doc. No. 3620-3621.

526/ Id.

527/ IHRLI Doc. No. 34956.

528/ IHRLI Doc. No. 62141.

529/ IHRLI Doc. No. 29887.

530/ IHRLI Doc. No. 34734.

531/ IHRLI Doc. No. 49192.

532/ IHRLI Doc. No. 34993.

533/ IHRLI Doc. No. 52430.

534/ IHRLI Doc. No. 34993.

Notes (continued)

- 535/ "The Fighting in Croatia in Brief", BBC Summary of World Broadcasts, 25 July 1991.
- 536/ IHRLI Doc. No. 15903.
- 537/ See, e. g. , IHRLI Doc. No. 55087.
- 538/ IHRLI Doc. No. 45390.
- 539/ IHRLI Doc. No. 24432.
- 540/ IHRLI Doc. No. 26349A26.
- 541/ Tyler Marshall, "Serbs and Croats Face Off Along Frontier of Hatred", Los Angeles Times, 14 July 1991, at 1.
- 542/ 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).
- 543/ IHRLI Doc. No. 24432.
- 544/ Misha Glenny, The Fall of Yugoslavia 17 (1993).
- 545/ IHRLI Doc. No. 26349A26.
- 546/ "Yugoslav Army Halts Croat-Serb Conflict", Washington Times, 1 April 1991, at A2.
- 547/ Dessa Trevisan, "Croat Police Given Army Ultimatum", The Times, 3 April 1993, available in LEXIS, News Library, Curnws File.
- 548/ IHRLI Doc. No. 18484, 26349A26.
- 549/ Blaine Harden, "Guerrillas, Army Shell Croatian City: Republics' Leaders Open Peace Talks", Washington Post, 21 August 1991, at A8.
- 550/ Tyler Marshall, "Serbs and Croats Face Off Along Frontier of Hatred", Los Angeles Times, 14 July 1991, at 1.
- 551/ Alan Ferguson, "Belgrade Puts Pressure on Rebellious Republics", Toronto Star, 26 June 1991, at A1.
- 552/ Donald Forbes, "Croats and Serb Guerrillas Fight in a Dozen Towns", Reuters, 11 September 1991, available in LEXIS, News Library, Curnws File.
- 553/ Eileen Yin, "Yugoslav Political Leaders Hold Crucial Talks on Country's Future", UPI, 22 July 1991, available in LEXIS, News Library, UPI

Notes (continued)

File.

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

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

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

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

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

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

560/ Id.

561/ IHRLI Doc. No. 55087.

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

563/ IHRLI Doc. No. 2955.

564/ IHRLI Doc. No. 19123.

565/ IHRLI Doc. No. 49197.

566/ IHRLI Doc. No. 2813.

567/ IHRLI Doc. No. 2886.

568/ IHRLI Doc. No. 2895.

569/ IHRLI Doc. No. 2798.

570/ Id.

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

572/ "Belgrade Radio Reports Martić's Claim of 30 Killed in Ljubovo",

Notes (continued)

BBC Summary of World Broadcasts, 5 July 1991.

573/ IHRLI Doc. No. 2834.

574/ IHRLI Doc. No. 2846.

575/ IHRLI Doc. No. 55095.

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

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

578/ IHRLI Doc. No. 34170.

579/ IHRLI Doc. No. 29827-29828.

580/ IHRLI Doc. No. 62782-62786.

581/ IHRLI Doc. No. 56879.

582/ IHRLI Doc. No. 20271-20296.

583/ IHRLI Doc. No. 20272.

584/ IHRLI Doc. No. 20275.

585/ IHRLI Doc. No. 20271-20296.

586/ IHRLI Doc. No. 63996 (listing the paramilitary units involved in the Zvornik assault under "Other Formations").

587/ IHRLI Doc. No. 34734.

588/ IHRLI Doc. No. 49192-49193.

589/ IHRLI Doc. No. 2810.

590/ Id.

591/ 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.

592/ IHRLI Doc. No. 62693.

593/ IHRLI Doc. No. 56883.

Notes (continued)

594/ 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.

595/ IHRLI Doc. No. 39930.

596/ Id.

597/ Id.

598/ 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.

599/ IHRLI Doc. No. 8276.

600/ IHRLI Doc. No. 57050.

601/ IHRLI Doc. No. 56328.

602/ IHRLI Doc. No. 56329.

603/ 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.

604/ IHRLI Doc. No. 49197.

605/ IHRLI Doc. No. 34956.

606/ 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.

607/ The attack of Kozarac is described in IHRLI Doc. No. 62693.

608/ IHRLI Doc. No. 62711-62713.

609/ IHRLI Doc. No. 62711-62712.

610/ IHRLI Doc. No. 62712.

611/ IHRLI Doc. No. 62713.

Notes (continued)

- 612/ Id.
- 613/ IHRLI Doc. No. 30212.
- 614/ IHRLI Doc. No. 56632-56633.
- 615/ 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.
- 616/ This is hearsay information.
- 617/ IHRLI Doc. No. 62684.
- 618/ Their names can be found in the April 1993 Banja Luka Serbian Voice, or Glas Srpski, newspapers.
- 619/ IHRLI Doc. No. 29868.
- 620/ IHRLI Doc. No. 29870.
- 621/ 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.
- 622/ Id.
- 623/ IHRLI Doc. No. 11921.
- 624/ IHRLI Doc. No. 2894.
- 625/ IHRLI Doc. No. 29864.
- 626/ Id.
- 627/ IHRLI Doc. No. 2886.
- 628/ IHRLI Doc. No. 34186.
- 629/ IHRLI Doc. No. 25126.
- 630/ IHRLI Doc. No. 29843.
- 631/ But see IHRLI Doc. No. 2842 (describing members of the White Eagles beating Croatian soldiers in the village of Paklenica, 22 November 1992).
- 632/ IHRLI Doc. No. 5892-5895, 20271, 20277, 20281-20284, 20285-

Notes (continued)

20291, 20317, 20320, and 62864.

633/ IHRLI Doc. No. 20277 and 20285.

634/ IHRLI Doc. No. 20281-20284.

635/ 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.).

636/ IHRLI Doc. No. 20317.

637/ IHRLI Doc. No. 20285-20291.

638/ Approximately 170 men at Gacko prison were later transferred to Bileća. IHRLI Doc. No. 5892-5895.

639/ IHRLI Doc. No. 20285-20291, 20320.

640/ IHRLI Doc. No. 5892-5895, 20317.

641/ IHRLI Doc. No. 20285-20291.

642/ IHRLI Doc. No. 20317.

643/ IHRLI Doc. No. 11945, 33248-33299.

644/ IHRLI Doc. No. 11945.

645/ Id.

646/ IHRLI Doc. No. 33248-33299, 35683.

647/ 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.

648/ IHRLI Doc. No. 62835, 11922-11923.

649/ IHRLI Doc. No. 11922-11923.

650/ 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).

651/ 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.

Notes (continued)

- 652/ IHRLI Doc. No. 63995.
- 653/ Id.
- 654/ IHRLI Doc. No. 90-91.
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783/ Šemso Tucaković, "Serbian Territorials Attack Bosanski Brod", Sarajevo Radio Sarajevo Network, 28 April 1992.

784/ Id.

785/ United States Government Submission, 1993, IHRLI Doc. No. 62612-62877, at 62782-62786.

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787/ 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.

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795/ Id. at IHRLI Doc. No. 5893-5895.

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825/ For a detailed discussion of reported camps in this county, see Annex VIII, Prison Camps, paragraphs 1412-1414.

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836/ Id.

837/ Id.

838/ An official source, IHRLI Doc. No. 29751-29770 at 29760.

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840/ United States Government Submission, IHRLI Doc. No. 62612-62877, at 62742 and 62677.

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877/ United States Government Submission, Case No. 051905Z, IHRLI Doc. No. 56912.

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881/ 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.

882/ 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.

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988/ United States Government Submission, Case No. 090105Z, IHRLI Doc. No. 62859.

989/ United States Government Submission, Case No. 090105Z, IHRLI Doc. No. 62859-62860.

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991/ Austrian Government Submission, 3 February 1993, IHRLI 5814-5832, at 5819-5824.

992/ United States Government Submission, Case No. 251439Z, IHRLI Doc. No. 62639-62640.

993/ Austrian Government Submission, 3 February 1993, IHRLI Doc. No. 5814-5832, at 5819-5824.

994/ See United States Mission, Supplemental United States Submission of Information to the United Nations Security Council [Sixth Submission] 11-12 (1 March 1993), IHRLI Doc. No. 11883-11911, at 11894-11895; Amnesty International, Bosnia-Herzegovina: Gross Abuses of Basic Human Rights (October 1992), IHRLI Doc. No. 707-756, at 745-746; United States Government, First Submission, 22 September 1992, IHRLI Doc. No. 87-96, at 92; United States Government Submission, Case No. RUEAIIA 4250, IHRLI Doc. No. 56256, where it is reported the Arkan's units tortured and killed approximately 1000 Muslims in Zvornik and Mali Zvornik.

995/ United States, 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 780 (1992) and Paragraph 4 of Resolution 827 (1993) 34 (16 June 1993), IHRLI Doc. No. 23444-23478, at 23478.

996/ "Islamic Community Condemns Zvornik Crimes", Sarajevo Radio Sarajevo Network, 9 April 1993.

997/ "Serbs Reportedly Killing Zvornik Muslims", Sarajevo Radio Sarajevo Network, 9 April 1992.

998/ United States Government, First Submission, 22 September 1992, IHRLI Doc. No. 87-96, at 92.

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1003/ Carol J. Williams, "Ethnic Violence Uproots 10, 000 in Bosnia, U. N. Says: Yugoslavia--Women and Children Reportedly Flee for Their Lives: Republic Leader Appeals for International Help", Los Angeles Times, 11 April 1992.

1004/ Blaine Harden, "In Bosnia, `It is Very Ugly, Very Sad What Is Happening'", The Washington Post, 13 April 1992.

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1010/ Id.

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1018/ Charles Lane, "Besieged: Sarajevo-Postcard: Bosnian Civil War", The New Republic, 27 July 1992.

1019/ US Department of State, 1993, IHRLI Doc. No. 56320-57229, at 56879.

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1027/ Special Correspondent, "War Without End", The Economist Newspaper, 6 February 1993.

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1031/ Croatian Information Centre, Weekly Bulletin, Number 15, (15 November 1993), IHRLI Doc. No. 47021-47024, at 47022.

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1034/ Id. at IHRLI Doc. No. 2886.

1035/ Id. at IHRLI Doc. No. 2894.

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