



Humanitarian Law Center Foundation

Dossier: The Serbian Volunteer Guard

Dossiers are the product of HLC research on possible perpetrators of war crimes committed during the wars of the 1990s on the soil of the former Yugoslavia. Dossiers aim to present to the general public evidence and information on mass crimes whose perpetrators have not been brought to justice. Dossiers urge government institutions to prosecute all those responsible for war crimes, either as perpetrators, order-givers or on the basis of command responsibility, in order to establish the rule of law and deal with the violent past in post-Yugoslav states.



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Abbreviations

ArBiH	Army of Bosnia and Herzegovina
CSB	Security Services Centre
FRY	Federal Republic of Yugoslavia
ICTY	International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia
JATD	Unit for Anti-Terrorist Operations
JNA	Yugoslav People's Army
JSO	Special Operations Unit
KOS	Counter-Intelligence Service
MUP	Ministry of the Interior
OB	Security Organ
RDB	State Security Division
RSK	Republic of Serbian Krajina
RJB	Public Security Division
SAO SBZS	Serbian Autonomous District Slavonia, Baranja and Western Srem
SAJ	Special Counter-Terrorism Unit
SDB	State Security Service
SDG	Serbian Volunteer Guard
SDS	Serbian Democratic Party
SFRY	Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia
SNB	National Security Council
SSNO	Federal Secretariat of National Defence
SSUP	Federal Secretariat of the Interior
SVK	Serbian Army of Krajina
TO	Territorial Defence Force
UB	Security Administration
VRS	Army of Republika Srpska



Introduction

The crimes committed by the Serbian Volunteer Guard (SDG/the Guard), a group formed by Željko Ražnatović (Arkan), and its links with the Serbian police, military and political establishment, were an integral part of the indictments of the ICTY's Office of the Prosecutor against Slobodan Milošević, Goran Hadžić, Jovica Stanišić and Franko Simatović.

The trials of Milošević and Hadžić were terminated because they had died before the judgments were passed, but witness statements and evidence presented during the trials contain a wealth of materials about the activities of the SDG. In addition, the ICTY's Office of the Prosecutor filed an indictment against SDG commander Željko Ražnatović aka Arkan for crimes committed in the area of Sanski Most. In the trial judgment following the retrial of Stanišić and Simatović, the Trial Chamber of the International Residual Mechanism for Criminal Tribunals (MICT) established that the SDG was involved in murders, persecution and forced displacement in the area of the so-called Serbian Autonomous Region of Slavonia, Baranja and Western Srem (SAO SBZS) in 1991 and 1992, in Bijeljina and Zvornik in 1992, and in Sanski Most in 1995. Nevertheless, not a single member of the SDG has been prosecuted for these crimes to date.

The Dossier presents facts about the SDG from its establishment in 1990 to its official disbanding in 1996. The first part of the Dossier deals with the origin of the SDG, its structure, and the main characteristics of its operation and cooperation with other units. Further in the Dossier, evidence is presented of the SDG's involvement in crimes committed in Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH). After looking at the role of the SDG in sending forcibly mobilized refugees to the front line and lootings, the disbanding of the Guard is discussed. The annexes contain a list of 189 members of the SDG that the HLC has managed to identify in its research.

The SDG had been present in Croatia in the area of eastern Slavonia and Baranja from June 1991. In the spring of 1992, it was active in eastern Bosnia and the wider Sarajevo area. In late January 1993, the SDG was present in northern Dalmatia and Lika. The following year, 1994, parts of the Guard returned to Bosnia and Herzegovina to take part in "Operation Pauk" [Spider] in Cazin Krajina, where they remained until August 1995, while a number of members of the SDG took part in the Trnovo/Treskavica operation in June and July 1995. In autumn 1995, the SDG was present in the areas of Sanski Most, Ključ and Prijedor.

The Dossier is based on publicly available military and police documents that have been admitted as evidence before the ICTY, the facts established in judgments, a large number of witness statements and testimonies before the ICTY, including the testimonies of former members of the SDG, as well as media reports and witness statements gathered by HLC researchers.



I

The Serbian Volunteer Guard in outline

The Serbian Volunteer Guard (SDG), also known as “Arkan’s Tigers” and “Arkan’s Men”, was founded on 11 October 1990 at the Pokajnica [Repentance] Monastery in Serbia.¹

At the founding ceremony, the SDG members – Željko Ražnatović aka “Arkan” as the SDG founder and commander, Nebojša Đorđević, nicknamed “Šuca”, Nenad Marković, nicknamed “Šicko”, Saša Pavlović aka “Crvko”, Dragan Petrović, nicknamed “Kajman”, Stojan Novaković, nicknamed “Cope”, Branislav Zeljković, nicknamed “Zelja”, Šaleta Vukotić, Zoran Petrović, nicknamed “Zonja”, and 17 more volunteers mostly from the fanbase of Belgrade’s Red Star football team – took an oath of allegiance.²

This is the wording of the guardsman oath: “May any man who is a Serb, of Serbian birth, of Serbian blood and lineage, but does not come to fight to defend Serbdom, never have progeny, male or female, may his all endeavours bear no fruit, be it in winemaking or in growing fine wheat. May nothing that is his be blessed in the name of the Cross and may he rot in the lifetime of his own generation. An honourable fight should change the blood of all future generations. I make my oath to the Holy Cross, with three fingers, that I will lay down my life to save Serbdom.”³

- 1 SDG ad published in *Politika*, 9 October 1994; „Bos sa rezervne klupe“ [Boss from player reserve bench], *Naša Borba*, 24 May 1997; Željko Ražnatović spoke about the foundation of the SDG on multiple instances: “Back then, when nobody cared about Krajina, we helped Knin, we sent weapons illegally, we sent people to the barricades, we guarded Krka Monastery. On 11 October last year, we organized ourselves and formed the Serbian Volunteer Guard, in order to defend all Serbs, wherever they were.” “We swore to the Serbian people four years ago, on 11 October, on the cross in Pokajnica Monastery. We swore that we would defend the Serbian people wherever they were threatened,” see: Transcript of a TV interview with Željko Ražnatović, July 1994, exhibit P648.A, *Krajišnik*, p. 16.
- 2 Testimony of protected witness B-129 in *Milošević*, ICTY, p. 19419, 16 April 2003; Stojan Novaković, witness statement in *Stanišić and Simatović*, MICT, 6 October 2020, pp. 11-12.
- 3 In addition to the oath, the SDG also had a prayer for its members to say before going into battle: “Son of God! You gave your soul to save us. You also commanded us to give our souls for our comrades. I am joyfully going to fulfil Your holy will, fighting for the Fatherland and my Faith. Arm me with strength and courage to resist our enemies. If it be Your will that I lay down my life in today’s battle, mercifully allow me to die with firm faith and hope for a life of eternal bliss in Your Heavenly Kingdom. Mother of God, protect us under Your veil. Amen.”, source: SDG ad in *Politika*, 9 October 1994; The motto of the SDG troops was: “When I am in front of you, follow me, if I step back, kill me, if I die, avenge me”, see in: “Lovci na jelene” [“Deer Hunters”], *Intervju*, 24 January 1992, exhibit P446.55, *Milošević*.



The SDG numbered about 300 active volunteers, including women,⁴ mostly from Serbia but also volunteers from Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina.⁵ Between 4,000 and 5,000 volunteers were part of the SDG at some point, from its inception until its disbandment in 1996.⁶ Many of them had a criminal record.⁷

The headquarters of the SDG was located in Belgrade, in the house of Željko Ražnatović (Arkan) at Ljutice Bogdana no. 3. In September 1991, they established their base and the Volunteer Training Centre in Erdut (Croatia), in the building of the pre-war JNA Centre for Military Training.⁸ The SDG Volunteer Training Centre was operational until March 1994, when the SDG withdrew from the Baranja area for a year and left the centre to the Krajina Militia.⁹

When going to the front line, members of the SDG carried with them only the unit identity card, modelled after military identity cards, containing the name, picture and blood type.¹⁰ The ID card read as follows: “The Serbian Volunteer Guard is a Serbian army founded to defend Serbian hearths and homes, Serbian mothers and Serbian children. It is a non-partisan army, created to help and defend Serbs wherever they are in the country and abroad. The SDG’s task is to preserve Serbdom, and the Serbian Orthodox Faith, Serbian family and Serbian unity.”¹¹

4 “Arkanova ostavština” [“Arkan’s legacy”], *Vreme*, no. 993, 13 January 2010; M.V., statement given to the HLC, January 2005.

5 Testimony of protected witness JF-025 in *Stanišić & Simatović*, ICTY, 8 July 2010, pp. 6241-6242.

6 Jovan Dimitrijević, witness statement in *Stanišić & Simatović*, ICTY, 19 January 2012, p. 16264; in his testimony in *Stanišić & Simatović* of 26 January 2012, Borislav Pelević stated that 10,000 people passed through the SDG during its lifetime, but this number also includes forcibly mobilized refugees taken to the Erdut Training Centre. In August and September 1995, the MUP of the Republic of Serbia handed over approximately 5000 refugees to the Serbian Volunteer Guard, see in: Report on a twelve-day stay of Captain Milan Kosanović at Arkan’s camp in Erdut, exhibit P01194, *Stanišić & Simatović*.

7 Testimony of protected witness JF-025 in *Stanišić & Simatović*, ICTY, 8 July 2010, p. 6242; Dragan Vasiljković, familiarly known as Captain Dragan, quoted Arkan as saying that “in one dormitory alone – [...] there are roughly 250 years of jail”, see in: Documentary Jedinica [The Unit] produced by the weekly *Vreme* and *B92*, 2006.

8 Information from the Security Organ of the JNA 1st Military District of 18 October 1991, exhibit P643.20, *Milošević*; Testimony of protected witness B-129 in *Milošević*, ICTY, 16 April 2003, p. 19424; Order of Goran Hadžić, President of the Autonomous Region of Slavonia, Baranja and Western Srem, 21 September 1991, exhibit D00339, *Stanišić & Simatović*; Notes of the interrogation of Borislav Pelević, War Crimes Investigation Service, 17 February 2010, exhibit P03067, *Stanišić & Simatović*.

9 UNPROFOR, overview of the Army of the Republic of Srpska Krajina and Orbat of its forces dated 1 May 1994, exhibit 1D00703, *Stanišić & Simatović*, p. 4; Borislav Pelević, witness statement in *Stanišić & Simatović*, ICTY, 24 January 2012, p. 16385; Procedure with volunteers and equipment from the Erdut Centre, order of the East Bosnian Corps Command dated 23 March 1994, exhibit D01555, *Stanišić & Simatović*.

10 Testimony of protected witness B-129 in *Milošević*, ICTY, 16 April 2003, pp. 19442-19443.

11 “Mene više neće uhvatiti” [“I will not get caught again”], *NIN*, 13 September 1991, exhibit P446.54, *Milošević*.



Volunteer and TO training centre in SAO Slavonia, Baranja and Western Srem

The official name of the SDG Volunteer Training Centre was the Centre for special training of volunteers and Territorial Defence Force (TO) in SAO Slavonia, Baranja, and Western Srem, or the 101st Training Centre Erdut.¹²

The Centre was established on 21 September 1991, when the President of the self-proclaimed SAO SBZS Government, Goran Hadžić, appointed Željko Ražnatović, the commander of the special TO units of SAO Slavonia, Baranja and Western Srem at the time, as commander of the TO Centre in Erdut.¹³

The Centre was originally within the area of responsibility of the 12th Corps of the JNA, and after the formation of the Serbian Army of Krajina (SVK), in the area of responsibility of the 11th Corps. The Centre's APO address was 9189-9.¹⁴

The Centre was about 300 metres away from the River Danube, and consisted of a dormitory, a classroom, a communal space, a kitchen block with a dining room and a canteen, a storage area for weapons and equipment, a space for training aids and an auxiliary space.¹⁵ Large quantities of various types of infantry weapons, grenade launchers, hand grenades and hand-held rocket launchers were stored in the warehouse.¹⁶ The Centre could accommodate up to 260 people.¹⁷

Between February and April 1992, Marko Pejić, nicknamed "Peja" and Mihajlo Ulemek, known by the nicknames "Mile" and "Puki",¹⁸ were the commanders of the Erdut Centre. Nikola Vučković was in charge of security.¹⁹ Around ten women from Erdut were employed at the Centre.²⁰

In the second half of March 1994, the MUP of the RSK took over the Centre and the SDG was temporarily disbanded. Some SDG members were employed by Željko Ražnatović Arkan in his businesses in Serbia, some began working as bodyguards of important persons, while volunteers

12 Certificate of stay and injury of 15 May 1992, SDG, exhibit P02661, *Hadžić*; Personal card, 101 Erdut Training Centre, exhibit 2D00439, *Stanišić & Simatović*.

13 Milan Milanović, witness statement in *Milošević*, ICTY, exhibit P550, para. 56; Order of Goran Hadžić, President of the Autonomous Region of Slavonia, Baranja and Western Srem, 21 September 1991, exhibit D00339, *Stanišić & Simatović*.

14 The APO address of the SVK 11th Corps was 9189, so the APOs of SDG units in the area all contain that number – SDG APO 9189-9 Erdut, Scorpions Unit APO 9189-19 Đeletovci, etc.; Testimony of protected witness B-129 in *Milošević*, ICTY, 17 April 2003, p. 19511.

15 Ražnatović Željko Arkan – commander of the Serbian Volunteer Guard, OB of the 12th Corps, 9 January 1992, exhibit P01004, *Hadžić*, pp. 5-6.

16 Information from the 12th Corps OB, 18 October 1991, exhibit P607.14, *Milošević*.

17 Jovan Dimitrijević, witness statement in *Stanišić & Simatović*, ICTY, 17 January 2012, p. 16100.

18 Testimony of protected witness JF-050 in *Stanišić & Simatović*, ICTY, 8 July 2010, p. 6242.

19 Information from the Security Organ of the 1st Military District, 18 October 1991, exhibit P643.20, *Milošević*.

20 Information from the Security Organ of the 12th Corps, 18 October 1991, exhibit P607.14, *Milošević*; Gordana Rakić, witness statement in *Hadžić*, ICTY, 20 November 2012, p. 1510.



from Bosnia and Herzegovina were assigned to the VRS East Bosnian Corps, mainly to the “Panthers Guard”. Some of the SDG members were remobilised in November 1994 and deployed to the area of Cazin Krajina. The SDG returned to the Erdut area in May 1995 and established a new training centre, to which forcibly mobilised refugees were brought from Serbia.²¹

The new centre was located closer to the Danube, in the area with holiday homes in Žarkovac, which served as a training ground. SDG officers occupied abandoned holiday homes closer to the road leading to the Bogojevo bridge, while members of the labour unit were accommodated in large military tents in the centre compound.²² Arkan set up his headquarters in the 1001 Noć [1001 Nights] Restaurant with rooms in Erdut. SDG generals Marko Pejić, Mihajlo Ulemek and Major Mladen Šarac also installed themselves at the 1001 Noć. The restaurant had a terrace where Arkan kept a tamed tiger which became the SDG’s mascot.²³

In addition to the training centre, Arkan had a petrol station in Erdut, which included a duty-free shop and a cafe. They were managed by Đorđe Opsenica. The petrol station had an underground warehouse, where the SDG kept large quantities of cigarettes, food, uniforms, and stolen vehicles. The warehouse was managed by Dalibor Vuković. There was a guard post called Kec in front of the petrol station, where the guard was changed every six hours.²⁴

Strict discipline was maintained at the centre. Those who breached the discipline were confined for several days in makeshift prison cells, or physically punished – given 25 blows with a baton called “Ustasha One”, made to carry a 23-kg. rock around with the words “Mr Discipline” written on it, or tied to the mast. SDG members were not allowed to leave the centre without the approval of their superiors, or to consume alcohol.²⁵

11

21 Testimony of protected witness C-020 in *Milošević*, ICTY, 22 October 2002, p. 12190; Command of the 11th Corps, explanation dated 15 April 1994, exhibit P01688, *Stanišić & Simatović*; Borislav Pelević, witness statement in *Stanišić & Simatović*, ICTY, 24 January 2012, p. 16385; Procedure with volunteers and equipment at the Erdut Centre, order of the East Bosnian Corps Command of 23 March 1994, exhibit D01555, *Stanišić & Simatović*; According to Milorad Ulemek, the Guard was to relocate to the territory of Republika Srpska, but when the volunteers arrived in RS they became part of the Panthers Guard, see the book *U tigrovom gnezdu [In the Tiger's Nest]*, Milorad Ulemek, Belgrade 2019, pp. 372-373; Testimony of protected witness B-129 in *Milošević*, ICTY, 16 April 2003, pp. 19458-19460 and 17 April 2003, p. 19510.

22 Testimony of protected witness B-129 in *Milošević*, ICTY, April 2003, p. 19460; Testimony of a protected witness, exhibit P00570, *Stanišić & Simatović*, p. 11; Supplementary statement of a protected witness, exhibit P00571, *Stanišić & Simatović*; Daily report of the Security Organ of the 11th Corps, 23 March 1994.

23 The tamed tiger was a present from the Director of the Belgrade Zoo. They also kept a Great Dane named Alija at the Centre; Statement of a protected witness, exhibit P00570, *Stanišić & Simatović*, p. 13; Supplementary statement of a protected witness, exhibit P00571, *Stanišić & Simatović*, p. 2.

24 Statement of a protected witness, exhibit P00570, *Stanišić & Simatović*; Part of the JNA 12th Motorised Brigade Engineer Platoon was engaged in the building of the petrol station in Erdut, see in: New information about unlawful acts of Major General Boro Ivanović, 22 September 1994, exhibit 1D00745, *Stanišić & Simatović*.

25 Statement of a protected witness, exhibit P00570, *Stanišić & Simatović*, pp. 11-12; Testimony of protected witness JF-050 in *Stanišić & Simatović*, ICTY, 6 July 2010, p. 6126; An unnamed member of the SDG, statement given to the HLC, May 2013.



The Centre also served as a detention facility for the non-Serb population from the Erdut area.²⁶

The training

The first group of SDG were trained by members of the Special Counter-Terrorist Unit (SAJ) of the Serbian Ministry of the Interior (MUP). The training groups consisted of 50 to 60 fighters, with the most talented members receiving special training. Once a group of SDG fighters had completed the training, they would become instructors and train new recruits.²⁷ Instructors were Milorad Ulemek aka “Legija”, Borislav Pelević, Nenad Bujošević aka “Rambo”, and Zoran Mačai, nicknamed “Mačak” [Cat].²⁸

The training consisted of running and martial arts, as well as training on how to move on the battlefield, how to use firearms and explosives, how to handle mines, and first-aid training.²⁹

SDG composition, weaponry, and equipment

The SDG consisted of three companies comprising the following platoons, units and specialties:

- Specials
- Reconnaissance
- Military police unit (formed as ad hoc units before each action)
- Communication
- Tank operators
- Artillerymen
- Labour unit (known as “partisans”)³⁰

SDG ranks:

- Ordinary soldier:
 - soldier – guardsman, code number 90 on the military card

26 Zlatko Antunović, witness statement in *Hadžić*, ICTY, exhibit D00001, p. 4; Statement of Jasna Balog Mihajlović, exhibit P481A, *Milošević*, paras. 7-14; Stjepan Dasović, witness statement in *Milošević*, ICTY, exhibit 482A, paras. 9-14.

27 Gvozden Gagić, witness statement in *Stanišić & Simatović*, ICTY, 9 February 2012, p. 17136.

28 An unnamed member of the SDG, statement given to the HLC, May 2013.

29 Testimony of protected witness B-1738 in *Milošević*, ICTY, 17 March 2003, p. 18026; Borislav Pelević, witness statement in *Stanišić & Simatović*, ICTY, 24 January 2012, p. 16360; The behaviour of the commander of special forces of Slavonia, Baranja and Western Srem, Ražnatović Željko Arkan in Erdut, Security Organ of the 1st VO, 25 October 1991, exhibit P00130, *Hadžić*, pp. 1-2.

30 Statement of a protected witness, exhibit P00570, *Stanišić & Simatović*, p. 4; Partisans, a labour unit made up of those punished for drunkenness or running away to the town without permission got this name because they wore JNA winter uniforms and had rubber guns.



- Non-commissioned officers:
 - corporal, the lowest-ranking non-commissioned officer
 - lance-corporal or sergeant, code number 91 on the military card
 - administration officer, the highest-ranking non-commissioned officer, code number 92 on the military card
- Commissioned officers:
 - Lieutenant-Colonel, code number 93 in the military card
 - Colonel, code number 94 on the military card
 - Captain, code number 96 in the military card
 - Major, code number 95 in the military card
 - General, code number 97 in the military card³¹

Ranks were not only awarded to active members of the SDG, but were also awarded as a status symbol to wealthy businessmen who provided financial support to the Guard.³²

SDG members wore two types of uniforms – NATO-style camouflage uniforms for daytime operations and black uniforms for night operations. The officers wore black berets, and later red berets, and the soldiers wore green berets with SDG insignia. With black uniforms, the soldiers wore balaclavas.³³ Radio operators and tank operators wore green one-piece suits.³⁴ Members of the labour unit wore olive-grey uniforms like ordinary soldiers, but without insignia.³⁵ On the left shoulder they wore a patch with an open-jawed orange tiger, and on the right shoulder the SDG insignia.³⁶ In accordance with the Vance Plan to demobilize the RSK TO, in the spring of 1992 the SDG temporarily replaced their military uniforms with two-piece blue police uniforms and officially became part of the Krajina Militia, and the Erdut Centre was renamed the Centre for Training of Special Forces of the Eastern Slavonia, Baranja and Western Srem Militia.³⁷

13

When joining the SDG, volunteers signed a three-month, six-month or twelve-month contract. Although they were not given regular salaries, they were paid 300-400 German marks per month for

31 The SDG ranking system was similar to that of the French Foreign Legion, statement of a protected witness, exhibit P00570, *Stanišić & Simatović*.

32 Some considerations on Arkan's activities, UB, 14 September 1992, exhibit P01887, *Hadžić*, p. 2; Testimony of protected witness B-129 in *Milošević*, ICTY, 17 April 2003, p. 19557.

33 Testimony of protected witness JF-050 in *Stanišić & Simatović*, ICTY, 29 June 2010, p. 6099; Testimony of protected witness B-129 in *Milošević*, ICTY, 16 April 2003, p. 19443.

34 Testimony of protected witness B-071 in *Milošević*, ICTY, 2 April 2003 p. 18387.

35 Statement of a protected witness, exhibit P00570, *Stanišić & Simatović*.

36 Serbian Volunteer Guard emblems, *Milošević*, exhibits P349.2, P349.3, P349.4.

37 Stojan Novaković, witness statement in *Stanišić and Simatović*, MICT, 6 October 2020, pp. 48-49; Jovan Dimitrijević, witness statement in *Stanišić & Simatović*, ICTY, 18 January 2012, p. 16133; Because, according to the Vance Plan, the RSK had to demobilise its military forces in Krajina, it formed eight militia brigades, which in effect assumed the role of the armed forces of the RSK, see: *Dossier: The JNA in the Wars in Croatia and BiH*, HLC, p. 61.



participating in actions, while SDG officers received about 1,000 German marks per month.³⁸ During the Trnovo/Treskavica, Pauk [Spider] and Banja Luka operations in 1994 and 1995, members of the SDG were paid by the RDB of the Serbian MUP.³⁹ In addition to that, during “Operation Pauk”, SDG members received payments from Fikret Abdić.⁴⁰

The SDG received weapons, ammunition and equipment from the Serbian Ministry of the Interior, the JNA and the Serbian Ministry of Defence, as well as from various state-owned and private companies.⁴¹ At the beginning of the war, they only had automatic rifles. The soldiers had PKT-84 machine guns, and the officers were armed with AK-47 assault rifles and Heckler und Koch automatic guns with silencers. They also had snipers with night-vision sights.⁴² They received hand-held rocket launchers from the JNA. Their first tanks were those they captured in actions around Vukovar.⁴³

As for the vehicles, they had Mitsubishi Pajero, Nissan and Mercedes off-road vehicles, painted black with a tiger emblem on the front and an SDG insignia on the door. In addition, they had two five- or six-seater vehicles, two vans and three trucks.⁴⁴ They would also hijack off-road vehicles, mostly from UNPROFOR, and repaint them.⁴⁵ In Erdut, the SDG used special vehicle registration plates beginning with 900, provided by Milan Milanović, nicknamed “Mrgud”, Assistant Minister of Defence of the RSK.⁴⁶

- 38 Testimony of protected witness B-1738 in *Milošević*, ICTY, 17 March 2003, p. 18023; Unnamed SDG member, statement given to the HLC, May 2013.
- 39 Public redacted version, exhibits P00444, P00445, P00446, P00447, P00448, P00449, P00450, P00452, P00453, P00454 and P00543, *Stanišić & Simatović*; Dejan Slišković, witness statement in *Stanišić & Simatović*, ICTY, 18 May 2010, pp. 5136-5137.
- 40 Testimony of protected witness B-129 in *Milošević*, ICTY, 16 April 2003, p. 19467.
- 41 Information from the 1st Military District OB, 18 October 1991, exhibit P643.20, *Milošević*; Delivery note no. 100710 issued by Zastava promet Sombor, exhibit P02681, *Stanišić & Simatović*; Delivery note no. 100711, exhibit P02680, *Stanišić & Simatović*; Trial Chamber Judgment in *Stanišić & Simatović*, MICT, 6 October 2020, para. 448; Trial Chamber Judgment in *Stanišić & Simatović*, ICTY, 30 May 2013, para. 1836.
- 42 Statement of a protected witness, exhibit P00570, *Stanišić & Simatović*; Jovan Dimitrijević, witness statement in *Stanišić & Simatović*, MICT, 11 February 2020, p. 18; Ražnatović Željko Arkan – commander of the Serbian Volunteer Guard, 12th Corps OB, 9 January 1992, exhibit P01004, *Hadžić*.
- 43 Consolidated statement of Dejan Anastasijević, exhibit P02423.B, *Stanišić & Simatović*, paras. 90 and 91; Video footage of Arkan in Laslovo and Erdut, exhibit P01093, *Stanišić & Simatović*; Transcript of the press conference held in Erdut following the takeover of Vukovar, exhibit P01100.B, *Stanišić & Simatović*; Testimony of protected C-015 in *Stanišić & Simatović*, ICTY, 30 June 2009, p. 1700; Witness Stojan Novaković said that the SDG captured eight tanks in two battles and turned over six of them to the army, see in: Stojan Novaković, witness statement in *Stanišić and Simatović*, MICT, 7 October 2020, p. 14; According to a 12th Corps OB report, the SDG had two tanks at the beginning of 1992, see in: Ražnatović Željko Arkan – commander of the Serbian Volunteer Guard, 12th Corps OB, 9 January 1992, exhibit P01004, *Hadžić*.
- 44 Testimony of protected witness B-071 in *Milošević*, ICTY, 2 April 2003, pp. 18388, 18392; Stojan Novaković, witness statement in *Stanišić and Simatović*, MICT, 6 October 2020, p. 8; Jovan Dimitrijević, witness statement in *Stanišić & Simatović*, ICTY, 17 January 2012, p. 16093.
- 45 Hijacks of military vehicles from UNPROFOR, operative information, SVK Main Staff, 3 February 1993, exhibit P03153, *Stanišić & Simatović*; Statement of a protected witness, exhibit P00570, *Stanišić & Simatović*, p. 13; “Babo”, Milorad Ulemek, p. 476.
- 46 Testimony of protected witness C-015 in *Stanišić & Simatović*, ICTY, 30 June 2009, pp. 1668, 1715.



After the signing of the Vance Plan, they used the blue number plates of the Krajina Militia.⁴⁷ Some SDG vehicles had number plates of the Federal or Serbian Ministry of the Interior and Yugoslav Army.⁴⁸

Members of the SDG used codes in their telephone communication with one other, and important facilities were also given code names. Arkan's wartime code was 99, Legija's was *Tiger 1*, Mihajlo Ulemek's 66, Borislav Pelević's *Tiger 22*, Party Headquarters' *01*, Arkan's house's *05*, the vehicle fleet's *Bravo 12*, the Obilić stadium's *Bravo 14*, Arkan's residence's *Bravo 15*, the Zvezdara communication centre's *Bravo 18*.⁴⁹ Members of the SDG addressed Ražnatović as commander, and in less formal situations they called him Tata [Dad].⁵⁰

If a member of the SDG got seriously wounded, he would be admitted to the VMA (Military Medical Academy) or to a civilian hospital, and the costs of treatment were covered by the Serbian Ministry of the Interior through the RDB, who stamped the medical card of the wounded fighter "member of army reserve".⁵¹

Tigers and Super Tigers

After the return of the SDG from Benkovac in the spring of 1993, the "Super Tigers", an elite sabotage SDG unit was formed. The Super Tigers unit was made up of experienced fighters, who enjoyed a privileged status and had special identity documents.⁵² Their official name was Special Operations Platoon and their commander was Milorad Ulemek aka Legija, who joined the SDG in April 1992, after deserting from the French Foreign Legion.⁵³ Legija's deputy was Nenad Bujošević aka Rambo.⁵⁴

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47 Jovan Dimitrijević, witness statement in *Stanišić & Simatović*, ICTY, 17 January 2012, p. 16094.

48 Tape recording of the 4th session of the VSO, 31 July 1992, exhibit 1D00199, *Stanišić & Simatović*, paras. 104 and 138; Consolidated statement of Dejan Anastasijević, exhibit P02423.B, *Stanišić & Simatović*, paras. 90 and 91; Protected witness B-129, witness statement in *Milošević*, ICTY, 16 April 2003, p. 19450; New information about unlawful activities of Major-General Boro Ivanović, 22 September, 1994, exhibit D00745, *Stanišić & Simatović*, p. 3; Letter to the President, SDG member Zoran Mišić, exhibit P01624, *Stanišić & Simatović*, pp. 2-3.

49 Code names used by the SDG, exhibit P01634, *Stanišić & Simatović*; Supplementary statement of protected witness, exhibit P00571, *Stanišić & Simatović*; Milan Milanović, witness statement in *Milošević*, ICTY, 14 October 2003, pp. 27430.

50 See the book *U tigrovom gnezdu [In the Tiger's Nest]*, Milorad Ulemek, Belgrade, 2019.

51 Testimony of protected witness B-129 in *Milošević*, ICTY, 16 April 2003, p. 19450.

52 Testimony of protected witness B-071 in *Milošević*, ICTY, 2 April 2003, p.18388.

53 Borislav Pelević, witness statement in *Stanišić & Simatović*, ICTY, 24 January 2012, pp. 16344-16345; Ulemek deserted from the French Foreign Legion on 18 March 1992, see in "Dezertirao iz Legije stranaca" ["Deserted from Foreign Legion"], *Glas javnosti*, 24 July 2003.

54 Testimony of protected witness C-020 in *Milošević*, ICTY, 22 October 2002, pp. 12189;



The Super Tigers wore black berets, black military caps or wool combat caps.⁵⁵ Ulemek introduced black uniforms, special commands and rituals, and a special vow called “The Tiger’s Word”, modelled on French Foreign Legion traditions.⁵⁶ Their tiger insignia was also different from the insignia worn by ordinary Tigers.⁵⁷ They did not have to attend musters or flag-raising ceremonies. Unlike ordinary Tigers, they were allowed to consume alcohol.⁵⁸

II

Cooperation with other armed forces

For the purpose of conducting combat operations, the SDG cooperated with or was resubordinated to the JNA, SVK, VRS, RSK MUP and RS MUP.

General Andrija Biorčević, describing the role of the SDG in military operations around Vukovar, stated as follows: “That was the biggest contribution of Arkan’s volunteers... [W]e would surround a village, Arkan’s volunteers would enter it and kill those who refused to surrender, and we would go on.”⁵⁹ According to a report from security organs, SDG members would start their operations late in the evening. They would enter Croat houses, question Croats and, if they “did not like what they were saying, cut their ears or otherwise mutilate people.”⁶⁰

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In early October 1991, the SDG found itself surrounded by enemy from all directions in Vukovar. To help them, Slobodan Milošević ordered the then Serbian Defence Minister General Tomislav Simović to contact the Air Force, in order to have JNA fighter jets fly over Vukovar to help the Guard get out of the predicament.⁶¹

In the second half of April 1993, Milorad Ulemek aka Legija and another member of the SDG stayed at the 413th Training Centre of VJ Armoured-Mechanised Units in Vršac, in order to make preparations and arrangements for the training of 50 SDG volunteers. The volunteers were to be trained on how to drive tanks and transporters, how to guide anti-tank missiles, and how to fire tank guns. On 6 May 1993, 50 members of the SDG came to the Training Centre, where they were received by its

55 *Ibid*, pp. 12189-2190.

56 The vow was worded as follows: “When the day arrives that you are wounded, and left by your comrades on the battlefield, and when enemy women, children and dogs come to tear you to pieces, put a bullet in your head and die a hero.”, “*Tiger’s Word*”, *Vreme* issue no. 821, 27 September 2006. The Special Operations Unit of the Serbian MUP, whose post-war commander was Milorad Ulemek aka Legija, took the same oath, see in: Jedinica [The Unit], documentary produced by the weekly *Vreme* and B92, 2006.

57 Emblem of Super Tigers, exhibit P349.8, *Milošević*.

58 Testimony of protected witness JF-050 in *Stanišić & Simatović*, ICTY, 6 July 2010, p. 6126.

59 Excerpt from a film, statement of General Andrija Biorčević, exhibit P00117.111.B, *Hadžić*, p. 2.

60 Željko Ražnatović aka Arkan – observations, OB, 1 October 1991, exhibit P00103, *Hadžić*.

61 Dobrila Gajić-Glišić, witness statement in *Milošević*, ICTY, 21 October 2013, pp. 27853-27854.



commander, Colonel Radovan Tačić. The volunteers were sent to the shooting range in the village of Orešac. The following day, the Commander of the 1st Army, Lieutenant-General Vladimir Stojanović, forbade anyone from the 413th Training Centre to take part in the training of members of the SDG. In the evening of 7 May 1993, SDG members left Orešac.⁶²

Although it cooperated with regular army forces, the SDG often clashed with them over disarmament, arrest, mistreatment and abuse of officers and soldiers.⁶³ In a 1994 interview, Arkan spoke about the mistreatment of the fighters and commanders of the SVK: “[A] conflict arose, because I... and my officers caught some commanders down there, the so-called commanders of the Army of the Republic of Srpska Krajina, deserting. And, normally, they got roughed up. How to punish them - we punished them with beatings. Because we had a strict regime in the Serbian Volunteer Guard - 25 blows to the buttocks for drunkenness, like the old Serbian Army did. And, normally, nobody liked deserters, let alone when you catch a captain or major deserting and leaving the unit to disintegrate. [...] My army - 550 people - captures deserters, puts them in a unit and sends them to a desolate place to defend, normally, our command[.]”⁶⁴ In the autumn of 1995, Željko Ražnatović beat up Colonel Svetozar Andrić, Chief of the Drina Corps Staff.⁶⁵

III

The Serbian Volunteer Guard in Croatia

17

The SDG had been present in Croatia since July 1991, when Željko Ražnatović aka Arkan with about six other armed men crossed into Croatia near Vajska in civilian Mitsubishi Pajero vehicles, with the signed permission of Radmilo Bogdanović.⁶⁶ From August 1991 to December 1991, the Tigers participated in the takeover of villages in the area of Eastern Slavonia and Baranja.

62 Information – the training of Arkan's volunteers at the Training Centre of VJ Armoured-Mechanised Units in Vršac, 12 May 1993, exhibit D00392, *Stanišić & Simatović*.

63 Information from the 12th Corps, 18 October 1991, exhibit P607.14, *Milošević*; Communication from the Security and Intelligence Organ of the SVK Main Staff, 21 February 1993; Communication from the VRS Main Staff, strictly confidential, no. 6/1_7, dated 23 September 1995, exhibit 2D00160, *Stanišić & Simatović*; Communication from the VRS Main Staff, strictly confidential, no. 07/21-430-15, dated 20 October 1995, exhibit D01503, *Mladić*, p. 2; Transcript of part 2 of the documentary *The Unit*, exhibit P02977.B, *Stanišić & Simatović*, pp. 13-15.

64 Transcript of a TV interview with Željko Ražnatović, July 1994, exhibit P648.A, *Krajišnik*, p. 15.

65 Transcript of the second part of the documentary *The Unit*, exhibit P02977.B, *Stanišić & Simatović*, pp. 13-14.

66 Radmilo Bogdanović was the Minister of the Interior of the Republic of Serbia until May 1991, when he resigned in response to public outcry over the excessive use of police force during the 9 March 1991 protests. In late June 1991, he was appointed a member of the Committee for Relations with Serbs in Diaspora and the Defence and Security Committee of the National Assembly of the Republic of Serbia, see in: Decision amending the decision on dismissal and appointment of members of the National Assembly of the Republic of Serbia committees, exhibit 2D00738, *Stanišić & Simatović*; Nebojša Bogunović, witness statement in *Stanišić & Simatović*, ICTY, 16 August 2011, pp. 13189-13190.



Upon arrival in Croatia, the SDG operated north of the River Vuka, in the area of responsibility of the JNA 12th Corps, familiarly known as the Novi Sad Corps. The area covered Borovo Selo, Borovo Naselje, Erdut, Bobota and other places. The SDG first fought in Tenja near Osijek and had its headquarters in this town, in Zagrebačka Street, until September 1991, and its training ground in the nearby village of Čelije.⁶⁷

Since the end of the summer of 1991, the SDG had participated in the takeover of Đeletovci, Nijemci, Bršadin, Aljmaš, Šodolovci, Ernestinovo, Lužac and Vukovar, together with the JNA and other units.⁶⁸

In early September, the 1st Mechanised Company (1st MC) of the 2nd Mechanised Battalion (2nd MB) of the 51st Mechanised Brigade (51st MBr) of the JNA took the village of Aljmaš in Baranja, which was mostly deserted at the time. The following day, SDG members blew up the Catholic Church of Our Lady of Refuge with explosives, severely damaging it.⁶⁹ SDG members also mined the Church of All Saints in Erdut, which had been damaged during the capture of Erdut.⁷⁰

Towards the end of March 1992, several SDG soldiers, including Borislav Pelević, were sent to Dalmatia to provide security to the Krka Monastery, and stayed there for about a month.⁷¹

During the takeover of Vukovar, the SDG was formally resubordinated to the Operational Group (OG) North, which was initially commanded by General Mladen Bratić, Commander of the Novi Sad Corps. After Bratić's death in the first half of November 1991, General Andrija Biorčević, with whom Ražnatović maintained a close relationship, was appointed the Commander of the OG North.⁷²

On 23 November 1991, Biorčević awarded Željko Ražnatović a machine gun as a war trophy⁷³ for his participation in the battles in Borovo. In 1994, the SDG awarded a Miloš Obilić medal to General Biorčević in response.⁷⁴

67 Nebojša Bogunović, witness statement in *Stanišić & Simatović*, ICTY, 16 August 2011, pp. 13189-13190. Statement of a protected witness, exhibit P00002, *Stanišić & Simatović*, p. 7; Ražnatović Željko Arkan – commander of the Serbian Volunteer Guard, 12th Corps OB, 9 January 1992, exhibit P01004, *Hadžić*; Darko Valentić, witness statement in *Hadžić*, exhibit P01139, para. 10.

68 Trial Chamber Judgment in *Stanišić & Simatović*, ICTY, 30 May 2013, paras. 567, 573.

69 Statement of witness C-057 in *Milošević*, exhibit P607.1A, paras. 29-31; Testimony of protected witness C-057 in *Milošević*, ICTY, 2 December 2003, pp. 29861-29862.

70 Željko Ražnatović aka Arkan – observation, OB, 1 October 1991, exhibit P00103, *Hadžić*.

71 Transcript of a TV interview with Željko Ražnatović, July 1994, exhibit P648.A, *Krajišnik*, p. 2; Notes of the interrogation of Borislav Pelević, War Crimes investigation Service, 17 February 2010, exhibit P03067, *Stanišić & Simatović*, p. 3; Official note of the Knin DB Department, 31 May 1991, exhibit D00098, *Stanišić & Simatović*.

72 Biorčević died in 2001; Testimony of protected witness C-015 in *Stanišić & Simatović*, ICTY, 30 June 2009, p. 1664; Order Op. no. 1 dated 30 October 1991, Command of the 12th Corps, exhibit P03295, *Stanišić & Simatović*; Notes of the continuation of interrogation of accused Boro Ivanović, 8 August 1994, exhibit D00698, *Stanišić & Simatović*, p. 7; New information about the unlawful actions of Major-General Boro Ivanović, 22 September 1994, exhibit D00745, *Stanišić & Simatović*, p. 3; Željko Ražnatović aka Arkan – observations, OB, 1 October 1991, exhibit P00103, *Hadžić*, p. 2.

73 Command of the 12th Corps, presentation of war trophies, 23 November 1991, exhibit P00152, *Hadžić*.

74 "Srpski Obilići" ["Serbian Heroes"], *Srpsko jedinstvo*, 6 November 1994, exhibit D01191, *Stanišić & Simatović*.



Ražnatović also had close cooperation with local politicians in this area, which resulted in the initiative of the Local Community of the village of Bapska on 11 February 1992 to rename the village Arkanovo [Arkan's Village].⁷⁵

Laslovo

The SDG took part in the attack on the village of Laslovo alongside the TO, JNA and various volunteer groups.

Early on the morning on 4 September 1991, two members of the SDG were killed during the attack on Laslovo and two others were killed after being captured. That same day, a group of Serbian TO fighters captured four members of the Croatian National Guard (ZNG) and turned them over to Major Ljubomir Veljković, Commander of the 2nd Armoured Battalion of the JNA 12th Proletarian Mechanised Brigade. Željko Ražnatović took the prisoners from the JNA and offered them to the Croatian side in exchange for the fallen SDG fighters, but the Croatian side refused the offer. In the evening of 4 September 1991, Arkan and several members of the SDG took captive Croatian soldiers – **Josip Albert** (b.1948), **Stjepan/Stevo Ember** (b.1960), **Vlado Kuprešak** (b.1957) and **Stjepan Kovač** (b.1948) – to the cemetery in Čelije, and killed them there. The next day, they covered their bodies with earth with the help of an excavator. Soon after, Ražnatović captured a Roman Catholic priest and four nuns in Tenja and exchanged them for the bodies of the SDG fighters.⁷⁶

After the capture and killing of the SDG fighters in Laslovo, Ražnatović repeatedly emphasised that the SDG would no longer take prisoners but kill “every soldier of the occupiers”.⁷⁷ As he put it, “we will execute them with honour and I can state here that, now that my two soldiers have been tortured, the SDG will no longer hold any Ustasha and Black Legion soldiers as prisoners”.⁷⁸

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75 Minutes of a meeting between military and civilian authorities on 12 February 1992 in Bapska, exhibit P00329, *Hadžić*, p. 2.

76 Slobodan Jocić and Mirko Lavadinović died in battle; Srđan Cvetković and Dušan Marković were captured early in the morning of 4 September 1991 during the fighting in Laslovo. Cvetković and Marković were killed in captivity. After several days of negotiations, the bodies of Jocić, Lavadinović, Cvetković, and Marković were exchanged for the priest and four nuns captured by the SDG, witness D.K., statement given to the HLC in August 2009; War report on the activities of the Serbian volunteer army, exhibit 00658, *Mrkšić et al.*, p. 7; “Arkan na položaju” [“Arkan Holding a Position”], *Duga*, issue 457, August 1991; “Otac nastavio sinovljev put” [“Father Following in His Son's Footsteps”] *Dnevnik*, 11 December 1991; Tomas Hejli je video istinu [“Thomas Hailey has seen the truth”], *Ilustrovana politika*, 17 September 1991; “Zarobljeni pa masakrirani” [“Captured and Massacred”], *Večernje novosti*, 8 September 1991; “Razobličena montaža nemačke TV” [“German TV hoax debunked”], *TV Politika*, 17 September 1991.

77 Excerpt from a video showing Arkan and his men in a restaurant, exhibit P568.6, *Milošević*; Video showing Arkan in Laslovo and Erdut, exhibit P01093, *Stanišić & Simatović*.

78 *NIN*, 13 September 1991, cited according to *Vukovarska tragedija 1991* [The Vukovar Tragedy 1991], Helsinki Committee for Human Rights in Serbia, pp. 79-80.



Dalj

Following the capture of Dalj, the TO force under the command of Pavle Milovanović, nicknamed “Paja”, established a detention facility in the auxiliary rooms of the police station in Dalj, to which Croatian civilians were brought in early August 1991.⁷⁹ Most Croatian civilians had fled the area at the beginning of the attack, but several hundred of those who did not manage to escape ended up in detention. Milorad Stričević, head of security at the Dalj TO headquarters, who referred to himself as a colonel close to the SDG, was in charge of the interrogation of detainees.⁸⁰ Stričević and his assistants Branko Gojsović and Đorđe Milovanović, nicknamed “Đordila”, from the so-called “Space Police” of the Dalj TO, would take non-Serb residents of Dalj to the detention facility, interrogate and mistreat them. Detention facility guards, including members of the TO and reservists from Prigrevica, beat and tortured detainees. Arkan also visited the facility and detainees were beaten with a metal chair in his presence.⁸¹ On multiple occasions, Željko Ražnatović and members of the SDG took detainees out of the detention centre in Dalj,⁸² of which the Provincial SUP of Vojvodina was aware.⁸³

The first group of detainees were taken away on 21 September 1991 at about 18.00 hours. Goran Hadžić and Željko Ražnatović came to the detention centre in the company of twenty-odd armed persons and asked for two detainees – Slavko Palinkaš from Aljmaš and Luka Šutalo from Erdut. Both men were handed over to them. After that, 11 more detainees were taken away by members of the

79 Information on the armed clashes near the village of Dalj, 9 August 1991, exhibit 1D00777, *Stanišić & Simatović*; Dalj police station was located on the premises of the agricultural cooperative.

80 Information – the unlawful killings of ZNG captives and other individuals, 18 October 1991, exhibit 00718, *Mrkšić et al.*; Stričević was killed in 1992. His mortal remains were found in a grave in the Dalj agricultural district – see in: Gordana Rakić, witness statement in *Hadžić*, ICTY, 20 November 2012, p. 1526; Višnja Bilić, witness statement in *Hadžić*, ICTY, 11 April 2013, pp. 3837-3839.

81 Luka Šutalo, exhibit P00301, *Stanišić & Simatović*, paras. 39, 41.

82 The abduction and killing of captives in Dalj were addressed in ICTY indictments against Goran Hadžić, Stanišić & Simatović, and Slobodan Milošević. See in: Second Amended Indictment of the ICTY Office of the Prosecutor against *Goran Hadžić*, 22 March 2012, Annex I; Third Amended Indictment of the ICTY Office of the Prosecutor against *Stanišić and Simatović*, 9 July 2008, paras. 36-37; Second Amended Indictment of the ICTY Office of the Prosecutor against *Slobodan Milošević*, 23 October 2002, Annex I; Also, the Police Administration of the Osijek-Baranja County in July 2009 filed a criminal complaint against Enes Taso, Commander of the 51st Mechanised Brigade, over crimes committed in Dalj, Aljmaš and Erdut areas. Taso died in 2018. Criminal complaint filed for war crimes committed in 1991 in Dalj, Erdut, and Aljmaš, Police Administration of the Osijek-Baranja County, Republic of Croatia, 22 July 2009, see: <https://osjecko-baranjska-policija.gov.hr/vijesti/14036>, accessed on 28 June 2022; “Umro general Enes Taso” [“General Enes Taso dies”], RTS, 13 August 2018, see: <https://www.rts.rs/page/stories/sr/story/125/drustvo/3227997/umro-general-enes-taso.html>, accessed on 28 June 2022.

83 As early as 15 October 1991, the Vojvodina Province Secretariat of Internal Affairs (SUP) – DB Department, had information about the SDG taking away and killing prisoners, see – Information, SDB Department, Vojvodina Province Secretariat of Internal Affairs (SUP), 15 October 1991, exhibit P00334, *Stanišić & Simatović*; Two days later, the SDB Department of the Vojvodina SUP reported that about 300 members of the Dalj TO had protested about the situation in Dalj, against arbitrary arrests and torture of captives, and mistreatment of local Serbs. Arkan spoke to members of the Dalj TO saying that he had killed the captives from Dalj, adding “only the manner of their liquidation may be disputable, nothing else”, see in Information, SDB Department, Vojvodina Province SUP, 15 October 1991, exhibit P00335, *Stanišić & Simatović*.



SDG.⁸⁴ Two days later, the commander of the police station in Dalj made an official note with the names of the detainees who had been taken away: **Ivan Zelember** (b. 1934), **Zoran Andel** (b.1967), **Čedomir Predojević** (b.1954), **Dražen Štimatec** (b.1970), **Željko Filipčić** (b.1966), **Darko Kušić** (b.1968), **Ivan Forjan** (b.1951), **Pavao Zemljak** (b.1934), **Vladimir Zemljak** (b.1967), and **Haso Brajić** (b.1933).⁸⁵ These detainees were taken away and killed at an unknown location. The remains of ten of the victims were exhumed from a mass grave in the village of Čelije on 23 February 1998. An autopsy determined gunshot wounds or wounds caused by explosives as the cause of their death.⁸⁶ The body of **Pavle Beck** (b.1957), another man who was taken from the police station in Dalj by members of the SDG and killed at an unknown location in October 1991, was found in a well in the Dalj area in October 1998.⁸⁷

A second group of detained civilians was taken away from Dalj prison on the night of 4-5 October 1991. On 4 October at about 21.00 hours, Milorad Stričević came to the police station in Dalj together with Dragoljub Trbić, Đorđe Milovanović, Branko Gojsović and another unidentified older man. They immediately began interrogating the detainees. At about 23.45 hours, Željko Ražnatović arrived with twenty of his men in a TAM military truck, a Pinzgauer and a van. Ražnatović entered the station, while his men stayed outside, guns at the ready. He introduced himself as the TO commander and said he wanted to see Milorad Stričević, after which he and five other men entered the room where Stričević was. Dragoljub Trbić, Đorđe Milovanović, Branko Gojsović and the unidentified older man then left the room, and Stričević and members of the SDG brought the detainees in for questioning. During the questioning, the words, "Come on you guardsman and policemen!" and the sound of an object hitting the table could be heard from the room. At around 00.40 hours, three detainees carried 12 bodies out of the room and loaded them onto a truck, after which they were also forced onto the truck. The truck carrying the bodies and three detainees was then driven away by Stričević and his men in an unknown direction. After a while, Ražnatović returned with his soldiers to the police station to check whether the rooms had been cleaned. After the police officers Srboslav Mihajlović and Predrag Blagojević had answered in the affirmative, Ražnatović left. Dragoljub Trbić, Đorđe Milovanović, Branko Gojsović and the unidentified older man left the station at the same time.⁸⁸

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84 Luka Šutalo, witness statement in *Milošević*, ICTY, 28 August 2003, pp. 25578-25580; The handover of detainees from the Dalj police station, official note dated 23 September 1991, exhibit P375.1, *Milošević*; Unauthorised killings of ZNG captives and other individuals, OB, 18 October 1991, exhibit 00718, *Mrkšić et al.*

85 The handover of detainees from the Dalj police station, Official note dated 23 September 1991, exhibit P375.1, *Milošević*; List of victims from Dalj, exhibit P01840, *Stanišić & Simatović*.

86 An updated report in *The Prosecutor against Jovica Stanišić and Franko Simatović*, Directorate for Detained and Missing Persons, exhibit P00597, *Stanišić & Simatović*, p. 79; Trial Chamber Judgment in *Stanišić & Simatović*, MICT, 30 May 2013, para. 414.

87 The handover of detainees from the Dalj police station, Official note dated 23 September 1991, exhibit P375.1, *Milošević*; Autopsy report for Pavle Beck, exhibit P00774.B, *Stanišić & Simatović*; An updated report in *The Prosecutor against Jovica Stanišić and Franko Simatović*, Directorate for Detained and Missing Persons, exhibit P00597, *Stanišić & Simatović*, p. 79.

88 Official note no. 44/91 dated 5 October 1991, exhibit P375.2, *Milošević*.



Police station commander Željko Čizmić on 5 October 1991 created a document certifying that Stričević had taken custody of 26 persons detained in the police station building and made an official note describing the events of the previous night, in which he stated that a number of detainees were missing from the police station.⁸⁹

On the night of 4-5 October, Željko Ražnatović, aka Arkan, several members of the SDG, and Stričević killed at least 26 persons: **Ernest Bača** (b. 1956), **Josip Balog** (b.1945), **Mile Grbešić** (b.1962), **Elvis Hadžić** (b.1973), **Zvonko Mlinarević** (b.1958), **Ranko Soldo** (b.1947), **Franjo Mesarić** (b.1953), **Mihajlo Šimon** (b.1937), **Josip Mikec** (b.1954), **Marin/Marinko Šomođvarac** (b.1946), **Rudolf Jukić** (b.1964), **Mihalj Tolaš** (b.1934), **Pavao/Pavo Šarac** (b.1936), **Đorđe Radaljević** (b.1965), **Vinko Oroz** (b.1967), **Petar/Pero Rašić** (b.1946), **Janoš Šileš** (b.1957), **Stanislav Strmečki** (b.1974), **Ivica Krkalo** (b.1958), **Tibor Šileš** (b.1963), **Danijel Tomičić** (b.1929), **Petar/Pero Milić** (b.1943), **Ileš Lukač** (b.1945), **Karlo Raić** (b.1932), **Zlatko Rastija** (b.1971) and **Ivan Tomičić** (b.1929).⁹⁰

The bodies of the killed detainees were thrown into the Danube at a place called Jama. The remains of 23 victims were exhumed in the territory of Vukovar municipality or in Serbia. The cause of death for most victims was a gunshot to the head.⁹¹

Matija Hum (b.1942) from Aljmaš was also taken away from the prison in Dalj by members of the SDG in October 1991. His mortal remains were recovered from the Catholic cemetery in Dalj in 1998.⁹²

Tenja

On 11 October 1991, JNA troops came upon a group of ZNG soldiers on the road between Klisa and Tenja. They got into a fight, after which 12 members of the 3rd ZNG Guards Brigade surrendered to the JNA. Shortly afterwards, JNA troops killed the Platoon Commander Vjekoslav Šetka and took the remaining 11 captives towards Klisa. The captives had their hands tied behind their backs, were beaten with batons and subjected to a mock execution. After that, they were divided into two groups.

89 Certificate of takeover of detainees dated 5 October 1991, exhibit P00315, *Stanišić & Simatović*; Official note no. 44/91 dated 5 October 1991, exhibit P375.2, *Milošević*.

90 Trial Chamber Judgment in *Stanišić & Simatović*, MICT, 30 June 2021, para. 126.

91 An updated report in *The Prosecutor against Jovica Stanišić and Franko Simatović*, Directorate for Detained and Missing Persons, exhibit P00597, *Stanišić & Simatović*, pp. 80-81; Statement of a protected witness, exhibit P0002, *Stanišić & Simatović*, p. 6.

92 Zlatko Antunović, witness statement in *Hadžić*, ICTY, exhibit D00001.B, p. 4; List of bodies found in mass graves in Dalj, exhibit P01507, *Hadžić*, p. 1.



Six of the captured soldiers were taken first to Bijelo Brdo, and then to Bogojevo and handed over to the 12th Battalion of the Military Police.⁹³

The second group, which included **Frano/Franjo Čalušić**, nicknamed “Čalton”, **Zdenko Bašurić**, **Željko Hertarić**, **Darko Popić** (b.1962), and **Zdenko Stepić**, were handed over to the SDG. According to the statement of protected witness C-015, the JNA soldiers handed over the captives to SDG officers Mihajlo Ulemek and Marko Pejić, who drove them in the direction of Erdut.⁹⁴ According to information obtained by the Security Authority of the 1st Military District (OB of the 1st VO) at the end of 1991, **Frano/Franja Čalušić**, nicknamed Čalton, was killed by SDG member Bogdan Hajduković, nicknamed “Burence” [Keg], with a pistol to the back of the head.⁹⁵

Seven days after Čalušić and others were taken away, the OB of the 1st VO reported that 4 corpses had been discovered in the cornfields between the village of Vera and the Marinovci farm and that they belonged to the captured ZNG members. The corpses were reburied on the orders of Željko Čizmić, commander of the police station in Dalj.⁹⁶

Lužac

In the early morning hours of 1 November 1991, on the orders of the Command of the JNA 12th Corps, joint forces of the JNA, TO and volunteer units, including the SDG, attacked the village of Lužac in order to cut off the ZNG and Croatian MUP forces from Borovo Naselje and Vukovar.⁹⁷

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93 One person from this group was killed on the way from Bijelo Brdo to Bogojevo and the others were taken to camps in Serbia. In 1993, three members of Serbian forces involved in this incident were charged with war crimes against prisoners of war, specifically the torture and killings of prisoners, by the County State Attorney’s Office in Osijek, and tried in absentia. The County Court in Osijek judged Josip Budimčić, Branko Stoisavljević, and Stevo Stoisavljević guilty of torture and killings of prisoners, but the Supreme Court of Croatia ordered a retrial. Following the retrial, which was also conducted in the absence of the defendants, the County Court in Osijek in 1996 found Josip Budimčić, Branko Stoisavljević, and Stevo Stoisavljević guilty and sentenced them each to 15 years in prison. In 2001, Croatia sought Josip Budimčić’s extradition from Canada. In 2008, Canada refused to surrender him, stating that there was not sufficient evidence that Budimčić had committed a war crime. See: The crime in Bijelo Brdo, Bogojevo and other places in Eastern Slavonia (Indictment against Josip Budimčić and others), Dokumenta, <https://documenta.hr/en/novosti/zlocin-u-bijelom-brdu-bogojevu-i-drugim-mjestima-istocne-slavonije-opt-josip-budimcic-i-dr-josip-budimcic> (Reasons and Decision), Canada: Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada, <https://www.refworld.org/cases,IRBC,49620e152.html>; Information – unlawful killings of captured members of the ZNG and other persons, 18 October 1991, exhibit 00718, *Mrkšić et al.*

94 Statement of a protected witness, exhibit P00002, *Stanišić & Simatović*, p. 5; Testimony of protected witness C-015 in *Stanišić & Simatović*, ICTY, 30 June 2009, p. 1714.

95 The activities of members of the paramilitary formation under the command of Ražnatović Željko aka Arkan, OB, 31 December 1991, exhibit P01647, *Stanišić & Simatović*.

96 On 7 December 2022, the HLC submitted a request for information to the Directorate for Detained and Missing Persons of the Croatian Ministry of War Veterans seeking information about the exhumation and identification of the said persons. The Directorate replied on 21 December 2022 that such information could not be disclosed; Information – unlawful killings of captured members of the ZNG and other persons, 18 October 1991, exhibit 00718, *Mrkšić et al.*

97 Order Op. no. 1 dated 30 October 1991, Command of the 12th Corps, exhibit P03295, *Stanišić & Simatović*; Testimony of protected witness C-057 in *Milošević*, ICTY, 27 November 2003, p. 29821.



Željko Ražnatović aka Arkan was involved in the planning of the attack on Lužac. In late October 1991, he and Major Milenko Lukić and his soldiers were near Đergaj Forest to reconnoitre the area. Lukić, the Commander of the 2nd Mechanised Battalion of the 51st Mechanised Brigade (2nd Mb of the 51st MBr), was directly in charge of the attack. Before the attack, Arkan and one of the SDG majors attended a meeting held in a school in Bršadin, at which tasks were assigned to the units that were to participate in the attack.⁹⁸

The attack on Lužac was carried out by parts of the JNA 51st MBr, parts of the Kragujevac Light Infantry Brigade (LPBr), SDG and Bršadin TO.⁹⁹ During the attack, the SDG was supported by the tank company of the 2nd MB.¹⁰⁰

On 31 October 1991, the said units were deployed to the village of Bobota. Early next morning, they passed through Bršadin in armoured vehicles, while Arkan led infantry troops made up of SDG members and armed members of the TO force. In the morning hours of 1 November 1991, the 1st MC of the 2nd MB opened fire from tanks at Lužac to prepare the ground for the SDG attack. Shortly afterwards, they set up a pontoon bridge over the River Vuka and secured it, allowing the infantry units to advance towards Lužac. Later that day, the SDG and JNA units captured Lužac.¹⁰¹

The commander of the 1st MC, Aleksandar Filković, gave a statement to the ICTY Prosecutor's Office saying that after the capture of Lužac, screams and cries for help could be heard from the village on the night of 1-2 November. He did not leave his position that night, but according to his knowledge, it was women and children crying while being pulled out of their basements in Lužac. The following day, Filković saw Arkan kill an unidentified boy 15-16 years of age who was shouting "Long live Croatia!" as two members of the SDG were bringing him to Arkan.¹⁰²

98 Lieutenant-Colonel Zoran Jovanović, Head of Staff of the 51st MBr, Captain Tomislav Mrčela, Commander of the Tank Company, Captain Željko Naglić, Commander of the 120 mm Mortar Battery, and Aleksandar Filković, Commander of the 1st Company of the 2nd MB, were also on the reconnaissance mission near the Đergaj Forest; Aleksandar Filković, witness statement in *Hadžić*, ICTY, exhibit P02093.1, paras. 42-47; The structure of the 51st Mechanised Brigade and the attack on Lužac, exhibit P00367.B, *Stanišić & Simatović*, p. 3.

99 The structure of the 51st Mechanised Brigade and the attack on Lužac, exhibit P00367.B, *Stanišić & Simatović*, p. 3; Aleksandar Filković, witness statement in *Hadžić*, ICTY, exhibit P02093.1, paras. 44, 49-55.

100 Aleksandar Filković, witness statement in *Šešelj*, ICTY, exhibit P00857, para. 49; The structure of the 51st Mechanised Brigade and the attack on Lužac, exhibit P00367.B, *Stanišić & Simatović*, p. 3.

101 Aleksandar Filković, witness statement in *Šešelj*, ICTY, exhibit P00857, p. 49; Testimony of protected witness C-057 in *Milošević*, ICTY, 27 November 2003, p. 29826-29827; Commander of the Novi Sad Corps Andrija Biorčević in a 1995 interview spoke about the role of the SDG in capturing Lužac: "By storming Lužac, the SDG helped the main troops to break through towards Drvo-kombinat and reach the right bank of the Danube", see in: "General Biorčević, Spreman za suđenje u Hagu" ["General Biorčević, Stands Ready for Trial at The Hague"], *Intervju*, 10 March 1995, exhibit D01192, *Stanišić & Simatović*.

102 Aleksandar Filković, Commander of the 1st MC of the 51st MBr, testified before the ICTY in *Milošević* on 27 November and 2 December 2003 as protected witness C-057; His witness statement was admitted as exhibit in *Milošević* (P607.1A), *Hadžić* (P02093.1), *Šešelj* (P00857) and *Stanišić & Simatović* (P00357 and P00358 – undisclosed statements). Filković was called in evidence in *Šešelj* as protected witness VS-012, but he died on 2 June 2007, after which protective measures for him were lifted. See in: Prosecution motion for admission of evidence of VS-012 pursuant to Rule 92quater and motion regarding the protective measures granted to witness VS-012, 12 December 2008, *Šešelj*; Supplementary statement of protected witness C-057, exhibit P607.1A, *Milošević*, para. 25.



At least 17 people, including seven civilians, were killed during the attack on Lužac on 1-2 November 1991.¹⁰³

Erdut

In the first half of November 1991, members of the SDG and the National Security Council (SNB) of the SAO SBZS forcibly brought several men to the Training Centre, where they were interrogated, beaten and eventually killed. Milorad Stričević interrogated them in the presence of Željko Ražnatović aka Arkan, Stojan Novaković, nicknamed “Cope”, and Nebojša Đorđević, nicknamed Šuca. Two of Arkan’s soldiers brought one prisoner at a time for interrogation. The prisoners had to kneel down and put their hands behind their backs. Every time they responded “I don’t know”, Šuca would hit them with a baseball bat. Arkan also beat the prisoners.¹⁰⁴

On or around 9 November, **Josip Bence** (b.1925), **Palko/Pavao Bereš** (b.1927), **Antun Kalozi** (b.1929), **Nikola Kalozi** (b.1951), **Nikola Kalozi** (b.1922), **Ivan Mihaljev** (b.1955), **Franjo Pap** (b.1934), **Mihajlo Pap** (b.1966), **Stjepan Senaši** (b.1935) and **Josip Senaši** (b.1967) were killed at the Training Centre in Erdut. The mortal remains of nine of the victims were exhumed from the mass grave in Čelije, and the mortal remains of Franjo Pap were exhumed from a grave in the Dalj agricultural district. The victims had skull fractures, shotgun wounds and head injuries caused by blunt instruments.¹⁰⁵

In the days following 9 November 1991, Mihajlo Ulemek, a member of the SDG, came to the National Security Council (SNB) headquarters and demanded that something be done about Juliana Pap, a resident of Erdut, who was inquiring about the fate of her husband Franjo. The next day, Juliana Pap was brought to the police station in Erdut and told to stop asking questions about her husband. A few days later, she was brought in again, after which SNB members took her to her house and told her that she would be able to see her husband if she gave them money. **Juliana Pap** (b. 1941), her son **Franjo Pap** (b. 1960) and daughter-in-law **Natalija Rakin** (b. 1970) gave money to members of the SNB and went with them in the direction of Borovo Selo. Near the Hunting Lodge in Savulja, members of the SNB first killed Julijana Pap and then her son and daughter-in-law on the orders of the head of the SNB, Stevo Bogić, nicknamed “Jajo”, and Mihajlo Ulemek.¹⁰⁶ Their bodies were thrown into a nearby well. Their mortal remains were exhumed from a mass grave in Borovo Selo in September 2000.¹⁰⁷

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103 Source: Dokumenta – Centre for Dealing with the Past, this data is not final, the list of victims from this area is a work in progress.

104 Trial Chamber Judgment in *Stanišić & Simatović*, ICTY, 30 May 2013, paras. 437-451; Behaviour of the commander of the special forces of Slavonia, Baranja and Western Srem, Ražnatović Željko in Erdut, exhibit P00130, *Hadžić*, p. 2.

105 Commission for the Identification of Detained and Missing Persons, 13 April 2000, P00027, *Hadžić*; An updated report in *The Prosecutor against Jovica Stanišić and Franko Simatović*, Directorate for Detained and Missing Persons, exhibit P00597, *Stanišić & Simatović*, p. 82; Trial Chamber Judgment in *Stanišić & Simatović*, MICT, 30 June 2021, para. 127; Testimony of protected witness GH-101 in *Hadžić*, ICTY, 22 January 2013, pp. 2702-2703.

106 Trial Chamber Judgment in *Stanišić & Simatović*, MICT, 30 June 2021, para. 128.

107 Directorate for Detained and Missing Persons, exhibit P00597, *Stanišić & Simatović*, p. 82.



On 11 November 1991, seven members of the SDG, including one with the nickname “Crnogorac”, and Milorad Stričević, brought six men from Dalj and Klisa to a house near the Training Centre, where two men from Dalj and Bijelo Brdo were held in detention. Upon arrival, Arkan’s soldiers found out that one of the detained men was Serb, Rajko Bursać, and immediately released him. The other detainees were guarded by five SDG members taking turns. They were brought for interrogation one by one, and then taken to the basement where they were beaten by Crnogorac and another SDG member.¹⁰⁸ In the evening, the detainees were transferred to the Training Centre for further interrogation. There was a woman taking notes on the interrogation.¹⁰⁹

The seven detainees, including Stjepan Dasović, were held in a windowless room with a metal door. Although they did not see other detainees, they heard someone speaking Hungarian. Members of the SDG stood guard in front of the door. Detainees were not allowed to leave the room and food was brought into the room. They had to defecate in a bucket. On the third day of imprisonment, Stjepan Dasović and his brother were released after their relatives from Serbia had interceded on their behalf.¹¹⁰ The rest of the detainees – **Jakob Barbarić** (b.1935), **Toma Curić** (b.1937), **Josip Debić** (b.1946), **Ivan Kučan** (b.1947) and **Josip Vaniček** (b.1951) – were killed at the Centre or in its vicinity after 14 November 1991. Their bodies were later exhumed from the mass grave in Čelije.¹¹¹

On or around 25 December 1991, members of the SDG and local police force, including Gojko Drinić and Tihomir Ivošević, took several persons of Hungarian and Croatian ethnicity, including women, to the Training Centre for interrogation.¹¹² The interrogation was conducted by Milorad Stričević. The following day, members of the SDG beat and killed **Manda Maj** (b.1933) and **Josip/Jura Zoretić** (b.1951) in the Training Centre. The mortal remains of those killed were found in a mass grave in the Dalj agricultural district.¹¹³

108 Stjepan Dasović, witness statement in *Milošević*, ICTY, exhibit 482A, paras. 9-14; A protected witness in *Stanišić & Simatović* stated that Mihajlo Ulemek informed Arkan that Croats Barbarić, Debić, Curić, Vanček and Kučan lived near the airport in Klisa, after which these persons were arrested and taken to the Training Centre in Erdut, see in: Protected witness, exhibit P0002, *Stanišić & Simatović*, p. 5.

109 Stjepan Dasović, witness statement in *Milošević*, ICTY, exhibit 482A, paras. 16-22.

110 *Ibid.*

111 An updated report in *The Prosecutor against Jovica Stanišić and Franko Simatović, Directorate for Detained and Missing Persons*, exhibit P00597, *Stanišić & Simatović*, p. 83; Trial Chamber Judgment in *Stanišić & Simatović*, MICT, 30 June 2021, paras.132-133.

112 Zlatko Antunović, witness statement in *Hadžić*, ICTY, exhibit D00001.B, p. 4; Statement of Jasna Balog Mihajlović, exhibit P481A, *Milošević*, para.7; Statement of Stana Albert, exhibit P00074.B, *Stanišić & Simatović*, pp. 2-3.

113 An updated report in *The Prosecutor against Jovica Stanišić and Franko Simatović, Directorate for Detained and Missing Persons*, exhibit P00597, *Stanišić & Simatović*, p. 84; Trial Chamber Judgment in *Stanišić & Simatović*, MICT, 30 June 2021, paras. 134-136; The mortal remains of Andrija Matin, Franjo Pittl, Stjepan Tešenac, Nikola Matošević and Andrija Šimek were also found in the mass grave in the Dalj agricultural district. While there are grounds to believe that the said persons were also detained in the Erdut Training Centre, the ICTY and MICT Trial Chambers were not able to conclusively establish the circumstances of death for these persons – see in: Trial Chamber Judgment in *Stanišić & Simatović*, ICTY, 30 May 2013, paras. 480-481 and Trial Chamber Judgment in *Stanišić & Simatović*, MICT, 30 June 2021, para. 135.



On 17 March 1992, Željko Ražnatović aka Arkan, accompanied by four men, came to Marija Senaši's house in Dalj Planina and took away from her the key to the Senašis' tavern. Her house was repeatedly looted and she was beaten. Senaši sought protection from members of the regular army.¹¹⁴ Around 3 June 1992, **Marija Senaši** (b.1937) disappeared while cycling to her home in Dalj Planina. On the orders of Mihajlo Ulemek, members of the SNB detained Marija Senaši in the basement of a house at the side of the road linking Erdut and Aljmaš, after which she was killed.¹¹⁵ Her mortal remains were exhumed from a well in Dalj Planina in September 2000.¹¹⁶

In early April 1992, members of the SDG and a group of armed and uniformed men wearing face masks gathered at least 90 mostly elderly citizens of Croatian and Hungarian ethnicity from Erdut and transported them in two buses to Sarvaš, near the line of contact between Serb and Croat forces. In Sarvaš, people were taken off the bus and told to go on foot towards the Croat soldiers.¹¹⁷

On the night of 6-7 March 1993, members of the SDG arrested two members of the RSK MUP, two customs officers, a woman employed in the customs service, two members of the SVK and a woman from Erdut in the Training Centre, for allegedly smuggling and selling weapons to members of the Russian Battalion of UNPROFOR. The detainees were held in the Training Centre, where they were interrogated and physically abused, after which they were released. Mihajlo Ulemek was involved in the physical abuse, inflicting serious bodily harm on the detainees.¹¹⁸

The cover-up of crimes

At the trial of Slobodan Milošević, protected witness B-071 stated that as a member of the SDG labour platoon, he participated in covering up a grave in a well near Erdut in 1996.¹¹⁹ According to his statement, SDG Captain Vlado Vukotić told Captain Svetozar Pejović, nicknamed "Peja", to find six to ten people for a special task. Pejović then told Radomir Trojanović to get hold of some shovels and pickaxes and that he would take him and the others to perform the task. Upon arriving at the location, Trojanović told the present members of the SDG that they had to cover up the grave and camouflage it so that it could not be seen.¹²⁰

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114 Some considerations regarding Arkan's activities, Security Administration, 14 September 1992, exhibit P01887, *Hadžić*, p. 4; Statement of Boriška Kalozi, exhibit P01571, *Hadžić*, p. 12.

115 Trial Chamber Judgment in *Stanišić & Simatović*, MICT, 30 June 2021, paras. 129 and 131.

116 Report on identification of mortal remains and circumstances of death of Marija Senaši, exhibit P00936, *Stanišić & Simatović*; An updated report in *The Prosecutor against Jovica Stanišić and Franko Simatović, Directorate for Detained and Missing Persons*, exhibit P00597, *Stanišić & Simatović*, p. 82.

117 Stana Albert, witness statement in *Stanišić & Simatović*, exhibit P00074.B, p. 4; Zlatko Antunović, witness statement in *Hadžić*, exhibit D00001.B, p. 4; Supplementary statement of witness Zlatko Antunović, exhibit P01800.B, *Stanišić & Simatović*, para 9; Testimony of protected witness GH-101 in *Hadžić*, ICTY, 22 January 2013, pp. 2723-2724.

118 Information from the Novi Sad RDB Centre, 15 March 1993, exhibit P00106, *Hadžić*.

119 Testimony of protected witness B-071 in *Milošević*, ICTY, 2 April 2003, pp. 18403-18404.

120 Protected witness B-071 testified in other cases about this event: Testimony of protected witness RFJ-129 in *Stanišić & Simatović*, MICT, 5 July 2018, pp. 2-3.



According to the statement of protected witness C-015, on an unspecified date in 1995, members of the SDG locked down the village of Tordinci and expelled the Russian Battalion of UNPROFOR, and exhumed approximately 200 bodies from the mass grave and drove them in an unknown direction. Local Serbs also took part in the removal and transfer of the bodies on the orders of Boro Ivanović, Commander of the Novi Sad Corps. Protected witness C-015 stated that they could have been buried at the place called Rupe, near Tordinci.¹²¹ Three mass graves and a number of single graves have been discovered in the Tordinci area and the mortal remains of 39 people have been exhumed from them. The majority of victims are still unaccounted for.¹²²

Northern Dalmatia

In the second half of January 1993, the SDG engaged in the fighting in Dalmatia. The arrival of the SDG was organized by Milan Milanović, nicknamed “Mrgud” [Grumpy], at the request of Milan Martić, who asked for help from the SAO SBZS authorities after the beginning of the Croatian army’s attack on the area of Ravni Kotari and Maslenica.¹²³ Upon arrival in Knin, the SDG refused to be quartered in military barracks, but stayed (more than 500 of them) at the Hotel Asseria in Benkovac.¹²⁴

On 31 January, the SDG engaged in the attack on Perića glava - the village of Paljuv, and then in the attack on Novigrad, as part of the newly established Operative Group 1.¹²⁵ Over the following month, they participated in battles in Kašić, Mali Alan and Škabrnja.

Initially, the commanders of the military and police units of the RSK reported on the positive effects on the combat morale of the units of the deployment of the SDG to the area,¹²⁶ but very soon they began to report on the problematic behaviour of members of the SDG.

On 12 February 1993, the commander of the Main Staff of the SVK wrote Arkan a letter stating that “it is highly desirable at this moment to remove Colonel Ulemek from Obrovac”, explaining that a part of the SDG led by Mihajlo Ulemek had got entangled in local conflicts in Obrovac, instead of being in

121 Testimony of protected witness C-015, exhibit P00002, *Stanišić & Simatović*, p. 8; Witness D.K., statement given to the HLC in August 2009.

122 Directorate for Detained and Missing Persons, reply no. 522-05/1-22-2 dated 25 October 2022.

123 Stojan Novaković, witness statement in *Stanišić and Simatović*, MICT, 7 October 2020, p. 29; Aco Drača, witness statement in *Stanišić & Simatović*, ICTY, 1 February 2012, p. 16789.

124 Aco Drača, witness statement in *Stanišić & Simatović*, ICTY, 1 February 2012, p. 16790; Borislav Pelević, witness statement in *Stanišić & Simatović*, ICTY, 24 January 2012, p. 16373; Transcript of a TV interview with Željko Ražnatović, July 1994., exhibit P648.A, *Krajišnik*, p. 14; At a RSK Government session in May 1993 the damage caused to the property of the hotel in Benkovac during the stay of the SDG was discussed, see in: Notes of the 46th regular session of the RSK Government, 13 May 1993, exhibit P03083, *Hadžić*, pp. 7-8.

125 Order for further actions, Command of the 1st OG, strictly confidential, no. 38-89, 31 January 1993, exhibit D00621, *Stanišić & Simatović*.

126 Regular combat report, Command of the 7th Corps (strictly confidential) no. 30-62, 27 January 1993; Information on the situation on the North-Dalmatian battlefield in the RSK, GŠ SVK no. 01-57, 28 January 1993; Report of the Obrovac SJB no. 01/1 (strictly confidential) 14/93, 27 January 1993, exhibit P01902, *Hadžić*.



combat operations, which was their main task.¹²⁷ On 20 February, the Security & Intelligence Organ of the SVK Main Staff reported that members of the SDG were not interested in defending the territory, “but in taking Zadar in order to rob local banks and steal gold and foreign currency.”¹²⁸

The command of the 15th Corps stationed in the Gračac area noted that the situation worsened after around 200 members of the SDG had joined the 9th MtBr. “[T]he presence of Arkan and his fighters, their courage, fortitude, and stamina instil confidence and motivate the combatants on the one hand; but on the other hand, their behaviour, privileges and the fear that they stir up by blatant physical abuse of some fighters and commanding officers, is the source of overt discontent that can result in open conflicts and escalations. A part of the brigade command condones this deviant behaviour, which causes fear of ‘Arkanization’ among the fighters and could have negative consequences.”¹²⁹

On the orders of the Commander of the Main Staff of the SVK, Mile Novaković, and the Minister of Internal Affairs of the RSK, Milan Martić, on 21 February 1993 Željko Ražnatović Arkan and SDG members were banned from entering the RSK owing to their “misbehaviour in January and February 1993 during the battles in the areas of Benkovac, Obrovac, and Gračac, and mistreatment of the civilian population.”¹³⁰ Although this ban was lifted as early as 27 February, Arkan left Dalmatia. Around 400 members of the SDG remained in the SVK until late March 1993, when they went back to Erdut.¹³¹

The Serbian Volunteer Guard in Bosnia and Herzegovina

The SDG arrived in Bosnia and Herzegovina following Radovan Karadžić’s public call for volunteers “in the Serbian countries and all Orthodox countries”. Biljana Plavšić too invited volunteers to come to BiH in a letter addressed to Željko Ražnatović, Vojislav Šešelj, Mirko Jović and others.¹³² In a 1994 interview, Ražnatović said that the SDG had come to BiH at the invitation of the Serbian Democratic Party.¹³³ Ljubisha Savić, nicknamed “Mauzer”, the Commander of the Special Brigade of the VRS called

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127 Letter of Commander Mile Novaković addressed to the SDG Commander, 12 February 1993, exhibit D01137, *Stanišić & Simatović*.

128 Security and Intelligence Organ (strictly confidential) no. 43-2, 20 February 1993, exhibit P02616, *Stanišić & Simatović*.

129 Security situation in mobilised units, Command of the 15th Corps (strictly confidential) no. 187-2, exhibit P01191, *Stanišić & Simatović*; Letter to the Command of the 15th Corps and 4th LBr, 21 February 1993.

130 Information for SUPs in the RSK area, MUP no.112/93, 21 February 1993.

131 Regular combat report of the Command of the 7th Corps (strictly confidential) no. 30-1518, 5 March 1993, exhibit D01558, *Stanišić & Simatović*; Daily combat report of the OG-1 (strictly confidential) no. 133-3, 5 March 1993.

132 Tape recording of the 22nd session of the National Assembly of Republika Srpska held on 23-24 November 1992, pp. 20-22; Jovan Dimitrijević, witness statement in *Stanišić & Simatović*, ICTY, 17 January 2012, p. 16109; Witness statement of protected witness B-129 Milošević, ICTY, 16 April 2003, pp. 19424-19425; Borislav Pelević, witness statement in *Stanišić & Simatović*, ICTY, 24 January 2012, p. 16347.

133 Transcript of a TV interview with Željko Ražnatović, July 1994., exhibit P648.A, *Krajišnik*, p. 10.



“Panthers Guard”, the Crisis Staff of the town of Bijeljina, and Predrag Ješurić, head of the Bijeljina SUP, also invited the SDG to come and fight in their areas.¹³⁴

Bijeljina

The SDG first came to the Bijeljina area in March 1992, when they participated in the training of the local population linked to the SDS.¹³⁵

On the night of 31 March 1992, about 60 members of the SDG were transferred by bus from Erdut to Badovinci, and then by raft ferry to the village of Popovi, where they joined the local forces under the command of Mirko Blagojević and Ljubiša Savić, nicknamed Mauzer, who had previously undergone SDG training.¹³⁶ Shortly afterwards, they were transferred by bus to a place a kilometre away from the centre of Bijeljina town, from where they set out to capture the town.¹³⁷

Members of the SDG moved in small groups in order to cross the entire town more quickly. Each group had a local Serb as a guide. Although the poorly armed non-Serb population put up some resistance from the barricades they had previously set up, after six to eight hours members of the SDG and local Serb forces took control of the town and posted a guard in front of the most important institutions in the town, including the hospital which they ransacked.¹³⁸

After the capture of the town, they hoisted Serbian flags on two town mosques.¹³⁹ In one of the Bijeljina mosques, armed members of the SDG, including Nebojša Đorđević, nicknamed Šuca, were photographed by photojournalist Ron Haviv, who accompanied a group of SDG fighters on 2 April 1992.¹⁴⁰

134 Ljubiša Savić aka Mauzer (1958-2000), member of the Crisis Staff of SAO Semberija and Majevica, who later became the Commander of the National Guard of SAO Semberija and Majevica, which was soon renamed the Panthers Guard. He was trained by the SDG; Arkan assigned him the rank of colonel, see in: Transcript of a TV interview with Željko Ražnatović, July 1994, exhibit P648.A, *Krajišnik*, p. 11; Testimony of protected witness B-161 in *Milošević*, ICTY, 22 May 2003, pp. 21053-21054.

135 Testimony of protected witness B-1486 in *Milošević*, ICTY, 8 April 2003, pp. 18713-18714; Alija Gušalić, witness statement in *Milošević*, ICTY, 31 March 2003, p. 18259.

136 Testimony of protected witness B-1738 in *Milošević*, ICTY, 17 March 2003, pp. 18030-18033; Jovan Dimitrijević, witness statement in *Stanišić & Simatović*, ICTY, 17 January 2012, p. 16100; Transcript of a TV interview with Željko Ražnatović, July 1994, exhibit P648.A, *Krajišnik*, p. 11.

137 Mirko Blagojević was the president of the SRS in Bijeljina. In 1993, Vojislav Šešelj gave him the title of Chetnik Vojvoda [Chetnik Commander/Duke]; Trial Chamber Judgment in *Krajišnik*, 27 September 2006, para. 299; Testimony of protected witness B-1738 in *Milošević*, ICTY, 17 March 2003, p. 18050.

138 Testimony of protected witness B-1738 in *Milošević*, ICTY, 17 March 2003, pp. 18034; 18038-18041; N.D., statement given to the HLC in December 1993; In a 1995 interview, Mihajlo Ulemek said: “Bijeljina was a short and nice story, we completed our assignment within just eight hours, only two of our men were wounded and driven to the hospital by our commander himself,” - see in “Srbin sam tim se dičim” [“Proud to be a Serb”], *SAM*, 21 November 1995.

139 Witness statement of Sead Omeragić in *Krajišnik*, ICTY, 12 April 2005, pp. 11950-1951.

140 Photo album, exhibit P00117, *Stanišić & Simatović*, p. 9; Borislav Pelević, witness statement in *Stanišić & Simatović*, ICTY, pp. 16537-16538; R.A., statement given to the HLC in March 1993.



Over the next couple of days, the town was surrounded by armed reserve troops, and “chaos, lawlessness and widespread panic swept the town”.¹⁴¹

In the course of the Serb takeover of the town, members of the SDG took people out of their houses, basements and workplaces and brought them to the premises of the Crisis Staff to beat them. They surrounded the bus station and stopped civilians on the street and locked them in the bus station waiting-room. In front of the bus station, three or four members of the SDG shot dead **Mića Đokić**, nicknamed “Ludi Mićo”, a mentally impaired civilian with a paralysed arm and leg, because he did not stop on their orders.¹⁴²

On April 2, 1992, members of the SDG broke into the basement of the house of the Šabanović family, not far from the mosque and the City Park, where about fifteen people were hiding. They took **Redžep Šabanović** (1943), his wife **Ajša** (called “Tifa”), **Abduraham** (1954), and **Hamijeta Pajaziti** (1953) out of the basement and killed them. Ajša and Redžep Šabanović’s son, **Admir** (1968), were killed near the mosque while Admir was running away from the courtyard. Around 13 civilians were killed in the yard of Šabanović’s house and the surrounding area.¹⁴³ SDG member Jovan Dimitrijević, testifying before the ICTY, recognised SDG member Srđan Golubović, nicknamed “Max”, as the soldier who was about to kick the body of murdered Ajša Šabanović in a famous photograph by Ron Haviv.¹⁴⁴

Members of the SDG broke down Rijad Arifović’s basement door and forced his mother and him into the yard. Arifović recognized Brano Filipović, known as “Šumar” [Forester], Miloš Blagojević, and Žika Cvijanović from Bijeljina in the group of Arkan’s men, wearing camouflage uniforms and balaclavas. They searched the house, told Arifović not to leave home, and left. The shooting spree started soon afterwards. Arifović saw the bodies of murdered people lying on the street the whole day and night. Among the bodies left in a yard, he recognized **Sabit Arifović** (b.1935), **Husein Gelja** (b.1933) and **Majda Halilović**. **Husein Dizdarević** (b.1941), a disabled man, and the brothers **Adnan** (b.1963) and **Rijad Komšić** (b.1973) were killed near the library.¹⁴⁵

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141 Operative daily report of the Command of the 17th Corps, 3 April 1992, exhibit D00239, *Karadžić*; Trial Chamber Judgment in *Stanišić & Simatović*, ICTY, 27 September 2006, para. 299.

142 Testimony of protected witness B-1738 in *Milošević*, ICTY, 17 March 2003, pp. 18035-18036; 18075; Witness R.A., statement given to the HLC in March 1993; *Majstori mraka [Masters of Darkness]* Jusuf Trbić, 2007, p. 221.

143 Testimony of protected witness VS-1028 in Šešelj, ICTY, 9 December 2008, pp. 12740-12747; *Majstori mraka*, Jusuf Trbić, 2007, pp. 42, 44; “Za smrt najbližih krivim arkanovce” [“I blame Arkan’s man for the death of my dearest”], *Danas*, 14 January 2016; Witness R.A., statement given to the HLC in March 1993.

144 Jovan Dimitrijević, witness statement in *Stanišić & Simatović*, ICTY, 19 January 2012, p. 16209-16211; Golubović was identified by protected witness B-129 too at the trial of Slobodan Milošević, see: Witness statement of B-129 in *Milošević*, ICTY, 16 April 2003, p. 19457.

145 A.R. said it was Nihad Komšić, but it was his brother Adnan, witness R.A., statement given to the HLC in March 1993; *The Bosnian Book of the Dead*, vol. III, p. 534.



In the course of the takeover of Bijeljina, at least 48 civilians between the ages of 10 and 70 were killed. The Bijeljina Crisis Staff published a list of “killed Muslim extremists”, with 40 names.¹⁴⁶ Their bodies were later found in 15 locations in Bijeljina.¹⁴⁷ Most of the victims were shot in the chest, mouth, temple, or top of the head, some at close range. As ordered by the SDG, the corpses were removed from the streets in anticipation of a visit by Biljana Plavšić, Fikret Abdić and other SDS officials on 4 April 1991. The bodies removed from the streets were taken to the mortuary of the Bijeljina hospital, in front of which members of the SDG stood guard.¹⁴⁸

The Command of the JNA 17th Corps, in whose area of responsibility Bijeljina was, reported on 4 April 1992 that the town was under the control of “the SDS and Arkan’s men.”¹⁴⁹ On the same day, two members of the SDG, one of whom was known as “Šoša”, and Branko Filipović, nicknamed Šumar, took **Asim Fidahić** (b.1960) from his home. Fidahić’s mortal remains were later found at the cemetery in Sremska Mitrovica, Serbia.¹⁵⁰

Later that day, a delegation that included members of the Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Biljana Plavšić, Fikret Abdić, Defence Minister Jerko Doko, and JNA generals Dobrašin Praščević and Savo Janković visited Bijeljina.¹⁵¹ General Praščević reported to Arkan and Biljana Plavšić publicly praised him, kissed and thanked him. She then asked him to hand over control of Bijeljina to the JNA, which Arkan refused.¹⁵²

146 The list of 40 killed people with the said title was published as a press release of the Crisis Staff, signed by Ljubiša Savić aka Mauzer in the local newspaper *SIM*: Ajruš Ziberi, Maid Sinanović, Salko Nargalić Čosa, Ešef Beganović, Alija Mujkić, Sead Kraljinović. Mustafa Komšić, Adnan Komšić and Rijad Komšić, Bejtula, Hamijeta and Abdirami Pajaziti, Husein Dizdarević, Sabit Arifović, Redžep Šabanović, Tifa Šabanović, Admir Šabanović, Husein Geljo, Hasan Imširović, Feriz Karasuljić, Bisera Bišanović, Nermina Bišanović and Mirsada Bišanović, Damir Danović, Radmila Novaković, Ibrahim and Almir Belkić, Ivica Vrhovac, Mirjana Ilić, Dževad Osmanović, Dževad Jašarević, Elmazi Mersim, Muhamed Mulabdić, Majda Izić, Bego Šindrić, Huso Benić, Milo Lukić, Antonija Ostojić, Zvonko Lazarević and an unidentified person, see in *Majstori mraka*, Jusuf Trbić, 2007, p. 98; The list of victims was also published in *Slobodna Bosna* on 10 April 1992: see in: “Krvavi bijeljinski Bajram” [“Bloody Bayram in Bijeljina”], *Slobodna Bosna*, 10 April 1992, exhibit P584, *Krajišnik*; For more details about victims, see: *Majstori mraka*, Jusuf Trbić, 2007.

147 “Krvavi bijeljinski Bajram” [“Bloody Bayram in Bijeljina”], *Slobodna Bosna*, 10 April 1992, exhibit P584, *Krajišnik*; Trial Chamber Judgment in *Krajišnik*, ICTY, 27 September 2006, para. 300; Operative daily report of the 17th Corps, 7 April 1992, exhibit P06214, *Karadžić*, p. 1; Map of Bijeljina indicating the locations where bodies were found, exhibit P420.1, *Milošević*; Testimony of protected witness B-1003 in *Milošević*, ICTY, 7 April 2003, pp. 18610-18613.

148 Testimony of protected witness B-1003 in *Milošević*, ICTY, 7 April 2003, pp.18610-18613; Photo album, exhibit P00117, *Stanišić & Simatović*, p. 6; Trial Chamber Judgment in *Krajišnik*, ICTY, 27 September 2006, para. 300; The bodies of the killed people were thrown into the River Drina which carried them northward, later to be found and recovered in Serbia, see in: *Majstori mraka*, Jusuf Trbić.

149 Operative daily report of the Command of the 17th Corps, 4 April 1992, exhibit P01371, *Stanišić & Simatović*.

150 It was probably Šuca, as the witness described that Arkan’s man as a person “with very bulging eyes”, witness R.A., statement given to the HLC in March 1993.

151 Video of the delegation’s visit to Bijeljina, exhibit D00084, *Stanišić & Simatović*.

152 *Ibid*; Sead Omeragić, witness statement in *Krajišnik*, ICTY, 13 April 2005, pp. 11974-11978 Krvavi bijeljinski Bajram” [“Bloody Bayram in Bijeljina”], *Slobodna Bosna*, 10 April 1992, exhibit P584, *Krajišnik*.



After 1 April 1992, SDG members took control of the Public Security Station (SJB) and, posing as instructors, freely entered the station and arbitrarily slapped and humiliated police officers. They took official SJB vehicles and weapons seized from the Muslim population without authorisation. They also took documents from the SJB station and forged firearms licences, driver's and traffic licences for vehicles they had stolen. Police could not patrol Bijeljina unless at least one SDG member was on the patrol.¹⁵³

By the time a group of inspectors from the Federal Ministry of the Interior had arrived in the Bijeljina area on 27 June 1992, members of the SDG and other units had mistreated and looted the property of the remaining Bijeljina population regardless of their ethnicity. Rapes also took place. The inhabitants were leaving the town under duress.¹⁵⁴

A few days after the capture of Bijeljina, some of the SDG members were sent to Zvornik, while some of them joined the unit of Ljubiša Savić, nicknamed Mauzer, under whose command they participated in the capture of Smoluća.¹⁵⁵

Janja

After the capture of Bijeljina, SDG members led by Arkan came to Janja and demanded the local Muslim population to surrender their weapons, including hunting rifles, in order for the SDG to guarantee their safety. After the inhabitants of Janja surrendered their weapons, Arkan informed them that the municipality of Bijeljina had come under Serbian control.

Two to three days later, the local police began to wear Republika Srpska insignia. A curfew was issued, telephone lines were disconnected, and residents of Janja were forbidden to leave the village.¹⁵⁶

After the capture of Janja, the non-Serb population was harassed, intimidated and subjected to forced labour before gradually being deported or expelled from the village over the next few years. Vojkan Đurković, nicknamed "Puškar", an SDG officer, played a key role in the deportation and expulsion of the residents of Janja. In 1994, Đurković opened an office in the centre of the village, where the

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153 Testimony of protected witness B-1738 in *Milošević*, ICTY, 17 March 2003, p. 18095; Testimony of protected witness B-1003 in *Milošević*, ICTY, 7 April 2003, pp. 18636-18637; Information on the engagement and activities of the MUP of the Serbian Republic of BiH on restoring authority and law and order in the area of CSB Bijeljina, exhibit P01378, *Stanišić & Simatović*, pp. 1-3; Milorad Davidović, witness statement in *Krajišnik*, ICTY, exhibit P764.1, para. 66; Report on the engagement of a group of members of the SMUP Militia Brigade to provide professional assistance to the MUP of the Serbian Republic of BiH, 8 August 1992, exhibit P03017, *Stanišić & Simatović*, pp. 2-5; Report of the SJB Bijeljina, July 1992, exhibit P02598, *Stanišić & Simatović*, p. 3.

154 Information on the engagement and activities of the MUP of the Serbian Republic of BiH on restoring authority and law and order in the area of CSB Bijeljina, exhibit P01378, *Stanišić & Simatović*, pp. 3-5; Report on the engagement of a group of members of the SMUP Militia Brigade to provide professional assistance to the MUP of the Serbian Republic of BiH, 8 August 1992, exhibit P03017, *Stanišić & Simatović*.

155 Testimony of protected witness B-1738 in *Milošević*, ICTY, pp. 18048-18049, 18052; M.V., statement given to the HLC in January 2005.

156 Testimony of protected witness B-1486 in *Milošević*, ICTY, 8 April 2003, pp. 18715-18718.



inhabitants of Janja had to register to be able to leave the village in convoys. Đurković charged 200 German marks per family member for registration, and for men of military age the price would go up to 2000 German marks. Several other members of the SDG also participated in the displacement of the population.¹⁵⁷ Even when their families paid the required sums, men of military age were separated from the convoy and sent to VRS units to be subjected to forced labour.¹⁵⁸

Zvornik

In early April 1992, several volunteer units from Serbia came to the Zvornik area. Their arrival was coordinated by the Serbian Municipal Crisis Staff.

The SDG arrived in the area on 4 or 5 April 1992. They first stayed in Radaljska Banja, across the River Drina, in Serbia. On 5 April 1992, Željko Ražnatović authorized SDG officer Marko Pejić, nicknamed Peja, to lead the attack on Zvornik.¹⁵⁹ On the night of 5-6 April 1992, members of the SDG and other volunteer units from Serbia (“Sima’s Chetniks”, “Yellow Wasps”, “Gogić’s Group”, etc.) with the assistance of the Bosnian Serb police, set up barricades and checkpoints in the direction of Karakaj.¹⁶⁰ Bosnian Muslims responded by setting up barricades on the bridge between Serbia and Bosnia and Herzegovina.¹⁶¹

On 6 April, the Command of the JNA 17th Corps reported as follows: “The presence of Ražnatović Arkan’s SDG in the area of Semberija does not contribute to calming the situation and improving

157 Information – Sigma report, 9 April 1994, exhibit P03519, *Stanišić & Simatović*, p. 3.

158 Witness I.D., statement given to the HLC in January 1995; Witness S.B., statement given to the HLC in April 1995; Witness H.D., statement given to the HLC in January 1995; Witness J.M., statement given to the HLC in January 1995.

159 Svetislav Mitrović, witness statement in *Zvornik I*, District Court in Belgrade, 30 May 2007, p. 4; Jovan Dimitrijević, witness statement in *Stanišić & Simatović*, MICT, 19 January 2021, p. 16213.

160 Nedžad Hadžiefendić, witness statement in *Karadžić*, exhibit P00062, p. 2.

161 Milorad Ulemek aka Legija was among the volunteers who came to Zvornik from Serbia. He was arrested upon entering the town with a group of volunteers linked to the SRS – brothers Vojin and Duško Vučković and Miroslav Bogdanović, when they took a wrong turning from the road leading from Karakaj to Mali Zvornik on the way to the Hotel Jezero, where they intended to join other volunteers. They were armed with guns, knives, handcuffs and wires. They were detained overnight in the police station. Marko Pavlović/Branko Popović, Commander of the Zvornik TO Staff, sent to Zvornik by Serbian DB, General Savo Janković, Commander of the 17th Corps, and KOS General Nedeljko Bošković all demanded that the arrested volunteers be released. Ulemek and the other arrestees, escorted by the head of the criminal police Fadil Mujić, were transferred to the dam in Diviće to be exchanged, and there they joined other Serb volunteers in the attack on Zvornik. Vojin Vučković and his brother Dušan soon formed the Yellow Wasps Unit, while Ulemek joined the SDG, see in Notes on the interrogation of accused Vojin Vučković before the District Court in Šabac, 7 November 1993, exhibit P01403, *Stanišić & Simatović*; Jovan Dimitrijević, witness statement in *Stanišić & Simatović*, ICTY, 18 January 2012, pp. 16134-16137; Testimony of protected witness B-1237 in *Milošević*, ICTY, 8 May 2003, pp. 20407-20408; When he arrived in the Zvornik area, Branko Popović identified himself as Marko Pavlović. He was sentenced to 15 years in prison for crimes committed in Zvornik, see in: Case *Zvornik II* available at: http://www.hlc-rdc.org/Transkripti/zvornik_2.html; Ulemek was close to KOS General Nedeljko Bošković, who helped him to arrive in the war zone; Vojin Vučković, statement given to Serbian MUP on 4 November 1993, exhibit P01190, *Stanišić & Simatović*; Fadil Mujić’s statements of 1 June 1996 and 13 May 1997, disclosed on 20 October 2017, *Stanišić & Simatović*; Asim Alić, witness statement in *Zvornik I*, District Court in Belgrade, 10 March 2006, p. 29.



relations with the Muslims. The situation in the municipality of Zvornik is explosive and can escalate into a large-scale conflict [...]”¹⁶²

On 7 April 1992, a day before the attack on Zvornik, a meeting between SDS, SDA and JNA representatives was held at the Hotel Jezero in Mali Zvornik, at which the partitioning of Zvornik municipality was discussed. Ražnatović also came to the meeting accompanied by several SDG members. He asked Serb representatives from Zvornik “who authorized them to split Serbian land with Muslims”, after which Marko Pejić beat them. Ražnatović gave the Bosnian Muslim representatives an ultimatum to surrender their weapons and hand the town over by eight o’clock next morning.¹⁶³

The Serb attack on Zvornik led by the SDG commenced in the morning hours of 8 April 1992 and lasted for two days. About 60 SDG members under the command of Major Marko Pejić, nicknamed Peja, about a hundred volunteers, and 100 to 200 members of the TO force and Zvornik SUP participated in the attack.¹⁶⁴ Artillery support was provided by the JNA, who shelled Muslim-inhabited parts of Zvornik from the directions of Mali Zvornik, Karakaj and Čelopek.¹⁶⁵ Several thousand residents left Zvornik during the first day of the attack. Radio Zvornik urged the inhabitants to take shelter in basements.¹⁶⁶

Around eight o’clock in the evening, Serbian forces led by the SDG entered Zvornik. According to the plan, they first took the hospital, then the radio station, and then the SUP. Members of the SDG moved around the town guided by a local resident, who showed them the wealthier Muslim residents.¹⁶⁷ The following day, the Serbian TO Staff informed the Federal Defence Secretariat as follows: “At 13.00 hours TO and Serbian volunteer units mopped up two thirds of Zvornik and are advancing along the River Drina towards Divič and Kula (in the Old town). At 13.30 hours, fighting took place around the Zamlaz, Fetija and Cigan mala neighbourhoods. There were killed and wounded in the fighting, but not among our units.”¹⁶⁸

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162 Report on the situation in the 17th Corps’ zone, 6 April 1992, exhibit P01381, *Stanišić & Simatović*, p. 1;

163 Testimony of Branko Popović in *Zvornik I*, District Court in Belgrade, 30 November 2005, p. 7; Testimony of Branko Grujić in *Zvornik I*, District Court in Belgrade, 28 November 2005, p. 34; Transcript of a TV interview with Željko Ražnatović, July 1994., exhibit P648.A, *Krajišnik*, p. 13.

164 The following paramilitary units participated in the attack on Zvornik: Yellow Wasps under the command of Vojin Vučković aka Žuća, White Eagles under the command of Zoran Obrenović aka Aždaja, Gogić’s Group, Šešelj’s Men, Vukovar Group, and groups led by Niški and Pivarski, see in: Testimony of protected witness VS-1093 in Šešelj, ICTY, 12 November 2008, p. 11706; Testimony of protected witness B-1237 in *Milošević*, ICTY, 8 May 2003, p. 20410; Borislav Pelević, witness statement in *Stanišić & Simatović*, ICTY, 24 January 2012, p. 16351; Jovan Dimitrijević, witness statement in *Stanišić & Simatović*, ICTY, 19 January 2012, p. 16208; Testimony of protected witness KDZ-555 in *Karadžić*, ICTY, 16 August 2011, p. 17275.

165 Testimony of protected witness B-1237 in *Milošević*, ICTY, 8 May 2003, p. 20410.

166 Testimony of protected witness B-1058 in *Milošević*, ICTY, 9 September 2003, p. 26129; Operative daily report of the Command of the 17th Corps, 12 April 1992, exhibit P01433, *Stanišić & Simatović*, p. 1; Daily report of the Operative Duty Team of the SSNO, 10 April 1992, exhibit P01389, *Stanišić & Simatović*, pp. 2-3.

167 Matija Bošković, witness statement in *Šešelj*, exhibit P00836, paras. 12 and 21; Dragan Đokanović, witness statement in *Zvornik I*, District Court in Belgrade, 27 February 2008, p. 44-45.

168 Daily report of the Operative Duty Team of the SSNO, 10 April 1992, exhibit P01389, *Stanišić & Simatović*, pp. 2-3.



On 9 April 1992, about 30 civilians, including women and children, were sheltering in the basement of a multifamily residential building in Filip Kljajić Street in Zvornik. At around ten o'clock in the morning, ten soldiers in black uniforms, balaclavas and black fingerless gloves, breached the basement door using explosives and burst in. They ordered the men to get out, under the pretext that they had to be searched for weapons. Shortly afterwards, they threw the women and children out of the basement and ordered them to move to the SUP building, without turning around and looking at the men who were standing lined up against the wall of the building with their hands on their heads. After walking about two hundred metres, witness B-1058 heard gunshots behind her. When she attempted to turn around, the soldier behind her poked her in the back with his automatic rifle to keep moving without looking back. On the way to the SUP, the witness saw the corpses of her murdered neighbours.¹⁶⁹ The women and children from the basement were taken to the library, across the street from the SUP. Women from other parts of Zvornik were also being brought to the library, and said that they had seen the corpses of murdered men in front of the building in Filip Kljajić Street. In the afternoon, Željko Ražnatović Arkan came to the library and said that buses would come to take them away. A bit later, they were transported in buses to Banja Koviljača, in Serbia.¹⁷⁰ A few days later, witness B-1058 returned to Zvornik to find out what had happened to the corpses of the men killed in front of the building. She saw bullet holes in the wall, blood, bullet casings, her husband's cap and her son's sneaker on the asphalt.¹⁷¹

At least 12 men were killed in front of the building in Filip Kljajić Street on 9 April 1992: **Mevludin Ahmetović** (b.1962), **Nusret Ahmetović** (b.1966), **Fahrudin Alajbegović** (b.1929), **Sabit Bilalić** (b.1943), **Samir Bilalić** (b.1968), **Senad Bilalić** (b.1970), **Hajrudin Delić** (b.1946), **Edhem Hadžić** (b.1930), **Sead Hidić** (b.1967), **Senad Hidić** (b.1972), **Ivo Kojić**, and **Dedo Krstić** (b.1933).¹⁷² Witness B-1058 testified that Arkan's and Šešelj's men were among the soldiers who took the men out of the basement.¹⁷³

During the takeover of Zvornik, a large number of Muslims were captured and brought by members of different units to the Alhos textile factory in Karakaj, where they were interrogated by Marko Pejić.¹⁷⁴ It is estimated that between 200 and 300 men captured during the takeover of the town were brought to Alhos, where they were tortured and killed.¹⁷⁵

169 Testimony of protected witness KDZ-023, exhibit P02919, *Karadžić*, p. 3; Testimony of protected witness B-1058 in *Milošević*, ICTY, 9 September 2003, p. 26131.

170 Testimony of protected witness KDZ-023, exhibit P02919, *Karadžić*, p. 4.

171 *Ibid.*

172 Trial Chamber Judgment in *Karadžić*, ICTY, 24 March 2016, para. 1256.

173 Testimony of protected witness KDZ-023, exhibit P02919, *Karadžić*, p. 4, Testimony of protected witness B-1058 in *Milošević*, ICTY, 9 September 2003, pp. 26132-26144.

174 Transcript of a TV interview with Željko Ražnatović, July 1994, exhibit P648.A, *Krajišnik*, p. 13; Notes of the interrogation of accused Dušan Vučković, 7 November 1993, exhibit P01190, *Stanišić & Simatović*; Duško Vučković, statement given to Serbian MUP, exhibit D00160, *Stanišić & Simatović*, p. 3.

175 Official note on police interview, RDB Centre Valjevo, 4 July 1992, exhibit P00971.1, *Šešelj*, p. 3.



Pursuant to Pejić's orders, the corpses of those killed during the takeover of the town were also brought to Alhos. In the first five or six days following the takeover of Zvornik, several dozen corpses were transferred to Alhos.¹⁷⁶

On 10 April 1992, members of the SDG attempted to capture Kula Grad with artillery support from the JNA, but the Bosnian Muslim forces repelled the attacks. Two members of the SDG – Ivan Okiljević, nicknamed "Rambo", and Branko Živanović, known as "Major Žika" – were killed in the fight.¹⁷⁷

In late April, members of the SDG participated in a Serb attack on the village of Divič. At least 1000 Muslims fled to the neighbouring village of Jošanica as a result of the attack. The Serbian forces did not allow them to return to the village.¹⁷⁸

The SDG pulled out from Zvornik around 25 April 1992, but some SDG members stayed in the area.¹⁷⁹

In May 1992, led by Pejić, Arkan's men came to Kozluk. They drove through the neighborhood in a van and, over a megaphone, informed the locals that they must surrender their weapons. They checked every house, took people out, and robbed them. Arkan's men took about twenty people from Kozluk to Alhos. They were released following the intervention of Fadil Banjanovic, the president of the MZ Kozluk.¹⁸⁰

In November 2019, the HLC received a letter from a former SDG member, in which he stated that SDG members Saša Savić, Svetozar Pejović and Mladen Šarac robbed several Muslim families in Zvornik in May 1992 and handed over the loot to Marko Pejić, and that Mladen Šarac and Slaviša, known as "Čile", raped two Muslim women in Snagovo.¹⁸¹

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At the meeting that Ratko Mladić held on 30 June 1992 with representatives of the Zvornik Municipal Assembly, Marko Pavlović/Branko Popović, a TO commander who had been sent to Zvornik by the Serbian DB, reported that "the volunteer units led by Arkan and Šešelj did an excellent job".¹⁸² In November 1995, during the celebration of the Republika Srpska MUP's patron saint, Arkan was awarded a pistol with an engraving as a token of gratitude for the SDG's participation in the capture of Zvornik in 1992.¹⁸³

176 Testimony of protected witness B-1775 in *Milošević*, ICTY, 29 May 2003, pp. 21320-21322.

177 Request for support, 17th Corps, 10 April 1992, exhibit D00177, *Stanišić & Simatović*; Nedžad Hadžiefendić, witness statement in *Karadžić*, ICTY, exhibit P00062, p. 3; Report on the state, organisational-formational structure and combat readiness of units of the Armed Forces – Zvornik, exhibit D00038, *Karadžić*, p. 2; Transcript of a TV interview with Željko Ražnatović, July 1994, exhibit P648.A, *Krajišnik*, p. 13.

178 Stojan Novaković, witness statement in *Stanišić and Simatović*, ICTY, 30 May 2013, paras. 1201-1206.

179 Testimony of protected witness K in *Zvornik I*, District Court in Belgrade, 8 May 2006, pp. 8 and 64.

180 H.M., statement given to the HLC, April 1994.

181 An SDG member's letter to the HLC, 14 November 2019.

182 Ratko Mladić's notebook, 27 May 1992 to 31 July 1992, exhibit P01347, *Šešelj*, p. 7; See the Zvornik II Case http://www.hlc-rdc.org/Transkripti/zvornik_2.html

183 Borislav Pelević, witness statement in *Stanišić & Simatović*, ICTY, 24 January 2012, pp. 16351-16352.



Brčko

In early May 1992, a group of SDG members under the command of Marko Pejić, nicknamed Peja, participated in the capture of Brčko. They stayed in this area for about a month.¹⁸⁴

Members of the SDG, together with other volunteer units, were tasked with guarding around 200 men who had been arrested during the capture of the town and detained in the Hadži Paša Mosque (Old Mosque) in the Kolobara area of Brčko. In the mosque, the detainees were interrogated and beaten. According to the testimony of protected witness J in the *Jelisić* Case, a soldier, whom he identified by his uniform as one of Arkan's men, killed **Zikret Suljić**, nicknamed "**Kike**" (b.1961) as he attempted to flee.¹⁸⁵

In late September 1992, the intelligence service of the IBK submitted a report to the Main Staff of the VRS on the events in Brčko in May and June, which stated that "[t]he town is thronged with all sorts of 'patriotic' individuals, who, under the pretext of being 'loyal Serbs,' have actually committed robberies, rape and, as a consequence, murders without justifiable reason. [...] the most conspicuous being Mauzer and Major Gavrilović, with Arkan's companions guided by Peja and the civilian leadership of Bijeljina. Their genuine desire to help their neighbours in Brčko is beyond question, but the poor organisation as a result of which some individuals got out of control and committed murders is also beyond question."¹⁸⁶

Sarajevo – Ilidža

Around 12 May 1992, a group of about twenty members of the SDG led by Milorad Ulemek aka Legija, the then captain of the SDG, was deployed to the wider Sarajevo area.¹⁸⁷ According to Tomislav Kovač, the then head of police in Ilidža, KOS General Nedeljko Bošković came along with the group. According to Kovač, the group was tasked with establishing special units in the area, but they also participated in combat operations in Kasindolska Street.¹⁸⁸

184 Overview of the events and situation, with an assessment of level of achievements, exhibit D00083, *Stanišić & Simatović*, pp. 5-7.

185 Testimony of protected witness J in *Jelisić*, ICTY, 7 September 1999, pp. 1116-1117; The Bosnian Book of the Dead, vol. II, p. 917.

186 Intelligence Service of the East Bosnian Corps, extraordinary report, 29 September 1992, exhibit P00154, *Stanišić & Župljanin*, p. 1.

187 Nedeljko Prstojević, witness statement in *Krajišnik*, ICTY, 15 June 2005, pp. 14548-14550; 14558; Intercepted conversation between Mićo Stanišić and Nedeljko Žugić, May 1992, exhibit P01206, *Stanišić & Župljanin*. Statement of Tomislav Kovač, exhibit D03960, *Karadžić*, para. 71; Intercepted conversation between Radoslav Unković and Ratko Mladić, 13 May 1992, exhibit P02802.B, *Stanišić & Simatović*.

188 Statement of Tomislav Kovač, exhibit D03960, *Karadžić*, para. 71; "Bolje da smo Sarajevo uzeli nego što smo ga gadali" ["It would have been better if we had taken Sarajevo instead of shelling it"], *Borba*, 1 March 1996, exhibit 2D00074, *Stanišić & Simatović*; Nedeljko Prstojević, witness statement in *Krajišnik*, ICTY, 15 June 2005, p. 14558; Intercepted conversation between Nedeljko Prstojević and Đogo, 14 May 1992, exhibit P05690, *Karadžić*, p. 2.



SDG troops were flown to Sarajevo by helicopters from the Batajnica airport in Serbia. They carried only personal weapons. They landed in the barracks compound in Lukavica, from where they were sent to Ilidža. They stayed briefly in Nedžarići, before being returned to Ilidža, where they lodged at the Hotel Terme. Ulemek regularly reported to the SDG headquarters about the developments in Sarajevo.¹⁸⁹

On 19 May 1992 in Ilidža, Serbian forces stopped a convoy of several thousand women and children who were trying to leave Sarajevo and go to Split in Croatia. On 20 May 1992, Ulemek reported to Arkan that the SDG had participated in stopping the convoy.¹⁹⁰ The convoy was held until 21 May, when the people from the convoy were allowed to be evacuated from the Ilidža area under the escort of UNPROFOR, in exchange for deliveries of food to the Viktor Bubanj barracks.¹⁹¹ Ulemek informed Arkan that due to stopping the convoy he came into conflict with Mladić, that their presence is not viewed favorably, and that it would be best for them to return.¹⁹²

In the second half of May, two members of the SDG demanded from Milenko Tepavčević, the head of police at the Butmir Prison, which was used as a detention facility for the non-Serb population from the Ilidža area, to hand over control of the prison and SJB to the SDG.¹⁹³ Tepavčević referred them to Tomislav Kovač, who removed them from Ilidža a few days later. Members of the SDG were returned to Belgrade and then sent back to Erdut.¹⁹⁴

Operation Pauk

In November 1994, the SDG participated in Operation Pauk, a joint operation of the forces of the Republic of Serbian Krajina, Republika Srpska, Serbia and Fikret Abdić, aimed at capturing the town of Velika Kladuša and restoring the self-proclaimed Autonomous Province of Western Bosnia (APZB).¹⁹⁵ The joint Operation Pauk involved parts of the 21st Corps and units of the 39th and 15th Corps of the Serbian Army of Krajina (SVK), members of the National Defence Force of the APZB, the SDG, the

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189 Intercepted conversation between Valter, Željko Ražnatović and Milorad Ulemek, aka Legija, 15 May 1992, exhibit P00707.B, *Stanišić & Simatović*; Intercepted conversation between Legija and Erdut, May 1992, exhibit P1223, *Krajišnik*; Intercepted conversation between Željko Ražnatović and Milorad Ulemek aka Legija, 20 May 1992, exhibit P02743, *Mladić*, pp. 1-2; Nedjeljko Prstojević, witness statement in *Krajišnik*, ICTY, 15 June 2005, p. 14558.

190 "Koljači, ubice, zločinci" ["Butchers, murderers, criminals"], *Muslimanski glas*, 12 June 1992, exhibit P770, *Krajišnik*; Intercepted conversation between Željko Ražnatović and Milorad Ulemek aka Legija, 20 May 1992, exhibit P02743, *Mladić*, pp. 1-2.

191 Situation in Sarajevo, several UNPROFOR reports, May 1992, exhibit P00321.B, *Mladić*, pp. 4-5, 8-9; Situation in Sarajevo – report by Adnan Abdelrazek, 22 May 1992, exhibit P00322.B, *Mladić*; Trial Chamber Judgment in *Mladić*, ICTY, 22 November 2017, para. 4745.

192 Intercepted conversation between Željko Ražnatović and Milorad Ulemek aka Legija, 20 May 1992, exhibit P02743, *Mladić*.

193 Butmir Prison in Ilidža served as a detention facility for the non-Serb population between May 1992 and late October 1994, see in: Trial Chamber Judgment in *Karadžić*, ICTY, 24 March 2016, paras 2136-2158.

194 Testimony of protected witness KDZ-601 in *Karadžić*, ICTY, 8 September 2011, p. 18593; Testimony of protected witness KDZ-601 in *Karadžić*, ICTY, 13 September 2011, p. 18650; Statement of Tomislav Kovač, exhibit D03960, *Karadžić*, para. 73.

195 Excerpt from Ratko Mladić's notebook, 7 October 1994, *Perišić*, exhibit P02937.B, pp. 6 and 9.



Unit for Anti-terrorist Operations (JATD) and the Ministry of the Interior of Serbia, as well as parts of the 1st and 2nd Krajina Corps of the VRS. On two occasions, the Scorpions Unit was also involved in the operation. General Mile Novaković was at the head of the joint command of Operation Pauk.¹⁹⁶

At the beginning of November 1994, one group, consisting of about 40 members of the SDG under the command of Milorad Ulemek, was sent to the MUP base in Lipovica Forest, from where they were transferred to the DB camp on Mount Tara. After seven days of training in the camp, they were returned to the Lipovica Forest, where they were supplied with weapons and military equipment, after which they left for Petrova Gora in a convoy of buses and trucks. Two or three days later, they settled in Katinovac. Another group, consisting of about thirty SDG members commanded by Mihajlo Ulemek, arrived in the area in mid-November 1994.¹⁹⁷

The SDG was attached to Tactical Group 2 (TG2). The TG2 included about a hundred, members of the SDG and about 1,000 soldiers of the National Defence of Western Bosnia (NOZB) under the command of Milorad Ulemek.¹⁹⁸ SDG Colonel Rade Rakonjac served as Ulemek's deputy during this operation and commanded a support unit. The SDG formed a group in charge of logistics, a military police intervention platoon, and the border police unit headed by Božidar Cakić. Mihajlo Ulemek was in charge of interrogation of prisoners.¹⁹⁹

The SDG's presence in the area of Cazin Krajina was kept secret. Members of the SDG left their personal documents at their headquarters in Belgrade before going on assignment to Cazin Krajina.²⁰⁰ They were not even allowed to admit which unit they belonged to, in case of capture, and were introduced to other units involved in Operation Pauk as members of special police.²⁰¹ Instead of the usual SDG insignia, they wore red berets with an emblem showing a sword and four Cyrillic "S" framed by the Serbian flag.²⁰² In battles, they wore woollen caps and camouflage hats.²⁰³

The first task of the SDG was to provide training for members of NOZB units. It was a sort of basic training, which took place in the Vasilj Gaćeša barracks in Petrinja, Croatia.²⁰⁴ Soon afterwards, the

196 Military aspects of the role of Jovica Stanišić and Franko Simatović in the conflicts in Croatia and BiH, Reynaud Theunens, exhibit P01575.B, *Stanišić & Simatović*, p. 268; Trial Chamber Judgment in *Stanišić & Simatović*, ICTY, 30 May 2013, paras. 1965-1967.

197 Testimony of protected witness B-129 in *Milošević*, ICTY, 16 April 2003, pp. 19460-19462; Testimony of protected witness C-020 in *Milošević*, ICTY, 22 October 2002, pp. 12193-12196; Operational diary of Pauk command, exhibit P00820, *Stanišić & Simatović*, p. 30.

198 Trial Chamber Judgment in *Stanišić & Simatović*, ICTY, 30 May 2013, paras. 1962-1963.

199 *Ibid*, para. 1976.

200 Testimony of protected witness C-020 in *Milošević*, ICTY, 22 October 2002, p. 12192; Testimony of protected witness B-129 in *Milošević*, ICTY, 17 April 2003, p. 19509.

201 Testimony of protected witness C-020 in *Milošević*, ICTY, 22 October 2002, p. 12208.

202 *Ibid*, p. 12197.

203 Video footage of Operation Pauk, exhibit P02415, *Stanišić & Simatović*.

204 Daily report of the OB IKM of the SVK Main Staff, 13 November 1994; Data for Defence Minister's presentation for the RSK Assembly, SVK Main Staff, 30 November 1994; "Srbin sam tim se dičim" ["Proud to be a Serb"], *SAM*, 21 November 1995.



SDG was deployed in the village of Ahovo and participated in the Velika Kladuša offensive alongside other units engaged in the operation.²⁰⁵

After the capture of Velika Kladuša at the end of 1994, a training centre for NOZB new recruits called „Surovi“ was established, headed by Nenad Bujošević. His deputy was Vladan Panić, nicknamed „Pana“.²⁰⁶ The instructors were Jugoslav Gluščević, Novica Njagojević, Zoran Đorđević, nicknamed „Mali Rambo“, Dejan Gvojić, nicknamed „Srna“, Boris Batez, Slaviša Arsenijević, nicknamed „Valjevac“, and Sergeant Radoš Crepuljarević, nicknamed „Crepulja“.²⁰⁷

The units involved in Operation Pauk detained and mistreated non-Serbs in several detention facilities in the area of Velika Kladuša. Milorad Ulemek and soldiers under his command, including Mihajlo Ulemek, interrogated and mistreated prisoners in the Ponikve and Nepeke camps and in a garage in Trnovi.²⁰⁸ Detainees from the Ponikve camp were forced to dig trenches, while younger women were taken to the territory of the SAO Krajina to clean up after the soldier called Legija. A young prisoner from the Ponikve camp was taken to the River Glinica and forced to collect the fish which soldiers had killed with bombs.²⁰⁹

Former KOS member Slobodan Lazarevic, who was engaged in the exchange of prisoners and corpses in the sector of the SVK 21st Corps, said that on one occasion he asked members of the SDG for corpses for exchange. Svetozar Pejović, the SDG colonel, referred Lazarević to Mladen Šarac, who told him that he had no corpses but could provide them, as he had five prisoners. Lazarevic testified that Šarac ordered those five prisoners killed, after which their bodies were handed over to him.²¹⁰

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Members of the SDG would take leave or otherwise leave the area of Cazin Krajina, but most of the unit commanded by Milorad Ulemek, aka Legija, remained in the area until the beginning of Croatian Operation Storm in August 1995, when they pulled out through Žirovac and Dvor. After his return to Erdut, Ulemek received the rank of SDG general.²¹¹

205 Testimony of protected witness B-129 in *Milošević*, ICTY, 16 April 2003, p. 19464; Testimony of protected witness C-020 in *Milošević*, ICTY, 22 October 2002, p. 12198.

206 New recruits in this centre had Mohawk haircuts during training - Dejan Plahuta, witness statement in *Stanišić & Simatović*, ICTY, 14 May 2012, pp. 19354-19355; Report on the visit to the Training Centre for new recruits called „Surovi“, 11 March 1995, exhibit D00863, *Stanišić & Simatović*.

207 Trial Chamber Judgment in *Stanišić & Simatović*, ICTY, 30 May 2013, para. 1976.

208 Camps and Other Detention Sites During the War in BH 1992–1996, CDTF, TPOS, REKOM, 2022, pp. 608-609; 628; Note on taking a statement from S.E., 4 June 1996, CSB Bihać; Note on taking a statement from O.S., 16 August 1995, CSB Bihać.

209 Note on taking a statement from O.S., 16 August 1995, CSB Bihać; Camps and Other Detention Sites During the War in BH 1992–1996, CDTF, TPOS, REKOM, 2022, p. 608.

210 Slobodan Lazarević, witness statement in *Gotovina*, exhibit D01461, p. 21; Slobodan Lazarević, witness statement in *Milošević*, ICTY, 29 October 2002, pp. 12441-12445.

211 Testimony of protected witness B-129 in *Milošević*, ICTY, 16 April 2003, p. 19463.



Operation Trnovo/Treskavica

In May 1995, a meeting took place in the office of Radovan Stojičić, the head of the Public Security Department of the Serbian MUP. The meeting was attended by, among others, Željko Ražnatović, commander of the Scorpions Unit, Slobodan Medić, nicknamed “Boca”, and Ljubo Milojević, nicknamed “Plavi”, on behalf of the Vukovar SUP.²¹² Stojičić said that the leadership of Republika Srpska had asked for help and that the SDG, the Scorpions and the MUP of the RSK should help the VRS in Trnovo.²¹³

In late June 1995, about 70 members of the SDG under the command of Dragan Petrović, nicknamed “Kajman”, were deployed to Mount Jahorina, and then to the area of Treskavica, in Trnovo.²¹⁴

Members of the Unit for Anti-terrorist Operations of the MUP of the Republic of Serbia commanded by Vasilije Mijović, members of the Scorpions Unit, as well as the MUP RSK company known as “Plavi”, were also sent to Jahorina. All these units were placed under Mijović’s command and had a joint headquarters in Jahorina.²¹⁵

After arriving in Trnovo, the SDG participated in combat operations alongside the VRS and the units of the MUP of Republika Srpska in charge of securing the Sarajevo-Trnovo-Dobro Polje-Miljevina communication line in the area of responsibility of the Sarajevo-Romanija Corps (SRK) of the VRS.²¹⁶ In military and police documents, the SDG was referred to as a unit of the Ministry of the Interior of Serbia.²¹⁷

42 A group of Tigers, which included Mladen Šarac, Svetozar Pejović, nicknamed “Peja”, Jugoslav Simić, Saša Asćerić, and Mihajlo Ražnatović, and members of the police from Eastern Slavonia, were transferred from Erdut to Jahorina in four buses driven by forcibly mobilised refugees brought to the Training Centre.²¹⁸

212 Meetings at which protected witness JF-029 was present, exhibit P01666, *Stanišić & Simatović*, p. 6.

213 Trial Chamber Judgment in *Stanišić & Simatović*, ICTY, 30 May 2013, para. 2018; Borislav Pelević, witness statement in *Stanišić & Simatović*, ICTY, 25 January 2012, p. 16423.

214 Witness statement of B-129 in *Milošević*, ICTY, 17 April 2003, p. 19477.

215 Tomislav Kovač, witness statement in *Škorpioni*, District Court in Belgrade, 3 July 2006, pp. 76-77; Witness statement of B-129 in *Milošević*, ICTY, 17 April 2003, pp. 19477-1949; Testimony of C-017 in *Milošević*, ICTY, 11 June 2003, p. 22077.

216 First-instance judgment of the District Court in Belgrade in *Škorpioni*, 10 April 2007, p. 64; Borislav Pelević, witness statement in *Stanišić & Simatović*, ICTY, p. 16423; Milan Milanović, witness statement in *Škorpioni*, District Court in Belgrade, 24 October 2006, pp. 11,13; Witness statement of B-129 in *Milošević*, ICTY, 17 April 2003, p. 19479; Dispatch of the Trnovo Forward Command Post Special Police Brigade, 30 June 1995, exhibit P01451, *Stanišić & Simatović*; Mobilisation of all available forces in areas of responsibility of SRK and Herzegovina Corps (HK), request, 6 June 1995, exhibit P05131, *Mladić*.

217 Dispatch of the Trnovo Forward Command Post Special Police Brigade, 30 June 1995, exhibit P01451, *Stanišić & Simatović*; Information from the war zone and around it, RS MUP, 30 June 1995, exhibit P01453, *Stanišić & Simatović*; Regular combat report of the SRK Command, 20 July 1995, exhibit P0146, *Stanišić & Simatović*; Dispatch from CJB Srinje, 21 July 1995, exhibit P01466, *Stanišić & Simatović*.

218 Stojan Novaković, witness statement in *Stanišić and Simatović*, MICT, 6 October 2020, p. 54; Witness statement of B-129 in *Milošević*, ICTY, 17 April 2003, p. 19478; Witness D.D., statement given to the HLC on 23 June 1997, HLC Archive.



Among the forcibly mobilised drivers was D.D., a haulier from Šabac. On 26 June 1995, D.D. was tasked with transporting members of the SDG from Erdut to Jahorina. After they arrived in Jahorina, D.D. was placed in a hotel. He drove members of the SDG from Jahorina to Pale whenever necessary until 15 July, when Dragan Petrović, nicknamed “Kajman”, ordered him to transport members of the VRS to Bratunac. The next day, D.D. drove soldiers on the Jahorina-Zvornik-Bratunac-Bjelovac route. From 17 to 19 July, several times a day he drove buses carrying army members and captured Muslims from Bjelovac to Konjević Polje. Simultaneously, executions of Srebrenica Muslims and the search for them are still ongoing in the area of Bratunac and Zvornik municipalities. On 19 July 1995, D.D. returned to Jahorina.²¹⁹

On 23 July 1995, members of the SDG pulled back from the area of Trnovo and Jahorina and returned to Erdut.²²⁰ Witness B-129 told the ICTY Chamber in the trial of Slobodan Milošević that after she had returned to Belgrade, Jugoslav Simić, a member of the SDG, told her that members of the Serbian DB had tortured the Muslims captured in the actions at Treskavica “and then killed them.”²²¹

At the beginning of December 2021, the International Commission on Missing Persons (ICMP) announced that ten victims from Srebrenica, whose remains were exhumed in June 2021 at Dobro Polje, had been positively identified.²²²

Dobro Polje is situated a few kilometres from Godinjske Bare, where members of the Scorpions Unit executed six civilians from Srebrenica in mid-July 1995. Testifying before the ICTY, former Scorpion member Goran Stoparić described the arrival of a bus full of civilians accompanied by members of the Security Service Centre (CSB) of the Trnovo area. CSB members threw the civilians out of the buses and handed them over to the Scorpions, saying that they were distributing the civilians from Srebrenica to be killed in different locations and that that was “their portion of civilians.”²²³

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219 In late June 1995, D.D., a haulier from Šabac was stopped by the police in Belgrade because he was driving a bus with Vukovar registration plates. After checking his ID, the police took him to the fire station in Sremska Mitrovica, where he was told to use his bus to transport conscripts from Serbia to Republika Srpska. D.D. drove two tours of forcibly mobilised refugees to Karakaj, after which they sent him from Sremska Mitrovica to Erdut with the empty bus - Witness D.D., statement given to the HLC on 23 June 1997, HLC Archive; Notes of the interview with D.D., 23 February 2005; Travel order no. 01-057, 23 June to 23 July 1995, HLC Archive.

220 Witness D.D., statement given to the HLC on 23 June 1997, HLC Archive; Notes of the interview with D.D., 23 February 2005; Travel order no. 01-057, 23 June to 23 July 1995, HLC Archive-a; JATD withdrew from the area at the same time – see in: Information on JATD withdrawal from the war zone, 19 July 1995, exhibit P05165, *Karadžić*; Military aspects of the role of Jovica Stanišić and Franko Simatović in the conflicts in Croatia and BiH, Reynaud Theunens, exhibit P01575.B, *Stanišić & Simatović*, p. 402.

221 Testimony of protected witness B-129 in *Milošević*, ICTY, 17 April 2003, p. 19480.

222 Victims found in the mass grave in Kalinovik linked to the 1995 Srebrenica genocide, ICMP, 8 December 2021, available at: <https://www.icmp.int/bs/news/victims-found-in-mass-grave-in-kalinovik-linked-to-july-1995-srebrenica-genocide/>.

223 Goran Stoparić, witness statement in *Stanišić & Simatović*, exhibit P01702.B, para. 105; Documentary “Scorpions – A Home Movie”, HLC, April 2007; Protected witness JF-024 in *Stanišić & Simatović* also spoke about groups of prisoners they called “parcels”, who were transported from Srebrenica to different locations to be killed, see in Trial Chamber Judgment in *Stanišić & Simatović*, ICTY, 30 May 2013, para. 880.



Dobro Polje was located in the zone secured by the units engaged in the Trnovo/Treskavica operation and was designated as the area for the evacuation of seriously wounded members of the JATD, with which the SDG shared a joint command.²²⁴

Banjaluka Operation

In the autumn of 1995, a joint operation of the VRS and the MUP of Republika Srpska was launched aiming to prevent the fall of Banja Luka, strengthen the front line, and defend the corridor between Republika Srpska and Serbia, which covered the areas of Sanski Most, Mrkonjić Grad, Banjaluka, Prijedor and Ključ. The SDG participated in this operation as part of Operative Group 10 (OG-10), alongside units of the VRS and RS MUP.²²⁵ On 20 September 1995, Deputy Minister of the Interior of Republika Srpska Tomislav Kovač issued an order on the unification of all armed forces in the area of responsibility of the 1st and 2nd Krajina Corps, on the basis of which a Joint Staff comprising VRS and MUP units was established. On behalf of the RS MUP, Kovač appointed Željko Ražnatović Arkan to the staff in charge of Prijedor.²²⁶ In mid-October 1995, the SDG received an order to carry out an attack along the Prijedor-Sanski Most communication line together with a MUP detachment from OG-10, and then, in cooperation with the 65th Protection Regiment and the 3rd Battalion of the 43rd MtBr, fight their way to the outskirts of Sanski Most with artillery support from OG-10.²²⁷

During the Banjaluka operation, Mihajlo Ulemek was appointed commander of the SDG military police department. Saša Aščerić, nicknamed “Asteriks”, Mladen Šarac, Rade Rakonjac, Nenad Bujošević, Momir Ristić, Mihajlo Ražnatović, Boris Batez, Dragan Petrović, nicknamed “Kajman”, and other SDG members participated in this operation.²²⁸

Sanski Most

In mid-September 1995, between 250 and 300 SDG members were transferred in five or six buses from the Erdut Training Centre to the Hotel Sanus in Sanski Most. In addition to regular members of the SDG, this group also included a large number of refugees who had been forcibly mobilised in Serbia and transferred to the Erdut Centre. Members of the SDG set up a base in the hotel and went to their posts from there. As early as 22 September, Sanski Most was controlled by a large number of soldiers in SDG uniforms.²²⁹

224 GŠ VRS (confidential) no. 08/25-240, 1 July 1995, exhibit P01454, *Stanišić & Simatović*.

225 Battle order Op. no. 10/95, OG-10 Command, 13 October 1995, 13 October 1995, exhibit 2D00162, *Stanišić & Simatović*.

226 RS MUP Bijeljina no. RJB – 1D-125, 20 September 1995, exhibit D00140, *Stanišić & Simatović*.

227 Battle order Op. no. 10/95, OG-10 Command, 13 October 1995, exhibit 2D00162, *Stanišić & Simatović*.

228 Trial Chamber Judgment in *Stanišić & Simatović*, ICTY, 30 May 2013, para. 1863; Witness L.D., statement given to the HLC in September 1998; Trial Chamber Judgment in *Stanišić & Simatović*, MICT, 30 June 2021, para. 453.

229 Witness V.J., statement given to the HLC on 17 December 1998, HLC Archive; Witness M.J., statement given to the HLC on 21 December 1998, HLC Archive; Witness S.Ž., statement given to the HLC on 29 May 1998, HLC Archive; Witness S.K., statement given to the HLC on 7 July 1998, HLC Archive; Video footage - Arkan in Sanski Most, exhibit P02492, *Stanišić & Simatović*; Excerpt from Ratko Mladić’s notebook, 22 September 1992, exhibit P02543, *Stanišić & Simatović*, pp. 3-5.



Members of the SDG arrested non-Serbs from the area of Sanski Most and detained them in the Hotel Sanus, where they shaved their heads and beat them. They tied them to a post in front of the town art gallery, across the street from the hotel.²³⁰ In the boiler room of the hotel, of approximately five square metres in size, members of the SDG imprisoned about 35 Muslim captives, and beat and otherwise mistreated them. Due to the lack of food and water, at least two people died in the boiler room.²³¹ Members of the SDG took jewellery, watches and other valuables from the detainees and handed them over to the War Presidency of Sanski Most.²³²

SDG members also brought local Serbs whom they considered deserters to the Hotel Sanus, cut their hair and then sent them on to battlefield positions.²³³

The Main Staff of the VRS had information about the violent behaviour of the SDG in the Sanski Most area. In a 23 September 1995 dispatch from the Main Staff of the VRS, it was stated that members of the SDG were forcibly taking away and arresting members of the VRS, disarming parts of the units and appropriating their weapons and equipment, as well as mistreating non-Serb members of the VRS. The dispatch further stated that “the presence of Arkan’s paramilitary units precipitated armed clashes and incidents with individuals and some VRS units, and upset the population at large after word got out that he had arrested all the Muslims in Sanski Most and liquidated a certain number of loyal Muslim citizens, including family members of some VRS servicemen, justifying it publicly as liquidation of an infiltrated DTG /Sabotage Group/ in Grdanovci village.”²³⁴

A month later, on 20 October 1995, the Main Staff of the VRS reported to Radovan Karadžić that, up to that date, “11 murders of non-Serbs in Sanski Most and the murder of a VRS member at a position near Novi Grad at the hands of members of the SDG” had been registered.²³⁵

45

Trnova

On 20 September 1995, members of the SDG killed 11 non-Serb men in the village of Trnova, about 5 km from Sanski Most.

In September 1995, the Army of BiH launched an offensive operation, which forced the VRS to pull back from the front line in Bihać towards Sanski Most on 13 September. A part of the VRS units from Ključ was stationed in the village of Poljak after the retreat. Members of the SDG came to Poljak and

230 Public redacted version of a witness statement, exhibit P02112, *Stanišić & Simatović*, p. 3; Trial Chamber Judgment in *Stanišić & Simatović*, ICTY, 30 May 2013, para. 868.

231 Trial Chamber Judgment in *Stanišić & Simatović*, ICTY, 30 May 2013, para. 867; Trial Chamber Judgment in *Stanišić & Simatović*, MICT, 30 June 2021, para. 271.

232 Notes of handover of confiscated items, 21 September 1995, exhibit P432.19, *Milošević*.

233 Testimony of protected witness B-1047 in *Milošević*, ICTY, 16 June 2003, p. 22497.

234 Dispatch from the VRS Main Staff, 23 September 1995, exhibit P00289, *Stanišić & Simatović*.

235 Information on the activities of members of the Serbian Volunteer Guard Tigers and Željko Ražnatović in Republika Srpska, GŠ VRS, 20 October 1995, exhibit D01503, *Mladić*.



asked for men to load weapons and ammunition from the village warehouse onto a truck and then unload the truck outside the Hotel Sanus. Members of the VRS designated five Muslims who were under a work obligation to perform the task.²³⁶

The Muslims, escorted by SDG and VRS members, were sent first to the warehouse in Poljak, and then to the Hotel Sanus. When they arrived in Sanski Most, they could see tanks, transporters, mortars, and buses marked Vukovar, as well as captured civilians in front of the hotel. About thirty SDG members in uniform, with black woollen caps or berets - black or red depending on their rank - were also there. The Muslims were ordered to unload the weapons and ammunition only after Arkan's arrival. After they had unloaded the weapons and ammunition, Arkan approached them, asked for their names, and ordered them to remain in the hotel corridor until further orders. Another member of the SDG, whom the others addressed as colonel or lieutenant colonel, ordered them to sit down and bow their heads almost to the ground, and ordered another soldier to hold them at gunpoint and shoot if they moved. After a while, seven more captured Muslims were brought into the corridor.²³⁷

46 Around half-past two in the morning of 20 September 1995, members of the SDG ordered the prisoners to unload another truck, which carried SDS documentation from Sanski Most, after which they handcuffed all 12 prisoners (they were handcuffed together two-by-two) and ordered them onto a truck covered with a tarpaulin. Three members of the SDG, including a minor called Željko, guarded the prisoners under the tarpaulin. After a 15-minute to half-hour's drive, the truck stopped in the village of Trnova. Three SDG members ordered the prisoners to get off the truck two-by-two. As the paired up prisoners were getting off the truck, shots were heard. One of the prisoners asked the soldiers if there was a chance for them not to be killed, to which the soldiers said that they would spare their lives if they gave them 5,000 German marks, adding that they were lucky to have been captured by Arkan's soldiers. In a garage in the village of Trnova, all the prisoners but one were shot dead by members of the SDG. Two of the prisoners were butchered by an SDG member known as Željko. In the end, one of the SDG members ordered another one to shoot each prisoner in the head to finish them off. After that they left the scene.²³⁸

Eleven men were killed in the garage in Trnova. They were: **Abdulah Behremović** (b.1946), **Osman Muratović** (b.1939), **Idriz Omerspahić** (b.1955), **Mesud Smailagić** (b.1945), **Midhat Šabić** (b.1955), **Derviš Šehić** (b.1949), **Mehmed Šehić** (b.1940), **Safet Šehić** (b.1950), **Mehmed Tahudžić** (b.1951),

²³⁶ Public redacted version of a witness statement, exhibit P02112, *Stanišić & Simatović*, pp. 3-7; Testimony of protected witness B-1047 in *Milošević*, ICTY, 16 June 2003, pp. 22484-22504; Trial Chamber Judgment in *Stanišić & Simatović*, ICTY, 30 May 2013, paras. 789-795.

²³⁷ *Ibid.*

²³⁸ *Ibid.*



Nijaz Topalović (b.1948), and **Hasan Topić** (b.1941). One prisoner was seriously wounded.²³⁹ The bodies of the killed prisoners were found in October 1995, after the Army of BiH entered Trnova.²⁴⁰

Sasina

On or about 21 September 1995, after midnight, members of the SDG forced 67 non-Serbs – 66 men and one woman - from Šehovac, Sanski Most and Pobježe, to board a bus in the parking lot outside the Hotel Sanus. On the way to the bus, the people were forced to walk between two rows of SDG members who beat them with rifle butts and sticks as they passed through. In front of the bus, SDG members beat an elderly man, after which they put him on the bus. Approximately 8 members of the SDG also boarded the cramped bus. Munevera Alagić was the only woman on the bus. Several members of the SDG came to the place where she was sitting and raped her one by one over a period of some 10 to 15 minutes. During that time, other members of the SDG forced the captives to sing Chetnik songs.²⁴¹

Soon afterwards, the bus departed from the parking lot. The prisoners were not allowed to look out of the window and did not know in which direction they were moving. After less than half an hour, the bus stopped outside the town. The music on the bus was turned up, and SDG members began to take the prisoners out of the bus in groups of four or five. The first group was taken out onto the road, which was lit by the bus headlights. A member of the SDG pulled out a knife and killed the first man. The next man was ordered to kneel down with his back to a SDG member, after which he was shot in the back of the head. Two persons survived the killing and testified at the trial of Stanišić and Simatović. They said that shortly after the killing, they heard a vehicle coming, from which two more people were thrown to the edge of the pit into which the bodies of the people killed were being thrown. Then they heard gunshots and two explosions, whereupon the soldiers left the scene. Soon, a bulldozer came to cover the pit containing the bodies with earth.²⁴²

47

At least 65 people were killed in Sasina. They were: **Senad Aganović** (b.1954), **Fevzija Alagić** (b.1932), **Munevera Alagić** (b.1953), **Remzija Alagić** (b.1932), **Kadir Alibabić** (b.1936), **Osman Arapović** (b.1939), **Mehmedalija Bajrić** (b.1959), **Senad Bajrić** (b.1976), **Meho Bajrović** (b.1947), **Hajrudin Behar** (b.1968), **Elvir Behremović** (b.1970), **Ibrahim Behremović** (b.1934), **Jahija Bešić** (b.1928), **Muharem Botonjić** (b.1922), **Drago Buha** (b.1972), **Derviš Cerić** (b.1934), **Eniz Cerić** (b.1939), **Irfan Čekić** (b.1928), **Aziz Dautović** (b.1957), **Ermin Drobić** (b.1976), **Ibrahim Drobić**

²³⁹ Testimony of protected witness B-1047 in *Milošević*, ICTY, 16 June 2003, p. 22505; Record of crime scene inspection, Higher Court in Bihać no. KRI 50/96, 18 October 1995, exhibit P02262, *Stanišić & Simatović*; Trial Chamber Judgment in *Stanišić & Simatović*, ICTY, 30 May 2013, para. 795; Trial Chamber Judgment in *Stanišić & Simatović*, MICT, 30 June 2021, para. 272.

²⁴⁰ Record of crime scene inspection, Higher Court in Bihać no. KRI 50/96, 18 October 1995, exhibit P02262, *Stanišić & Simatović*; Video made by the RBiH Army Press Centre, exhibit P02472, *Stanišić & Simatović*.

²⁴¹ Trial Chamber Judgment in *Stanišić & Simatović*, ICTY, 30 May 2013, para. 800.

²⁴² *Ibid*, paras. 798-801.



(b.1978), **Muharem Drobić** (b.1941), **Ekrem Džafić** (b.1932), **Šefko Džananović** (b.1933), **Hasan Džinić** (b.1953), **Ernes Hajrić** (b.1977), **Avdo Halimović** (b.1930), **Mehmed Hasanović** (b.1949), **Osman Hasić** (b.1930), **Vedad Hromalić** (b.1976), **Ago Jakupović** (b.1935), **Fadil Jakupović** (b.1958), **Fehim Jakupović** (b.1933), **Idriz Jakupović** (b.1931), **Muharem Jakupović** (b.1954), **Safet Jakupović** (b.1942), **Muharem Kamber** (b.1932), **Osman Kamber** (b.1958), **Zijad Kamber** (b.1936), **Ismet Karabeg** (b.1941), **Hakija Kasumović** (b.1942), **Bećo Kumalić** (b.1929), **Rifet Kuršumović** (b.1926), **Husein Kurbegović** (b.1932), **Mehmed Kurtović** (b.1927), **Adem Lasić** (b.1926), **Muharem Mahić** (b.1927), **Karanfil Musić** (b.1966), **Arif Omić** (b.1937), **Taib Omić** (b.1936), **Ibrahim Pašagić** (b.1925), **Avdo Pašalić** (b.1934), **Muharem Šekić** (b.1926), **Ševko Talić** (b.1933), **Adnan Talić** (b.1977), **Besim Talić** (b.1979), **Džemal Talić** (b.1952), **Haris Talić** (b.1973), **Husein Talić** (b.1926), **Ibraga Talić** (b.1967), **Muhamed Talić** (b.1952), **Rasim Talić** (b.1937), **Sulejman Talić** (b.1962), **Ibrahim Sinanović** (b.1920), and one other man, whose name is unknown.²⁴³

On 18 and 19 July 1996, two mass graves in Sasina were exhumed, and it was determined that the victims died as a result of wounds caused by firearms fired at close range, except for two victims who died from injuries caused by a knife and a blunt instrument.²⁴⁴

Čadavica

On 3 October 1995, members of the SDG captured three unidentified soldiers of the Army of Bosnia and Herzegovina in Mala Manjača, near Mrkonjić Grad. One of them was stripped to his underwear by a member of the SDG nicknamed “Gliša”, who hit him with a rifle-butt and finally stuck a bayonet in his back. The other two were taken to the hamlet of Perići in the village of Čadavica, in Ključ municipality. The next day, Arkan came to Perići and shot one of them in the head with a pistol.²⁴⁵

243 Autopsy report for Sasina, exhibit P2080, *Stanišić & Simatović*; Trial Chamber Judgment in *Stanišić & Simatović*, MICT, 30 June 2021, para. 276.

244 Autopsy report for Sasina, exhibit P2080, *Stanišić & Simatović*; Records of crime scene inspection, exhumation and autopsy and identification of civilian victims from the mass grave in Sasina, 19 July 1996, exhibit P02079, *Stanišić & Simatović*; Trial Chamber Judgment in *Stanišić & Simatović*, ICTY, 30 May 2013, par. 803.

245 Testimony of protected witness B-071 in *Milošević*, ICTY, 2 April 2003, pp. 18400-18401; Testimony of protected witness RFJ-129 in *Stanišić & Simatović*, MICT, 4 July 2018, p. 41.



IV

Forcible return of refugees to the front lines

In August 1995, the Serbian Ministry of the Interior carried out an extensive arrest operation against refugees who had fled Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina. Following a brief detention in police and fire stations throughout Serbia, the refugees were handed over to the military, police and paramilitary units of the RS and RSK, including the SDG. From the beginning of August to the end of September 1995, the Serbian Ministry of the Interior handed over about 5,000 refugees to the SDG.²⁴⁶

After arrival at the Training Centre in Erdut, the refugees had to hand over all their personal belongings to members of the SDG and were then taken to have their heads shaved. All refugees underwent training that lasted from a few days to three weeks, and consisted of strenuous physical exercises and instruction on how to use firearms. Members of the SDG would swear at and otherwise insult the refugees, calling them “traitors” and “cowards”. The refugees were severely punished for every mistake by having to run around carrying a heavy stone, and being tied to poles and there beaten with a stick.²⁴⁷

After the training, members of the SDG would split the refugees into two groups: men of up to 35 years of age and those over 35. Refugees who were elderly or in poor health were assigned to the labour platoon, while men from the first group, after completing the training at the camp, were sent to SVK positions in Eastern Slavonia and Baranja, but also to VRS positions in Bosnia and Herzegovina.²⁴⁸

49

In September 1995, the SDG took control of the Manjača Training Centre (NDC), i.e., the VRS training centre on Mount Manjača. Forcibly mobilised refugees were also brought to this centre, which was under the command of SDG Major Mladen Šarac. As in Erdut, the refugees had their heads shaved and were stripped of their identity documents and personal belongings. After a short, basic infantry training, they were sent to battlefields throughout Bosnia and Herzegovina to fight as part of various units of the VRS. In early October 1995, the then Minister of the Interior of Republika Srpska, Tomislav Kovač, ordered the SDG to arrest deserters from the front line in the area of Prijedor, “to put them in check and send them back to their home brigades”. The President of Republika Srpska, Radovan Karadžić, authorised the SDG to arrest and train deserters from the VRS.²⁴⁹

246 Report – twelve-day stay of Captain Milan Kosanović in Arkan’s camp in Erdut, exhibit P01194, *Stanišić & Simatović*.

247 On the treatment of forcibly mobilised refugees in training camps see: Dossier: Forcible Mobilisation of Refugees, HLC, 2019, pp. 32-36.

248 Dossier: Forcible Mobilisation of Refugees, HLC, 2019, pp. 35-36.

249 *Ibid*, pp. 41-45.



The SDG would also bring members of regular VRS units, even officers who were on leave, to the Manjača Centre, which brought them into conflict with the VRS top brass. Following an intervention of the Commander of the General Staff of the VRS, Ratko Mladić, at the end of October, the SDG was removed from the Manjača Training Centre and, soon afterwards, from Bosnia and Herzegovina as well.²⁵⁰

V

Looting

Looting was a hallmark of all the SDG's activities.²⁵¹

The SDG looted the property of the residents of the SBZS and transferred it to Serbia without let or hindrance.²⁵² Since arriving in this area, and especially after November 1995 and the signing of the Dayton Peace Agreement, members of the SDG had been involved in logging and timber trafficking. The timber was exported to Italy via Serbia. They were also involved in petrol smuggling from Đeletovci, and cigarette smuggling operations. In early October 1991 in Baranja, members of the SDG hijacked a truck carrying leather jackets. The jackets were sold and Ražnatović gave the truck to Pavle Milovanović, nicknamed Paja, the Commander of the Dalj TO. Ražnatović also transferred about 50 luxury vehicles from the SBZS to Serbia and stored them in the Boleč area near Belgrade. He set up weapons depots in Belgrade and its surroundings.²⁵³

On the first day of the attack on Bijeljina, members of the SDG hijacked around 40 vehicles, including a bus and a fire engine. Later that day, all the vehicles were transferred to Erdut, together with cigarette boxes, washing powder and various technical devices.²⁵⁴ Over the following days, the SDG and other Serbian forces plundered an iron and steel factory, the Kurjak textile factory, the Zenit shoe factory, a department store, and various shops.²⁵⁵

250 Information on the activities of the SDG Tigers and Željko Ražnatović in RS, letter from GŠ VRS, 20 October 1995, exhibit D01503, *Mladić*; Sava Sokanović, witness statement in *Mladić*, ICTY, 18 May 2015, p. 35714.

251 General Manojlo Milovanović, former Chief of GŠ VRS stated: "The characteristic of the Serbian Volunteer Guard was that every time they returned from Republika Srpska and Republic of Serbian Krajina it was in convoys consisting not only of transporters and tanks but also of a large number of trailer trucks. It was all about looting" - see in: Transcript of Part One of the documentary *The Unit*, exhibit P02976.B, *Stanišić & Simatović*, p. 19; Manojlo Milovanović, witness statement in *Stanišić & Simatović*, ICTY, 23 April 2010, pp. 4373-4375.

252 Testimony of military expert Reynaud Theunens in *Stanišić & Simatović*, ICTY, 27 October 2010, p. 8194.

253 Information on paramilitary units, exhibit 00705, *Mrkšić et al.*; Information, SDB Department, Vojvodina SUP, 15 October 1991, exhibit P00334, *Stanišić & Simatović*; Situation in the Srem and Baranja region, exhibit P03270, *Stanišić & Simatović*.

254 Testimony of protected witness B-1738 in *Milošević*, ICTY, 7 March 2003, pp. 18038-18040; Excerpt from the book *Srpski bračni par Čaušesku* [Serbian Ceaușescu couple] by Vojislav Šešelj, exhibit P00682, *Šešelj*, p. 4.

255 Milorad Davidović, witness statement in *Krajišnik*, exhibit P764.1, para. 118.



According to the notes of the session of the National Assembly of Republika Srpska held in May 1993, “one of Arkan’s men comes and steals machines from the Koraj textile factory worth several million German marks - 5-6 million German marks, in my estimation. His army steals parts of a dryer and a telephone switchboard worth 2 million German marks.”²⁵⁶

When withdrawing from a war zone, members of the SDG carried with them the weapons and equipment they had captured.²⁵⁷

VI

Disbanding of the Serbian Volunteer Guard

The SDG was disbanded in March 1996, when it finally left the Training Centre in Erdut.²⁵⁸ Senior officers, such as Milorad Ulemek, aka Legija, and Nenad Bujošević, aka Rambo, joined the Special Operations Unit of the Serbian MUP RDB. Some of its members joined the Scorpions while this unit was engaged in petrol exploitation in Đeletovci. Some were employed by Željko Ražnatović Arkan for his firms in Serbia.²⁵⁹

At a farewell ceremony for the SDG in late October 1995 in Bijeljina, RS President Radovan Karadžić presented an award to the SDG and its commander Željko Ražnatović, aka Arkan, for their contribution to war operations in RS. The following year, Karadžić awarded Ražnatović with the Order of Karadžić’s Star for “outstanding success in commanding and leading units of the armed forces of Republika Srpska in armed combat.”²⁶⁰

51

About thirty members of the SDG were involved in the armed conflict in Kosovo as part of the RDB forces of the Serbian MUP. They had a base at the Grand Hotel in Priština for a while, and a centre for the reception and training of volunteers in Kosovo Polje. In mid-May 1999, Head of the RDB Radomir Marković ordered the Tigers to leave Kosovo Polje after the murder of an elderly couple. Witnesses in the case against Vlastimir Đorđević testified before the ICTY to their having seen members of the SDG, or people wearing a uniform similar to that worn by the SDG, in the area between Orahovac and Đakovica, and then in Srbica, in Priština, Meja, around the village of Vladovo and in the municipality

256 Notes of the 32nd session of the National Assembly of Republika Srpska held on 19-20 May 1993, p. 49.

257 Overview of the events and situation, with an assessment of level of achievements, exhibit D00083, *Stanišić & Simatović*, pp. 5-7.

258 Testimony of protected witness B-129 in *Milošević*, ICTY, 16 April 2003, p. 19441.

259 *Ibid*; Testimony of protected witness B-071 in *Milošević*, ICTY, 2 April 2003, p. 18404; Witness S.M., statement given to the HLC on 28 October 1998, HLC Archive; Information on paramilitary units, exhibit 00705, *Mrkšić et al.*

260 Letter of appreciation to the SDG for its contribution to the struggle of the Serbian people to achieve their centuries-old goal, 22 October 1995, exhibit D00668, *Stanišić & Simatović*; Borislav Pelević, witness statement in *Stanišić & Simatović*, ICTY, 25 January 2012, p. 16457; Manojlo Milovanović, witness statement in *Karadžić*, ICTY, 28 February 2012, pp. 25459-25460; Manojlo Milovanović, witness statement in *Stanišić & Simatović*, ICTY, 8 December 2011, p. 15530; Award ceremony, exhibit P02858, *Karadžić*; Order awarded by the President of Republika Srpska, exhibit D00669, *Stanišić & Simatović*.



of Kačanik. In the judgment against Đorđević, it is stated that the Chamber “is satisfied from the evidence as a whole that Arkan’s Tigers were present in Kosovo during the Indictment period, were associated with the RDB, and played an active part in the joint operations of the MUP and VJ”.²⁶¹

During the conflicts in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, and Kosovo, more than 50 SDG members were killed and around 380 were wounded.²⁶²

Željko Ražnatović, aka Arkan

Željko Ražnatović, also known as Arkan (1952-2000), was born in Brežice, Slovenia, and killed on 15 January 2000 in the lobby of the Intercontinental Hotel in Belgrade. As a minor, he was arrested for theft and rape. He was repeatedly sentenced for robbery, and in 1973 he escaped from the prison in Padinska Skela. He was arrested for robberies in Sweden, Belgium and the Netherlands. He escaped from prisons in Belgium and the Netherlands.²⁶³

In the early 1980s, Ražnatović returned to Yugoslavia. During that period, he was arrested several times for injuring police officers in Belgrade and Sweden and for inflicting serious physical injuries on a Belgrade citizen. But he would be released very quickly, which was explained by the connections he had in the Federal Secretariat of the Interior. At one trial, Ražnatović said that he was an employee of the Federal SUP, which the Federal SUP denied; but Arkan produced a document showing that he had received a loan from the Federal SUP for the renovation of his house in Ljutice Bogdana Street.²⁶⁴

Towards the end of November 1990, Željko Ražnatović, Dušan Bandić, Zoran Stevanović²⁶⁵ and Dušan Carić were arrested in Dvor na Uni, Croatia, after the police found several pistols, hand grenades, and Heckler und Koch MP-5K submachine guns, which were prohibited for civilians, in their all-terrain vehicle. The group was charged with plotting against the existing social and state order of the SFRY and the democratic order in the Republic of Croatia. Commenting on the arrest in Dvor na Uni, Arkan later said that they had gone there to take over the police station, capture the special forces sent from Zagreb and establish Serbian authority in the area.²⁶⁶

261 Trial Chamber Judgment in *Đorđević*, ICTY, 23 February 2011, paras. 208-211; Trial Chamber Judgment in *Šainović et al.*, ICTY, 26 February 2009, para. 739.

262 Obituary for Željko Ražnatović, aka Arkan, and members of the SDG, 15 January 2011, *Politika*, HLC Database F66717; “Šta je ostalo od Arkanove garde” [“What’s left of Arkan’s Guard”], *Vreme*, issue no. 1214, 10 April 2014.

263 Dispatch from SDB III Administration, 7 January 1991, exhibit P00020, *Stanišić & Simatović*, pp. 1-7; “Dosije Arkan”, *Vreme*, no. 472, 22 January 2000.

264 “Dosije Arkan” [“File: Arkan”], *Vreme*, br. 472, 22 January 2000; Trial Chamber Judgment in *Stanišić & Simatović*, MICT, 30 June 2021, para. 441.

265 SDG Major Zoran Stevanović, aka Kiri (1961-1996), was killed in 1996 in front of the Metropol Hotel in Belgrade, “Ubistva poznatih ličnosti od 1990 do 2001.” [“Murders of Well-known Persons 1990-2001”], *Vreme*, no. 530, 1 March 2001.

266 “Ratnik ogrezao u svetosavlju” [“Warrior imbued with Serbian Orthodox Faith”], *Duga*, no. 462, November 1991.



In mid-June 1991, Ražnatović was sentenced to 20 months in prison. On the same day, a decision was made to release the convicts until the verdict become final.²⁶⁷

Ražnatović served as a deputy in the Serbian National Assembly in 1992/1993, as an independent candidate of a group of citizens from Kosovo. In November 1993, he formed the Party of Serbian Unity.²⁶⁸

VII

(Non)prosecution

In 1997, the ICTY filed an indictment against Željko Ražnatović, aka Arkan, but the general public did not learn about the existence of the indictment until March 1999. The content of the indictment had been kept confidential until 2001, when the ICTY decided to vacate the non-disclosure order for it. The indictment charged Arkan with crimes committed in September 1995 in the area of Sanski Most, where “soldiers under his command imprisoned, beat, raped, and executed non-Serb persons.”²⁶⁹

In February 2010, Vojislav Šešelj filed a criminal complaint against Borislav Pelević for crimes committed in several locations in Baranja, as well as for crimes in Bijeljina and Zvornik. The filing of the criminal complaint was driven by the political conflict between Šešelj’s SRS and the SNS, of which Pelević was an official. About just twenty days later, the Serbian Office of the War Crimes Prosecutor (OWCP) announced that it had dismissed the criminal charges against Borislav Pelević.²⁷⁰

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In October 2011, the HLC filed criminal charges against several persons, including several members of the SDG, for crimes committed in Tenja.²⁷¹ Although the OWCP in 2010 and 2012 raised indictments for crimes committed in Tenja, there were no members of the SDG among the accused.²⁷²

In 2015, Alma Pečković filed a criminal complaint against an unknown person for the murder of her parents Ajša and Režepa and brother Admir Šabanović in Bijeljina.²⁷³ In early 2016, the OWCP

267 Country Court in Zagreb, judgment in *Bandić et al.*, 14 June 1991, exhibit D00007, *Hadžić*; Decision on release from custody for Ražnatović and others, 14 June 1991, exhibit D00008, *Hadžić*.

268 Razvojni put Arkanove stranke – od Erduta, preko radikala do SNS [Development process of Arkan’s party – from Erdut through Radicals to SNS], *Istinomer*, 21 January 2021.

269 ICTY Office of the Prosecutor, Indictment against *Željko Ražnatović*, 23 September 1997.

270 “Krivična prijava SRS protiv Pelevića: Vukčević odredio tužioca” [“SRS’s criminal charges against Pelević: Vukčević designates the prosecutor”], RTV, 5 February 2010, https://rtv.rs/sr_lat/hronika/krivicna-prijava-srs-protiv-pelevica-vukcevic-odredio-tuzioca_172077.html; “Tužilaštvo odbacilo krivičnu prijavu protiv Pelevića” [“Prosecutor’s Office dismisses charges against Pelević”], RTV, 26 February 2010, https://rtv.rs/sk/hronika/tuzilastvo-odbacilo-krivicnu-prijavu-protiv-pelevica_175884.html

271 The Humanitarian Law Center files a criminal complaint against more than 30 individuals for war crimes committed in Croatia in 1991, 13 October 2011, available at: <http://www.hlc-rdc.org/?p=13131&lang=de>

272 See the cases *Tenja I* and *Tenja II*, <http://www.hlc-rdc.org/?cat=234>

273 „Zločin bez kazne: 27 godina od ubistva civila u Bijeljini” [Crime without punishment: 27 years since the murder of civilians in Bijeljina], *Novi magazin*, 3 April 2019.



announced an investigation into the SDG. In November 2021, the HLC sought information about the investigation from the OWCP - whether the investigation had been launched, which persons were under investigation, and for which crimes. In its response, the OWCP stated that it had issued an order to conduct an investigation against unidentified members of the SDG for a war crime in connection with the events in Bijeljina during April 1992.²⁷⁴

Notwithstanding the indictment against Ražnatović and a wealth of evidence against the SDG presented in the proceedings before the ICTY and MICT, especially in the cases of *Stanišić & Simatović* and *Hadžić* and *Milošević*, as well as the facts established in the judgments, according to which Željko Ražnatović Arkan and the SDG were involved in killings, persecution and forcible transfer of people on the territory of the SAO SBZS in 1991 and 1992, as well as in the persecution and killings committed in Bijeljina and Zvornik in 1992 and in Sanski Most in 1995, no member of the SDG has been prosecuted for war crimes to date.²⁷⁵

274 “Predistraga o Arkanovim ‘tigrovima’” [“Preliminary Investigation into Arkan’s Tigers”], *Radio Slobodna Evropa*, 5 January 2016; HLC, request no. HlcIndexIn170/F151922, 5 November 2021; OWCP, reply no. PI-8/21, 16 November 2021.

275 Trial Chamber Judgment in *Stanišić & Simatović*, MICT, 30 June 2021, para. 442; Although media reports often state that Boban Arsić was the only member of the SDG to be tried in absentia before the County Court in Split, Croatia, for the murders committed in January 1992 in the hamlet of Bačići, in Drinovci village, in the municipality of Drniš, there is no evidence that he was a member of the SDG. Namely, in the judgment Arsić is referred to as a volunteer of the “Serbian Guard from FR Yugoslavia that was part of the so-called Territorial Defence Force in Drniš under the single command of the so-called JNA”. In addition, there is no information that members of the SDG were deployed in the area of Drniš in January 1992. See: County Court in Split, judgment in *Boban Arsić*, 12 March 2014.



Here is a list of some of the SDG members, according to the available data:

1.	Milorad Ulemek , aka “ Legija ”: held the rank of general; commander of the “Super Tigers”; from June 1996, member and commander of the Special Operations Unit; currently serving a prison sentence for organising the assassination of the Prime Minister of Serbia, Zoran Đinđić, and the murder of the former President of the Serbian Presidency, Ivan Stambolić, and for involvement in the murder of SPO members on the Ibar Road, as well as the attempted assassination of SPO President Vuk Drašković.
2.	Marko Pejić , nicknamed “ Peja Ciganin ” [Peja the Gipsy]: held the rank of general; participated in operations in Bijeljina, Zvornik and Brčko; deceased.
3.	Borislav Pelević , nicknamed “ Pele ”: held the rank of general; Željko Ražnatović’s best man; instructor; deceased in 2018.
4.	Stojan Novaković , nicknamed “ Cope ”: held the rank of general; did not participate in battles; Vice-President of the Party of Serbian Unity.
5.	Ljubinko Jevtić : held the rank of general; did not participate in battles; in charge of security in Delije [the fan club of Belgrade’s Red Star football team].
6.	Miljan Vuković : held the rank of general.
7.	Jovan Dimitrijević , nicknamed “ Tajka ” [Daddy], “ Čelavi ” [Bald one] and “ Čiča Gliša ” [Stickman]: held the rank of major; administrative officer in charge of dossiers of SDG members.
8.	Saša Pavlović , nicknamed “ Crvko ”: held the rank of major; one of the founders of the SDG; participated in operations in East Slavonia; wounded in 1991 in Tenja, after which he was transferred to the SDG headquarters in Belgrade.
9.	Mladen Šarac : held the rank of major; head of the SDG headquarters; participated in operations Pauk and Banjaluka.
10.	Zoran Mačai , nicknamed “ Mačak ” [Cat]: held the rank of major; instructor; arrested in 1994 as a member of the so-called “Magda’s Group”.
11.	Vojislav Đurković , nicknamed “ Vojkan Puškar ” [Vojkan the Gunsmit] and “ Voja Bijeljina ”: held the rank of major; member of the SDG in the spring of 1992; later the head of the SSJ in Bijeljina and the so-called Regional Commission of Semberija, Majevica and Posavina for free movement of civilians; organised and directly participated in the forced expulsion of Muslims from Bijeljina in September 1993.
12.	Zoran Pjanić : held the rank of major.
13.	Savo Vukotić : held the rank of major.
14.	Zoran Stevanović , nicknamed “ Kiri ”: held the rank of major; killed in 1996.
15.	Nenad Marković , nicknamed “ Šicko ”: held the rank of captain; one of the founders of the SDG; wounded in 1991 in Tenja, after which he was transferred to the SDG headquarters in Belgrade.
16.	Svetozar Pejović , nicknamed “ Peja ”: held the rank of captain; participated in Operation Pauk.

17.	Nenad Bujošević , nicknamed “ Veliki Rambo “ and “ Buba Zaneti ”: Super Tiger; held the rank of captain; participated in operations in Bijeljina, Zvornik, Brčko and Operation Pauk; commander of the Training Centre for new recruits called “Surovi”; in 1996 joined the JSO; currently serving a prison sentence for the murder of Ivan Stambolić and the crime on the Ibar Road.
18.	Milan Hajduković , nicknamed “ Mićaga ”: held the rank of captain and group commander.
19.	Marijan Gajinov : held the rank of captain.
20.	Nebojša Đorđević , nicknamed “ Šuca ”, Super Tiger: held the rank of colonel; one of the founders of the SDG; participated in operations in East Slavonia, Bijeljina, Zvornik, and in Operation Pauk; killed in 1996 in Belgrade.
21.	Dragan Petrović , nicknamed “ Kajman ”: held the rank of colonel; one of the founders of the SDG; participated in operations in East Slavonia, Bijeljina, Zvornik, Brčko, Operations Trnovo/Treskavica and Banjaluka; deceased in 1997 or 1998.
22.	Mihajlo Ulemek , nicknamed “ Mile ” and “ Puki ”: held the rank of colonel; participated in operations in East Slavonia, Bijeljina, Zvornik, Brčko, Dalmatia and Lika, and in Operation Pauk.
23.	Rade Rakonjac , nicknamed “ Raša ”: held the rank of colonel; participated in operations in Bijeljina, Zvornik, Brčko and in Operation Pauk; killed in 2014.
24.	Predrag Bojović , nicknamed “ Bojke ”: held the rank of colonel; left the SDG in the summer of 1993.
25.	Boris Batez : held the rank of colonel; instructor at the RNC “Surovi”; participated in Operations Pauk and Banjaluka.
26.	Saša Aščerić , nicknamed “ Asteriks ”: held the rank of colonel; participated in Pauk and Banjaluka Operations; member of the reserve force of the JSO from 24 March 1999 to 15 June 1999.
27.	Vlado Vukotić : held the rank of colonel; in charge of securing the Training Centre in Erdut and vehicle repair.
28.	Đorđe Opsenica : Super Tiger; held the rank of colonel.
29.	Marijana Nelovski : held the rank of colonel; participated in fighting in Zvornik, Čelić, Dalmatia, Velebit, and Ključ.
30.	Luka Bojović , nicknamed “ Pekar ”: held the rank of lieutenant-colonel; returned to Serbia in late November 2022 after serving a long prison sentence in Valencia, Spain.
31.	Žarko Aleksić , nicknamed “ Marinac ”: Super Tiger and Željko Ražnatović’s bodyguard; participated in Operation Pauk.
32.	Slavko Mijović , nicknamed “ Mija Pijuk ” and “ Mija Nos ”: one of the founders of the SDG; officially SDG member until 1993; killed in 2001 in Belgrade.
33.	Srdan Golubović , nicknamed “ Maks ”: participated in operations in Bijeljina, Zvornik, Brčko and Operation Pauk.

34.	Jugoslav Simić , nicknamed “ Mića Pseto ”: participated in Operations Trnovo/Treskavica and Pauk; member of JSO reserve troops from 24 March until the end of June 1999.
35.	Srđan Bulatović , nicknamed “ Zemunac ”: participated in operations in Bijeljina, Zvornik, Brčko, and Operation Pauk.
36.	Jugoslav Gluščević , nicknamed “ Mali Juga ”: instructor at the RNC “Surovi”; wounded in a fight around Mrkonjić Grada.
37.	Vladan Panić , nicknamed “ Pana ”: deputy commander of the RNC “Surovi”.
38.	Žarko Gvozdenović , nicknamed “ Gvozdeni ”: participated in Operation Pauk; bodyguard of Giovanni Di Stefano, a SDG founder.
39.	Ranko Poletan : participated in Operation Trnovo/Treskavica; member of JSO reserve troops between 24 March and 30 June 1999.
40.	Siniša Petrić , nicknamed “ Zenica ”: in early 1993 left “Vukovi sa Vučjaka” to join the SDG, where he stayed until 1994, when he was arrested as part of the so-called “Magda’s Group”; currently serving prison sentence in Valencia, Spain.
41.	Mihajlo Ražnatović , the son of Željko Ražnatović; participated in Operations Trnovo/Treskavica and Banjaluka.
42.	Željko Stanivuković , nicknamed “ Vuk ”: participated in Operation Pauk; escaped from the base in Erdut in 1995.
43.	Boban Gojaković , nicknamed “ Boki ”: died in a car accident in 1995.
44.	Slobodan Stojančević , nicknamed “ Laki ”: participated in operations in Bijeljina, Zvornik, Brčko and Operation Pauk.
45.	Slaviša Stevanović , nicknamed “ Zenica ”: participated in Operation Pauk.
46.	Saša Milaković : participated in Operation Pauk; Giovanni Di Stefano’s bodyguard.
47.	Zoran Stojanović : participated in Operation Pauk.
48.	Miloš Petković , nicknamed “ Dafina ”: held the rank of sergeant; joined the SDG in 1993.
49.	Radoš Crepuljarević , nicknamed “ Crepulja ”: held the rank of sergeant; instructor at the RNC “Surovi”.
50.	Goran Kuvelja : Super Tiger; held the rank of sergeant.
51.	Milojko Nikolić , nicknamed “ Šumadinac/Šumadija ”: held the rank of sergeant; wounded near Ključ; member of the Peć 177th Military-Territorial Detachment, i.e., the “Jackals Unit” during the war in Kosovo; stood trial for war crimes committed in the village of Čuška; deceased in 2017 before the end of trial.
52.	Pera Petrašević : held the rank of sergeant, joined the “Scorpions” in March 1995; convicted of crimes in Trnovo.
53.	Miomir Bucalo : held the rank of sergeant.
54.	Dragoljub Kuveljić : held the rank of sergeant; joined the SDG on 5 July 1992; wounded in Ključ.

55.	Zoran Đorđević , nicknamed “ Mali Rambo ”: Super Tiger (his brother was also a member of the SDG, his nickname was “Mucavi Rambo”).
56.	Radomir Trojanović : Super Tiger.
57.	Dragoslav Agbaba : Super Tiger.
58.	Mile Dragutinović : Super Tiger.
59.	Branko Gluščević : Super Tiger.
60.	Miroslav Grmuša : Super Tiger.
61.	Zvonko Matijević : Super Tiger.
62.	Duško Nikolić : Super Tiger.
63.	Mladen Lukić , nicknamed “ Boske ”: Super Tiger.
64.	Veselin Plavšić , nicknamed “ Veso ”: Super Tiger.
65.	Nikola Šaponja : Super Tiger.
66.	Miroslav Šaponja : Super Tiger.
67.	Dalibor Matijević : Super Tiger.
68.	Goran Živković : Super Tiger.
69.	Zoran Popović , nicknamed “ Major Pop ”: Super Tiger.
70.	Aleksandar Grbić , nicknamed “ Kanarinac ”: liaison officer.
71.	Nikica Ilić : liaison officer.
72.	Dušan Gajić : participated in Operation Pauk.
73.	Aleksandar Martinović : driver at the SDG HQ.
74.	Saša Džudović : driver.
75.	Pera Čiča : driver.
76.	Borivoje Ackov , nicknamed “ Bore ”: in charge of the warehouse at the Erdut Training Centre.
77.	Zoran Mišić : warehouseman at the Erdut Training Centre from July to October 1992.
78.	Dejan Gvojić , nicknamed “ Srna ”: instructor at the RNC “Surovi”.
79.	Novica Njagojević : instructor at the RNC “Surovi”.
80.	Slaviša Arsenijević , nicknamed “ Valjevac ”: instructor at the RNC “Surovi”.
81.	Jovica Stojisavljević .
82.	Srđan Marinković .
83.	Njego Janković , nicknamed “ Role ”.
84.	Sale Miletić : head of the Erdut Training Centre.
85.	Tomislav Marković : joined the SDG after his son was killed in Laslovo in 1991.
86.	Saša Savić , nicknamed “ Švaba ”: leader of the “Night Wolves”, deceased in 2021.
87.	Ranko Štrbac : wounded in Lužac.
88.	Dragan Tešić/Antić : left the SDG in 1993; later joined the 10th Sabotage Detachment of the VRS Main Staff.
89.	Branko Bucalo : participated in operations in Prijedor, Ključ, and Sanski Most.

90.	Srđan Aletić : member of the SDG military police.
91.	Nebojša Nišković .
92.	Dragan Trifunović .
93.	Zdravko Dajić .
94.	Aleksandar Vukov , nicknamed “ Mali Vuk ”: SDG member from September 1993 to March 1994; member of security staff of the Party of Serbian Unity; later joined the “Scorpions Unit”.
95.	Nebojša Minić , nicknamed “ Mrtvi ”: participated in actions around Tenjski Antunovac; Commander of the Intervention Platoon of the 177 Military-Territorial Defence Peć Detachment, i.e., the “Jackals Unit”, during the war in Kosovo; accused of crimes in the village of Čuška; died in 2005 in Argentina during the extradition process.
96.	Ranko Momić , nicknamed “ Boske ”, “ Bosanac ”, and “ Rakun ”: held the rank of lieutenant-colonel; fought in the war in Kosovo; during the trial for the crimes in the village of Čuška he left Serbia and is still at large.
97.	Elvis Šunjević : employed at MUP in 1988; died in 1998 in Kosovo.
98.	Nebojša Stojiljković , nicknamed “ Niški ”: participated in Operation Pauk; deceased.
99.	Mile Blagojević , nicknamed “ Duma ”.
100.	Nikola Vučković .
101.	Srđan Petrović , nicknamed “ Srle Panker ”, deceased.
102.	Goran Samardžić .
103.	Robert Viciknez : killed in 2002.
104.	Aleksandar Kužetić .
105.	Aleksandar Babić .
106.	Jusuf Bulić , nicknamed “ Jusa ”.
107.	Vukašin Gojak , nicknamed “ Vule ”: killed in 1997 in Belgrade.
108.	Dragan Aca Bulić : spent two years with the SDG.
109.	Savan Burumdžija , nicknamed “ Savo ”.
110.	Slobodan Đorđević .
111.	Goran Pecić , nicknamed “ Peca Panker ”.
112.	Dalibor Vuković .
113.	Jožef Baranji/Jovan Vuković : participated in actions in Ernestinovo, Laslovo, Tenja, Bobota; wounded in Lužac; later joined the “Drina Wolves”; member of the JSO during the war in Kosovo.
114.	Marinko Marinković : wounded in battles around Mrkonjić Grad.
115.	Mladen Cvjetković from Derventa: lost an arm at Mrkonjić Grad.
116.	Krunoslav Avramović .
117.	Dušan Delibašić .
118.	Goran Dragičević .

119.	Dragan Zarić , nicknamed “ Džeri ”.
120.	Radojica Vuković .
121.	Svetislav Mitrović , nicknamed “ Niški ” and “ Tica ”: joined the SDG on 19 November 1991; participated in the attack on Zvornik; after returning from Zvornik, he was tasked with securing the house and family of Željko Ražnatović; about ten days later, he left the SDG and returned to Zvornik.
122.	Pejkan Pejkanović , nicknamed “ Pilot ”.
123.	Goran Stavrić , nicknamed “ Kljuki ”: killed in 2014 in Peru.
124.	Aleksandar Šekarić , nicknamed “ Limun ”.
125.	Božidar Miljanić .
126.	Goran Popović , nicknamed “ Goksan ”: killed in 2014 in Bolivia.
127.	Vuk Vuković .
128.	Vojkan Milanović .
129.	Vojislav Popović , nicknamed “ Voja Čačak ”.
130.	Božidar Cakić , nicknamed “ Bugar ” or “ Bugi ”.
131.	Bogdan Hajduković from Osijek, nicknamed “ Burence ”.
132.	Momir Ristić .
133.	Aleksandra Ivanović : the wife of Nebojša Đorđević aka “ Šuca ”; later married Milorad Ulemek Legija.
134.	Milovan Đukić .
135.	Oliver Mandić : SDG spokesperson and intendant.
136.	Dušan Prelević .
137.	Jovan Jovanović .
138.	Milan Backović Backo .
139.	Mirko Vuković , nicknamed “ Crnogorac ”: commander of artillery.
140.	Nenad Pumpalović , nicknamed “ Pumpi ”.
141.	Nikola Milisavljević .
142.	Milenko Korda .
143.	Zoran Simović .
144.	Milorad Cvijetinović .
145.	Petar Vasiljević .
146.	Marina Mladenović .
147.	Branko Vasić .
148.	Aleksandar Babić .
149.	Aleksandar Đorđević .
150.	Jovica Vukadinović .
151.	Stevica Anđelković .

152.	Tomislav Ugrenović , nicknamed “ Toma ”.
153.	Dejan Ignjatović .
154.	Milorad Đuričić .
155.	Mitar Stefanović .
156.	Zoran Kapičić .
157.	Ljubomir/Ljubinko Kovačević .
158.	Dragan Stefanović .
159.	Slobodan Sibinović , nicknamed “ Boban ” and “ Surovi ”.
160.	Dejan Filipović .
161.	Milislav Tomić .
162.	Daniel Dimitrov .
163.	Simo Lapatinović .
164.	Darko Radovanović .
165.	Jovica Cvetković .
166.	Nikola Barić .
167.	Dejan Dolašević .
168.	Milija Babović .
169.	Srđan Ilić : deceased.
170.	Siniša Borovica .
171.	Dule Prica .
172.	Violeta Subić .
173.	Aleksandar Ilić : joined the SDG in the summer of 1995; participated in Operation Banjaluka.
174.	Darko Miletić : SDG member from 24 March to 15 May 1992; participated in actions in Bijeljina and Zvornik.
175.	Dejan Slišković : spent a few months with the SDG in 1995.
176.	Nikola Mirčeta : from May 1991 member of the Training Centre in Golubić; in early September, transferred to Tenja to join the SDG; wounded on 1 October 1991 in Bogdanovci.
177.	Vukan Šubarić : member of the Training Centre in Golubić; transferred to the Training Centre in Erdut on 1 October 1991; wounded in Ernestinovo.
178.	Miodrag Lukovac : member of the Serbian Radical Party; SDG member during three months in the autumn of 1995.
179.	Milovan Balać : spent 5-7 days undergoing training in Erdut, after which Arkan threw him out as suspicious.
180.	Olga Nikolić : served as a nurse; after the war, worked at Arkan’s bakery shop.
181.	Naser Arifaj : died in 1999 as a member of Serbian MUP in Kosovo.
182.	Mirko Sirković : in charge of dog-training.
183.	Nenad Turković , nicknamed “ Ture ”: deceased.

184.	Milan Marković: deceased.
185.	Mića Radovanović: deceased.
186.	Vasilije Todorović: deceased.
187.	Miloš Luković: deceased.
188.	Dejan Stojanović: deceased.
189.	Jovan Milošević: deceased.

List of SDG members killed in the war²⁷⁶

1.	Šaleta Vukotić: died on 9 August 1991 in Tenja.
2.	Mirko Lavadinović, nicknamed “ Učo ”: died on 4 September 1991 in Laslovo.
3.	Dušan Marković, nicknamed “ Čipi ”: died on 4 September 1991 in Laslovo.
4.	Slobodan Jocić, nicknamed “ Boban ”: died on 4 September 1991 in Laslovo.
5.	Srđan Cvetković: died on 4 September 1991 in Laslovo.
6.	Nebojša Jovanović: died on 5 October 1991 in Erdut.
7.	Slobodan Stjepović, nicknamed “ Bato ”: died on 2 November 1991 in Lužac.
8.	Sava Stanković: died of wounds sustained in Lužac.
9.	Mile Višnjevac: died on 8 November 1991 in Vukovar.
10.	Milan Jovanović, nicknamed “ Čole ”: died on 8 November 1991 in Vukovar.
11.	Branislav Klajsner, nicknamed “ Bane ” and “ Mance ”: died on 13 November 1991 in Vukovar.
12.	Zoran Karić, nicknamed “ Bumbar ”: died on 20 November 1991 in Erdut.
13.	Ivan Okiljević, nicknamed “ Rambo ”: died on 10 April 1992 in Kula Grad.
14.	Branko Živanović, nicknamed “ Major Žika ”: died on 14 April 1992 in Kula Grad.
15.	Miodrag Čumić, nicknamed “ Čuma ”: died on 11 September 1992 in Brčko.
16.	Vladimir Homa, nicknamed “ Rus ”: died on 28 September 1992 in Čelić.
17.	Saša Tomić: died on 28 September 1992 in Čelić.
18.	Slobodan Vulić: died on 28 September 1992.
19.	Milan Mihailović: died on 28 September 1992.
20.	Ljubiša Simić, nicknamed “ Biši ”: died on 29 January 1993 in Paljiv.
21.	Miko Petrović, nicknamed “ Kaljavi ”: died on 1 February 1993 in Donji Kašić.
22.	Zoran Bujuklić, nicknamed “ Buja ”: died on 1 February 1993 in Donji Kašić.
23.	Petar Petrušišin: died on 1 February 1993 in Donji Kašić.

²⁷⁶ Among the fallen SDG members are the names of Milan Kljaić and Bogdan Drobac, who died on September 29, 1995, in the area of Mrkonjić Grad. However, as they were forcibly mobilised persons, the position of the HLC is that they cannot be considered regular members of the SDG.

24.	Zoran Maksić: died on 1 February 1993 in Donji Kašić.
25.	Vladica Nikolić: died on 1 February 1993 in Donji Kašić.
26.	Dragan Ristović: died on 7 February 1993 on the Knin battlefield.
27.	Zoran Jovanović, nicknamed “ Jokanac ”: died on 3 March 1993 in Škabrnja.
28.	Radovan Varaklić, nicknamed “ Rakac ”: died on 14 August 1993 in Erdut.
29.	Jugoslav Mičić, nicknamed “ Juga ”: died on 18 November 1994 in Velika Kladuša.
30.	Dimitrije Jašek, nicknamed “ Mita ”: died on 21 November 1994 in Velika Kladuša.
31.	Dobrica Ljuboja, nicknamed “ Đondir ”: died on 5 July 1995 in Trnovo.
32.	Milorad Ristić, nicknamed “ Rile ”: died on 5 July 1995 in Trnovo.
33.	Miroslav Radušić, nicknamed “ Robija ”: died on 5 July 1995 in Trnovo.
34.	Zoran Marić: died on 18 July 1995 in Trnovo.
35.	Milovan Bogavac, nicknamed “ Miki ”: died on 19 September 1995 in Sanski Most.
36.	Saša Marinković: died on 25 September 1995 in Sanski Most.
37.	Srđan Vranić: died in September 1995.
38.	Aleksandar Manojlović: died on 29 September 1995 in Mrkonjić Grad.
39.	Živojin Raković, nicknamed “ Žika ”: died on 29 September 1995 in Mrkonjić Grad.
40.	Aleksandar Dražević, nicknamed “ Hans ”: died on 29 September 1995 in Mrkonjić Grad.
41.	Aleksandar Zečević: died on 29 September 1995 in Mrkonjić Grad.
42.	Saša Pavlović: died on 29 September 1995 in Mrkonjić Grad.
43.	Rajko Tubin: died on 29 September 1995 in Mrkonjić Grad.
44.	Dragan Pljakić, nicknamed “ Vuk ”: died on 9 September 1995 in Sanski Most.
45.	Dragan Srećković: died on 5 October 1995 in Ključ.
46.	Uroš Milanović, nicknamed “ Uki/Uške ”: died on 7 October 1995 in Ključ.
47.	Dušan Stojanović: died on 7 October 199 in Ključ.
48.	Žarko Radnov, nicknamed “ Žarica ”: died on 7 October 1995 in Ključ.
49.	Perica Puzić: died on 7 October 1995 in Ključ.
50.	Đoko Đekić: died on 9 October 1995 in Ključ.

SDG members whose identities have not been fully established:

Slaviša nicknamed “Čile”, Šaćir, Zoran Marinac, trumpeter Igor, Pirke, Apatinac, Darko nicknamed “Ludilo”, Aca nicknamed “Divljak đeneral”, Zoran/Slobodan nicknamed “Cobe”, N. Vukotić nicknamed “Stotka”, Deki Čačak, Mali Boža, Padobranac narednik, Mirko nicknamed “Šiz/Šiki/Čale”, Gušić - former member of the SVK 21st Corps, Tajson, Guza, Maletić nicknamed “Promaja”, colonel Radule, Valter, and Gliša.

325, 2002

No. 44/91

/stamped:/

REPUBLIC OF CROATIA
MINISTRY OF THE INTERIOR
OSIJEK AND BARANJA POLICE ADMINISTRATION
511 - 07

Received:	30 January 2001	
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Registration no.	Encl.	Value

OFFICIAL NOTE

Compiled at Dalj Police Station regarding incidents on the premises of the police station on 4/5 October 1991.

In an interview conducted with Dalj Police Station officers Rajko MILANOVIĆ, Savo STANOJEVIĆ, Blagoje STANOJEVIĆ, Đorđe RADIVOJEVIĆ, Predrag BLAGOJEVIĆ and Srbslav MIHALJEVIĆ, the following information was obtained:

At around 2100 hours on 4 October 1991, Milorad STRIČEVIĆ, Chief of Security at the Dalj Defence Staff, together with Dragoljub TRBIĆ, Đorđe MILOVANOVIĆ, Branko GOJSOVIĆ and an older, unknown man, came to the premises of Dalj Police Station. Milorad STRIČEVIĆ said that he was going to conduct interviews with detainees from Baranja and Eastern Slavonia. He began conducting the interviews, and at around 2115 hours the Dalj Defence Commander Pavle MILOVANOVIĆ and his deputy Đuro ZMIJANJAC arrived and told them that they were visiting to see what they were doing and whether there were any problems. They then went into the room with STRIČEVIĆ and the others and remained in there for a few minutes and then left. In the period up to 2345 hours, on one occasion there was a telephone call for Milorad STRIČEVIĆ, and after that there were three calls from the Staff asking whether the contact had arrived, with no further explanation.

At around 2345 hours, Željko RAŽNJATOVIĆ aka Arkan and some 20 of his men arrived in a TAM 110 (military) truck, a Pinzgauer and a Jeep. Upon getting out of the vehicles, Arkan's men – who were armed – cocked their weapons and took up positions around the building of the police station. Arkan came into the station, introduced himself and said that he was the TO /Territorial Defence/ commander and was looking for Milorad, after which he and five of his men went into the room where Milorad STRIČEVIĆ was. When Arkan went into the room, TRBIĆ, MILOVANOVIĆ, GOJSOVIĆ and the unknown man came out, and remained in front

of the police station the whole time. STRIČEVIĆ and the others who were in the room brought detainees in through the side door and conducted processing. Throughout the processing Arkan's men were coming out and others were going in. The only thing that was heard during the interrogations were the words: "Come on you, the Guardsman and MUP /Ministry of the Interior/ guy", and occasionally sounds were heard as if an object was being struck against a table, but no other sounds were heard. At around 0040 hours they took three detainees who then carried out 12 dead bodies from the room, loaded them into the truck, and then together with those three men drove them off somewhere. After that Arkan returned with his men and asked Srbošlav MIHALJEVIĆ or Predrag BLAGOJEVIĆ whether the room was clean, and when he received an affirmative answer they left. STRIČEVIĆ, MILOVANOVIĆ, GOJSOVIĆ, TRBIĆ and the unknown man also left at the same time.

It has been established that Zvonko MLINAREVIĆ, /?Ivan/ TOMIĆ, Josip /?/LOG, Zlatko /?/OSTIKA, Josip /?N/IKIĆ, Rudolf JUKIĆ, Vinko /?/ROZ, Pero /illegible/, Janoš /?S/INAŠ, Stanislav STRMEČ, Ivica KRKALO, Tibor /?/ILEŠ, Danijel TOMIČIĆ, Martin BENKOVIĆ, and Mile GRMAŠIĆ are missing from /the/ detention /?unit/.

Dalj, 5 October 1991

TO:

1. UP /Police Administration/ Secretary of the
AO /Autonomous District/ of Slavonia, Baranja
and Western Srem
 2. Special Unit Commander ZAVIŠIĆ
- /handwritten: 3. Files HERE/

Dalj Police Station Commander
Željko ČIZMIĆ /signed/ and
Dalj Police Station /illegible/
Bogoljub /?RISTIĆ/ /signed/

Annex 2

1st Military District

MILITARY SECRET

(Security Organ)

Strictly confidential

Date 18.10.1991.Issued in /illegible/ copiesSubmitted to: UB /Security Administration/ SSNO /Federal Secretariat for National Defence/ 1st Department UB SSNO 3rd Department OB /Security Organ/ 1st VO /Military District/

Registration number 2010191351646

/stamped:

1st MILITARY DISTRICT

COMMAND

Security Organ

SP /strictly confidential/ no. 35-1646 18.10.1991. year/

REPORT

Unauthorised killings of arrested ZNG /National Guard Corps/
members and other individuals.-

/stamped:

FEDERAL SECRETARIAT FOR NATIONAL DEFENCE
SECURITY ADMINISTRATION

SP no. 35-14984 19 year/

On 19.10.1991, in a conversation with an OB source we were given information indicating that RAŽNJATOVIĆ aka ARKAN and the Special Police in Dalj commanded by STRIČEVIĆ MILORAD¹ are committing unauthorised killings of the arrested ZNG members, arresting Croatian individuals and committing certain acts against the same.

¹ Born in the year /illegible/ in Osijek, ethnic Serb, several times charged with having committed both minor and serious offences, introduces himself as "Colonel" and "Staljin".

The source said that recently four dead bodies of the former ZNG members were found in a cornfield somewhere between the village of Vera and the "Marinovci" farm. They were probably killed by aka Arkan and his men after they had taken over the prisoners from the village of Tenja Police (p.o. /expansion unknown/ the group in question are 11 arrested ZNG members of whom /illegible/ were taken to 12 bvp /Bomber Regiment/).

At the intervention of Željko ČIZMIĆ, the Commander of Dalj Police Force, the dead bodies were buried by the local prison inmates.

Milorad STRIČEVIĆ, a self-proclaimed "colonel" commanding the "special police" with the assistance of aka Arkan, is in charge of arrests, questionings and pronouncing "judgements". Recently, STRIČEVIĆ wilfully ordained himself with the rank of /illegible/ colonel and that is how he introduces himself when he questions the arrested individuals. It is not a rare incident that some individuals die during the questioning, as a result of being beaten and physically assaulted. These incidents are approved and tolerated by STRIČEVIĆ and they take place in his office. With regard to this, our source gave an example of the killing of an individual from the village of Bogdanovci.

Having arrested, questioned and threatened to kill Stjepan PAP, STRIČEVIĆ forcefully displaced him from Dalj. He had also previously taken his car away, which he is using for his personal needs. On that occasion, Stjepan's wife was kept in STRIČEVIĆ's house and then released.

According to the source, after the organs of the "new government" had been established in Dalj, various "cases" /illegible/ a large number of arrested people were killed and their dead bodies were thrown into the Danube. Some of these bodies turn up /illegible/ near the park in Dalj on a daily basis.

CHIEF

Major General

Mile BABIĆ

/signed and stamped/

VRS GŠ

Strictly confidential no. 6/1-7

23 September 1995

To: The President of RS

RS Ministry of the Interior

There are formations of the SDG (Serbian Volunteer Guard) known as "*Tigrovi*" /Tigers/, under the command of Željko RAŽNJATOVIĆ aka Arkan in the zone of responsibility /z/o/ of the I.I /? 1st Battalion of the 1st Brigade/ of the 2KK /2nd Krajina Corps/. Since so far these formations have not taken part in b/d /combat activities/ and are not a part of any formation unit and have not reported to any command from the level of Battalion to the VRS GŠ to be given an assignment, obviously they are paramilitary formations acting independently of the VRS.

RAŽNJATOVIĆ's appearances at command posts in the z/o of some units have so far had as their purpose bullying, mistreatment and physical abuse of officers, kidnapping and taking away members of units, disarming parts of units for the purpose of confiscating materiel and technical equipment /MTS/ and combat hardware, unauthorised opening of gunfire on members of the VRS, tearing up official and identification documents of VRS members, arresting and abusing non-Serbs, etc. Željko RAŽNJATOVIĆ aka Arkan has been showing an enactment or decision from the President of RS, Dr. Radovan KARADŽIĆ, by which he has been empowered to "bring in, question, incarcerate and escort all men fit for the military except for Assembly Deputies and members of the RS MUP, which in practise has been limited to abuse of VRS members, especially high-ranking officers.


Members of the SDG paramilitary units forcibly induct into their ranks or recruit VRS members promising them a salary of 600 dinars, 10,000 dinars compensation if they are wounded, unemployment and health insurance through the MUP of the Republic of Serbia. The official media of RS have called on men fit for the military to join the *Tigrovi* SDG paramilitary units, which is contrary to the RS laws on defence and the military. The impossibility of /properly/ financing VRS combat units has contributed to breaking the unity of VRS combat units, especially those consisting of young soldiers belonging to special units, which may have unforeseeable consequences for the defence of the Republic.

The presence of Arkan's paramilitary units precipitated armed clashes and incidents with individuals and some VRS units, and upset the population at large after word got out that he arrested all the Muslims in Sanski Most and liquidated a certain number of loyal Muslim citizens, including family members of some VRS servicemen, justifying it publicly as liquidation of an infiltrated DTG /Sabotage Group/ in Grdanovci village. /Keeping this in mind/ to prevent any further unwanted consequences and armed clashes between the paramilitary formations and VRS units, I hereby request and propose the following:

1. The President of RS should revoke his decision that gave Željko RAŽNJATOVIĆ the power to make arrests, mistreat, disarm and take away VRS members and civilians with his paramilitary units including /his authority/ to use firearms on persons who oppose or resist him.

2. Organs of the MUP should take measures within their jurisdiction against RAŽNJATOVIĆ and his formations for the crimes they committed against VRS members and civilians, because he has identified himself as member of the MUP of Serbia and RS.
3. Željko RAŽNJATOVIĆ aka Arkan and his paramilitary units should be expelled from RS for their bullying of RS members and civilians.
4. If the competent state organs who engaged Željko RAŽNJATOVIĆ to carry out unlawful activities fail to take steps within their jurisdiction, then VRS units shall carry out the order of the President of RS on disarming paramilitary units that are not under the specific command of the VRS GŠ.

COMMANDER
Colonel General
Ratko MLADIĆ



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