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REPUBLIC OF SERBIA
MINISTRY OF THE INTERIOR
STATE SECURITY DEPARTMENT /RDB/
SREMSKA MITROVICA DB /STATE
SECURITY/DEPARTMENT CENTRE
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– Serbian extremism

CONTRIBUTION TO ANALYSIS OF THE SUBJECT “ACTIVITIES OF SRS
/Serbian Radical Party/ EXTREMISTS WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO
PARAMILITARY ORGANISATION AND ARMING”

In order to review the current activities of SRS extremists, we first need to set out a brief history of their activity over the past two years, which will provide a more realistic picture of the current situation.

In late 1992 and in the course of 1993, in the territory covered by our Centre, the SRS and its SČP /Serbian Chetnik Movement/ section was organised as an organisation bearing all the features of a paramilitary formation, and was supplied with small arms, mostly originating from the RSK /Republic of Serbian Krajina/. As such, over time, the SČP became separate and gained precedence in terms of the selection of people who could be SRS members. Additionally, in almost all MZ /local communes/ of the municipalities of Sremska Mitrovica, Šid, and parts of Rume, branches known as “local boards” were established, under the pretext of gathering information from citizens of Serbian ethnicity concerning the activities of Croats and Muslims, because it was claimed that the SJB /Public Security Stations/ and RDB had a tolerant attitude towards them.

On that basis, extremist individuals set about organising groups consisting of a few people in each according to the model of “Black Troikas”, and then conducted attacks against “undesirable” Croats and Muslims and their property. Emboldened by this approach, in mid-1993 they set about founding an organisation with a statute, oath, and other attributes.

The structure of the planned organisation was configured in such a way that those in charge of the extremist activities, with the reported agreement of the leader of the SRS, conferred on “deserving” individuals the title of Chetnik Commander /*komandant*/ at the level of municipalities, or Chetnik Commander /*komandir*/ at the level of MZs. Additionally, checks on “suitability” were introduced in the

organisation, as within the organisation they also set up the “establishment posts” of liaison officers, security officers, and others, and in that regard they illegally printed ID cards similar to the current VJ /Yugoslav Army/ military ID cards – black, with a photograph and a remark on the military training of the SČP candidate/member.

In monitoring this activity by the SRS/SČP, through a vigorous operation in October 1993 our Centre cut off this activity and arrested the founders of the section. Criminal reports were filed against them with the relevant courts in Sremska Mitrovica, and the ensuing court proceedings are still in progress. The operation conducted by the Sremska Mitrovica CRDB /State Security Department Centre/ sent shockwaves in no small measure through the ranks of the extremists, which also reverberated through the general public in Srem and the Republic of Serbia.

It was important to state the above because 1994, unlike the previous year, was a year of internecine accusations within their ranks, and rifts in all segments of the vertical hierarchy.

However, the SRS continued to function through the operations of its MOs /Local Boards/ and OO /Municipal Boards/ and withstood the aforesaid chaos. Through attempts to preserve unity and gain new members, they organised public forums in places which they considered to be still fertile ground, and which were attended by SRS leaders. The “rehabilitation” of the party by means of rallies mainly progressed through criticism of the current government in the Republic of Serbia and the FRY /Federal Republic of Yugoslavia/, insulting the President of the Republic of Serbia as a person and institution, and calling on people not to accept official policy which, they claimed, had forsaken the Serbs in the former Republic of BH and the Republic of Croatia.

After the arrest of the SRS leader and while he was serving his prison sentence, the extremists, exhibiting greater fervour and “playing the card” of violations of democracy, tried to win over the public both in the Republic of Serbia and in Republika Srpska and the RSK. Through various approaches, such as calling for the release of the SRS leader, spreading disinformation in public in an attempt to sow disquiet, and attempting to discredit senior officials of the FRY and the Republic of Serbia by gathering allegedly compromising material through independent TV stations in the Republic of Serbia and particularly in Republika Srpska, they got their message across, but not with the expected result.

As time passed, and as they themselves were aware that the “people in whom they believed” were too preoccupied with the struggle for a better existence, in the middle of last year, members slowly began to fall away, including some of the most extreme individuals, some of whom had taken up positions ranging from municipal assemblymen to republican deputies.

Enthusiasm gave way to personal interests, as some individuals in collusion with persons with criminal tendencies were lining their pockets at the expense of the party. This did not go unnoticed in the lower-level bodies of the SRS (MOs and OOs of the SRS), where conflicts occurred with increasing frequency, as well as changes of direction.

A new party appeared on the political scene – the *Nikola Pašić* SRS, which established a name for itself in the area covered by our Centre during the renewed activities of the SRS leader after he had finished serving his prison sentence. Again, but not as before, the reputation of Dr Vojislav ŠEŠELJ “restored” some hope to the most extreme members in the SRS, that they should try again to strengthen and impose themselves more aggressively on the public. At increasingly frequent meetings of the MOs, OOs, and Regional Boards, they endeavoured to nullify the existence of the support for the *Nikola Pašić* SRS, which they portrayed as a traitorous party along with its members, pledging their belief in what they claimed was their old and well maintained core, together with winning some new members who were free of discredit.

From early 1995 to the present, a further fall in the activities among the ranks of SRS extremists has been noted, having been overwhelmed with distrust and increasingly poisonous conflicts involving individuals and groups, both mutually and with the leadership in Belgrade. The conflicts escalated to such a level that the most extreme members/founders and architects of almost all the activities of the SRS/SČP have been excluded from it.

When all the above is taken into account, we believe that the media attention given to the SRS/SČP, which is already on the decline, will continue to decline, and that the assemblymen in the SO /municipal assemblies/ in Srem will have no great influence over the work of the municipal assemblies and the adoption of decisions, regardless of their aspirations to obstruct them.

Currently, the extremists in the ranks of the SRS can only seek support in the phenomenon of the growing dissatisfaction of workers in the enterprises which are generally in a bad financial state, as has already been noted in the Centre’s territory.

The main people in charge the extremist activities of the SRS in the area covered by the Sremska Mitrovica CRDB are Milenko PETRIĆ (being handled by the RDB) and Nikola VASIĆ (a deputy in the Assembly of the Republic of Serbia) from Šid, Mladen ČUŽIĆ, Gradimir MILOŠEVIĆ, Petar SEKULIĆ (all being handled by the RDB), Zoran HERCEG (was handled by the RDB), Dr Radisav ROSIĆ, Brane STANIVUKOVIĆ, and Stjepan ŠKRAPAN, all from Sremska Mitrovica municipality, Sava ŽARKOV (being handled by the RDB), Nebojša PETROVIĆ, and Milorad ZEČEVIĆ, all from Ruma, and Dragan DIMIĆ, Milenko RAKIĆ, Dušan MILJEVIĆ, and Aleksandar RADOJEVIĆ from Indija.

A number of other people also appear alongside these people in charge of the extremist activities – one might term them faithful followers of the aforesaid people – whose activities can be seen in the implementation of the plans and intentions of those in charge of the extremist activities.

In view of the fact that at both public appearances and party meetings, the SRS/SČP claims to be backed by thousands of followers, our intelligence indicates that in the Sremska Mitrovica area, one can identify no more than 300 to 400 people as followers

of the SRS extremists in the true sense, not counting the so-called sympathizers who become animated only during the party's pre-election and election activities.

While referring to the numbers and main people in charge of extremist activities of the SRS, one should note the age and intellectual profiles of these people. On average, they are over 35 years of age, and most of them were recruited from among the ranks of the criminally-inclined, while the section that is the so-called "intellectual elite" – which is of insignificant number – opted for the SRS out of careerist ambitions. It follows from the above, and indeed this has been verified, that the SRS/SČP has almost no followers in the age range of 18 to 25 years. Similarly, we have seen a flow of members away from the SRS to other parties and organisations operating from the positions of Serbian extremism, most often to the SNO /Serbian National Renewal/ and SČO /Serbian Chetnik Organisation/. The reason for leaving the party was usually that they felt that the SRS/SČP had lost its previous aggressiveness and sharpness, and was dropping its action-based strategy in favour of political discussions.

Following on from the introductory section of the above, it should be noted that in the Sremska Mitrovica CRDB area there is currently no sign of any paramilitary organisation in existence. After their activities were cut off in 1993, this form of operation has been limited to one-off plans conceived by the most extreme individuals, and have lacked success. In that connection, the illegal procurement of arms has also transformed into individual operations, largely focused on re-sale and material gain.

In early 1994, the SRS extremists established firmer contacts with extremists from the RSK and Republika Srpska. The contacts had existed in previous years, too, but were intensified in 1994 because the support in the Republic of Serbia was increasingly being lost.

The intensity of contacts was greater with Republika Srpska and its extremists (and among the ranks of VRS /Army of Republika Srpska/ officers), and was especially so after the economic embargo by the FRY and Republic of Serbia against Republika Srpska. The activities of the SRS extremists ranged from a semblance of purely humanitarian aid (donating blood, delivering medicines and medical supplies, etc.) – as they abused this during visits, and through various forms of black market operations acquired material gain – to contacts with extremists who were embittered by the policies of the FRY and the Republic of Serbia, and thus mutually agreed assassination attempts and kidnappings of senior officials of the FRY and the Republic of Serbia, to the possibility of an assassination attempt on the President of the Republic of Serbia in coordination with SRS extremists in the Republic of Serbia (outside our Centre's area).

In addition to the above, they have attempted and are still attempting to obtain false documents through VRS officers concerning the participation of individuals in war-torn areas of the former Republic of BH, in order to obtain alibis (in the case of persons against whom our Centre filed criminal reports in 1993).

Also, SRS extremists operating with extremists in Republika Srpska are illegally transferring people from Republika Srpska to the FRY for the purposes of regulating their refugee status – again for reasons of self-interest – and are trading arms in the FRY, where they are sold on illegally.

In contrast to the above activities, contacts with RSK extremists have visibly reduced during 1994 and early 1995, but only in one area, because the *Nikola Pašić SRS* is operating increasingly aggressively, and SRS/SČP extremists who transferred to the *Nikola Pašić SRS* are working on creating strongholds/party boards in the RSK, as relations have been severed between the “until recently like-minded” SRS leader Dr Vojislav ŠEŠELJ and the SRS leaders in the RSK and partly also those in Republika Srpska.

In view of the aforesaid activities of the SRS extremists in 1994-1995, the Sremska Mitrovica CRDB in cooperation with the 3rd Administration of the RDB of the MUP /Ministry of the Interior/ of the Republic of Serbia has applied all available working methods and resources to monitor and document these activities. In order to facilitate an accessible overview of measures and activities conducted by the RDB, it should be noted that during 1994-1995 we monitored the activities of the extremists of this group by conducting three instances of operative processing and a fourth prior instance of operative processing. We used the 3rd ●TM /operative and technical measures/ of TKTR /monitoring telephone calls/ on the subjects. As well as the aforesaid activities, we also monitored the SRS extremists through various forms of operative work and monitored these activities, which yielded good work: the recruitment of two collaborating positions based on compromising material, which allowed us to create firm footholds amongst the ranks of the SRS extremists and through whom we have been monitoring their activities and intentions.

●n the basis of the above, our assessment is that the activities of the SRS extremists in the forthcoming period will be directed towards further efforts to attack the President of the Republic of Serbia and the leadership in order to win back, as we have already said, much of the party’s lost reputation. Likewise, their activities will be directed towards firmer ties with other extremists, especially in Republika Srpska. Additionally, the activities of the extremists will be focused on settling internal conflicts and discrediting the *Nikola Pašić SRS* in order to increase/win back their membership numbers, and trying to bribe deputies in the Assembly of the Republic of Serbia from the “other camp” to achieve their goal: rehabilitation in public.

In the period ahead, particular attention should be paid to their activities which are acquiring all the characteristics of criminal activities, such as “rackets”, causing public danger, and the like. As has already been stated above, their activities in the forthcoming period will also be directed towards creating a foothold among dissatisfied workers in the area covered by our Centre, and also making inroads into the ranks of members of the RJB /Public Security Department/, RDB and VJ, because current intelligence indicates the existence of contacts between the SRS extremists and members of the RJB and VJ, with the ultimate aim of fulfilling their intention to win them over and have them serve their interests.