



Institute for Hybrid Warfare Studies

**ctopus**



**SULMI TERRORIST SERB NË BANJSKA DHE  
IMPLIKIMET RAJONALE DHE  
GJEOPOLITIKE**

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**SERBIAN TERRORIST ATTACK IN  
BANJSKA AND REGIONAL AND  
GEOPOLITICAL IMPLICATIONS**

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# **Octopus Institute's analysis of the Serbian terrorist attack in Banjska and the regional and geopolitical implications**

## **Introduction**

Serbia, since the beginning of its state building, has been and remains an incomplete state due to internal political conflicts, which led to the contestation of all constitutions before their approval. None of the 15 constitutions to date has been accepted as stable, and could not be incorporated within the legal framework.

The incomplete state implies the ambitions for territories and for regional hegemony that the political and social elite in Serbia still harbour. Serbia is actively working on establishing a Serbian World, an idea supported by the Serbian Orthodox Church and the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, as well as recently brought to attention by Aleksandar Vulin, who expressed openly the territorial ambitions and the idea of destroying several states in the region, of which the most vulnerable states continue to be Kosovo, Montenegro and Bosnia-Herzegovina.

An even greater cause of the incomplete state is the rejection of borders within which Serbia is located, including today's borders as well. This rejection always brought into question these borders or brought the idea of improvement of these borders in any future war.

There is no genuine politics in Serbia, Serbian politics is based on tricks, fabrications, lies, and control of the opposition, which creates internal political frustration, internal political instability, but also the export of crises, especially in the Balkans.

In Serbia, there is no internal political communication because Serbia is a party state. Parties in Serbia are more than political organization, implying that they are power, wealth, control of society, creation of clans, clientelism, and corruption.

As a result of internal conflicts, Serbia is characterized by internal violence and political murders of their leaders, from Karađorđe to Đinđić.

Another factor that was a cause of violence and a political factor in the life of Serbia was the army, police, and secret services.

Serbia has historically been an exporter of violence and terrorism, since the formation of "Crna Ruka", a terrorist organization that killed King Ferdinand, the act after which the First World War began.

## **Serbia as an exporter of violence in the Balkans and the creation of terrorist paramilitary units**

Up to today, the security institutions of Serbia have recruited, trained, and supported terrorist, paramilitary, and criminal groups to achieve political goals, whether internal or external.

Let's mention some from the 90s to date:

- 1) Group of Serbs in Fushe Kosove: Miroslav Sholevic, Kosta Bulatovic, Bosko Budimirovic, etc. This group was led by the Serbian secret service "SDB" in both material and political terms. The SDB offered advice, information, logistics, as well as instructions for the organization of mitigations and the downfall of people in power.
- 2) A party with paramilitary characteristics was established in Nova Pazova: "Srpska Narodna Obnova" led by Mirko Jovic and Vojislav Seshel.
- 3) In Croatia, the rebellion of the Serbian police in Knin under the leadership of Milan Martić, where the Serbian state security begins the organization of the rebellion in the province of Knin with the erection of barricades and placement of guards and up to the placement of Serbs' weapons. This operation was led by Franko Simatovic a.k.a. "Frenkie". Frenkie also brings other state security and paramilitary instructors, who established the "Kninxhe" paramilitary units, most of whom are recruited into the NJSO of the MUP of Serbia, or as they were called "Red Berets" and "Frenkies".
- 4) Undoubtedly, the paramilitary group "Tigers" was the most famous group and was led by Zeljko Raznatovic a.k.a. "Arkan". He and others who were recruited by the Serbian state security, were globally-recognized criminals and were financed by the same service. The majority of this unit was recruited in JSO or "Red Berets", a unit which has carried out crimes in Kosovo and Bosnia.

Thanks to the politicians, the successors of Milosevic: Kostunica, Vucic, Dacic, etc., most of these groups have been able to keep their positions.

After the war in Kosovo, the first established group was the "Bridge Guards", then "Civilna Zashitita", "North Brigade", and several other groups.

All these groups were established, led, and supported by the Serbian state, respectively by the secret service "BIA", Serbia's police, and army. These groups, from 2000 to date, were at the service of the state of Serbia in terms of the instability of the Republic of Kosovo and the violation of its security.

Let's mention the year 2001; the ethnic cleansing of the north of Mitrovica, the numerous murders of Albanians and their persecution from the north of Mitrovica;

Numerous road blockades, violent demonstrations, threats, murders against both Albanians and Serbs (Oliver Ivanovic);

They were participants in the burning of the border crossing point in 2008 and in the murdering of a Kosovo policeman in 2011;

The erection of barricades at the end of last year was an armed rebellion where members of "Wagner", the Russian mercenary group, were also present;

In May 2023, in violent protests in the four northern municipalities of Kosovo, many police officers of the Republic of Kosovo and over 40 KFOR soldiers were injured;

After this organization and display of extreme violence, the Government of the Republic of Kosovo declared these organizations terrorist organizations, due to their activity;

The President of Serbia, Aleksandar Vucic, controls the on-site political coordination and actions of these terrorist organisations through the "Lista Srpska" party;

Indeed, Lista Srpska is the one that completely controls daily and political life in the northern part of Kosovo, inhabited by Serbs.

During the post-war period until today, Serbia has built 20 police bases and 28 military bases around the border of Kosovo. Thus, always affecting the tension of the situation in the north by provoking the authorities of the Republic of Kosovo.

Let's mention two cases of kidnapping of police officers from the territory of the state of Kosovo, citizens, etc.

Always encouraging criminal groups in smuggling and criminal acts.

Last year, several hundred police officers of the Serbian community, according to the order of Aleksandar Vucic through Lista Srpska, resigned.

From 2022, the government of Serbia will start training subversive-terrorist groups through military-police training camps.

These exercises are planned, supervised, and implemented by the Head of the Serbian Army, the police, and the Secret Service-BIA.

On 24 September 2023, such a subversive-terrorist group enters Kosovo with the aim of creating initial incidents in order to spread the conflict throughout Kosovo, where as a result, the north of Kosovo was attempted to secede from Kosovo and join Serbia.

The leader of this group was Milan Radojcic, vice-president of the Serbian political party Lista Srpska.

Milan Radojcic, a criminal known to the security authorities in the Republic of Kosovo and blacklisted by the USA and Great Britain, is Vucic's "Arkan" today.

This armed group had weapons and sophisticated military equipment worth approximately EUR 5 million. A part of this weaponry was hidden and stored in the Church of Banjska, where the whole incident took place where several Serbian terrorists and the Hero of the Republic of Kosovo, the police officer Afrim Bunjaku, were killed. This group managed to escape, with many injuries, in the direction of Novi Pazar, where cars and helicopters for evacuation were waiting for them at the border.

### **The influence of the Serbian Orthodox Church**

The Serbian Orthodox Church plays a big role in the politics of Serbia, especially in the national and foreign political identity, therefore its influence is often very controversial. Its influence can be seen in the tendencies to stop the liberal development of the Serbian society, or in the tendencies to separate religion, respectively the Serbian Orthodox Church, from the influence on state policies. Its aggressive influence extends to all territories of the Balkans where Serbs live.

It can be said that the Church and the leaders of the Serbian Orthodox Church have always been the inspiration of the Serbian wars and war criminals such as Slobodan Milosevic, Ratko Mladic, Arkani, Radovan Karadzic, etc. This is best seen in the recent case of the Orthodox Church in Banjska, which cooperated with the subversive-terrorist group.

### **Russian influence and Russian propaganda in Serbia**

The influence of Russian politics and Russian media propaganda in Serbia can be seen at every step. All influential media in Serbia broadcast and spread the Russian narrative of war and Western hostility every day. The political elites of Serbia, headed by Aleksandar Vucic, support them.

According to a survey, 66% of Serbian citizens think that the West is responsible for the war in Ukraine, while 21% think that Russia is to blame. Only 3% think that Ukraine is guilty.

This is according to the study of the Serbian NGO “Novi Treci Put”. According to this NGO, 47.5% of respondents think that Russia is the main political partner of Serbia, 30% think that the European Union is the main partner, while 19% think that it is China.

On the other hand, 51% see the European Union as the economic support of the future, 26% think it is China, while 21% think it is Russia.

This opinion is similar in other countries where Serbs live, especially in Republika Srpska in Bosnia Herzegovina. When they have a personal interest, people in Serbia do not look for work in Russia, nor do they go to study in China, but they turn to the West.

When it comes to official politics, people in Serbia are convinced that Russia and China are the good ones, while the West harms Serbia, says in a study Tomas Brai, from the “Friedrich Nauman” Foundation.

The Russian propaganda media “RT (Russia Today)” and “Sputnik” play a key role in spreading these narratives about Serbia, which is also the narrative of Russia's official policy.

These media have their well-established newsrooms in Belgrade and spread Russian propaganda on a daily basis.

There is a traditional Russian-Serbian connection since the times of the Balkan wars, up to the last wars in the former Yugoslavia.

Russia is always presented as a brotherly state of Serbia, which automatically includes all cultural points such as the Slavic language and the Orthodox religion.

One of the main points of Russian propaganda is the actualization of international tensions in the Balkans, where Russia is always on the side of Serbia, especially when it comes to Kosovo.

In practice it is best seen e.g. in the war in Ukraine according to the headlines coming from the Kremlin;

“The new world order begins - Putin destroyed the EU and NATO” (Srpski Telegraf, 15.11.2016).

“Blitzkrieg-The Russian hurricane destroyed Ukraine-Putin reached Kiev in a day” (Alo, 25.02.2022).

“Fashisti love Serbe- A Evropa cuti igleda” (Informer, 16.01.2023-Topic Kosovo), etc.

Vucic has absolute control over the most influential media in Serbia, he officially declares a cooperative policy with the EU, and that Serbia is a candidate for EU membership, trying to attract as many investors to Serbia as possible.

Serbia has not supported the sanctions against Russia in the case of its invasion of Ukraine. Aleksandar Vucic always plays a two-sided role i.e., taking a position between both the West and East.

In this policy, he is successful in the West because he always deceives them, yet in fact any more serious reforms in Serbia, any attempt to fight corruption would endanger Vucic's position in Serbia. Therefore, it is not realistic to expect political changes on the part of the government and Vucic in Serbia.

The West's political concept of unconditional cooperation with the so-called “Stabilitocracy people in the Balkans” is a big mistake of the West because Vucic does nothing but be an autocrat and copies Putin's rule in Russia.

This control is best seen in the control of the media, justice, army, police, and especially secret services, as well as in the elimination of political competitors.

Upon the fact that the EU is the biggest investor in Serbia both in trade and in financial partnership, the policies of the EU and the West must be conditioned by reforms in society using the concrete instruments available.

### **Lista Srpska and its influence in the north**

When the NATO forces under the joint name K-FOR began to enter the territory of Kosovo after the end of the war on 12 June 1999, the military control in Kosovo was divided into five different zones:

- The first zone from Great Britain included the capital Pristina and other north-eastern parts.
- The second zone from France included Mitrovica and other north-western parts.
- The third zone from Italy included Peja and other south-western parts.
- The fourth zone from Germany included Prizren and other south-eastern parts.
- The fifth zone from the US included Gjilan and other eastern parts.

The Russian Federation had expressed ambitions before the determination of the zone command by K-FOR to control the second zone, where is Mitrovica and other north-western parts of Kosovo. This ambition was rejected by NATO and the partners and eventually it was decided that the second zone would be commanded by French military forces. Following the division of

command of the zones, the second zone became a shelter for many Serbs, which is now also known as the north of Kosovo. The Serbs in this part, which would now be called the north of Kosovo (the northern part of the city of Mitrovica, Zvečan, Zubin Potok and Leposaviq), strongly resisted the Albanian residents from returning to their homes.

Several times there have been conflicts, resulting in the murder and injuries of people. Therefore, the French forces, in order to prevent conflicts, did not allow civilians or other Albanian authorities to go to this part, including the Kosovo Liberation Army, and later not even the organization that emerged from its demilitarization, the Kosovo Defence Forces.

De facto, the north of Kosovo turned into a territory where Serbia was already creating its own free zone of influence. In addition, smuggling and crime quickly began to increase in this area. The north of Kosovo for years turned into a territory where only Serbs lived, where some Albanians who had managed to enter their homes in the northern part of the city, in several different stages, were expelled from there. Between 2 and 20 February 2000, 1,7000 Albanians, Turks and Bosnians were expelled from the northern part of Mitrovica.

Besides the interest in having their own territory, the Serbs of the north of Kosovo, among other things, presented another interest to the political parties in Serbia. They quickly turned into a manipulable vote, which was not small for power. Belgrade saw this part as a motive for the growth of Serbian nationalism, and in the name of investments “to preserve the Serbian existence in Kosovo”, hundreds of millions of euros were misused in Serbia.

Also, the north of Kosovo is a main topic of the negotiation process between Kosovo and Serbia, which began with the mediation of the European Union in 2011. Although Serbia signed agreements with Kosovo in Brussels, most of them were not implemented.

Kosovo authorities are gradually trying to extend their power in the north. Sometimes through dialogue in Brussels, and sometimes by force, fighting organized crime. Since, the Serbs, opposing the extension of power in the north, have often responded with weapons, in which case individuals of the Kosovar authorities or even of the European authorities have been killed.

This part of the territory of Kosovo, the criminal form of how it was governed de facto most of the time, also produced political leaders who came from crime. Some of them also became sponsors of political parties in Serbia. By financially empowering the political parties in Serbia, they also empowered themselves with power. In addition, this phenomenon appeared long after 2012, when the Progressive Party of Serbia (SNS) came to power therein, which also brought Aleksandar Vucic as prime minister of Serbia, and later as the President. After this time, the Serbs of northern Kosovo intensified their criminal activity.

Although northern Serbs were there even earlier, SNS after the restructuring of the security structures in Belgrade, began the reorganization of the Kosovo Serbs. During this time, new

political and criminal organizations were born among the northern Serbs. The SRPSKA List was created, which applied for registration to the Central Election Commission under the name “Srbija”, which was rejected. Initially, there was a hope that Lista SRPSKA would apply the integration of the northern Serbs, which legally happened. Northern Serbs went to local elections in the Republic of Kosovo for the first time on 3 November 2013.

However, along with the legal and political integration of Serbs in the north, there was parallel unprecedented pressure on Serbian voters to bring the SRPSKA List to power everywhere in the 10 municipalities with a Serbian majority in Kosovo. The result of the 2013 local elections was in favour of the SRPSKA List. She won 9/10 municipalities.

Despite the fact that the elections in Kosovo each time have improved the democratic image of Kosovo, the Serbian community in Kosovo, as of the time SRPSKA List participated in the elections, has never experienced free elections. In order to win the elections, SRPSKA List and the illegal mechanisms of Serbia in Kosovo have used various repressive methods, from verbal and written threats, burning cars to murders.

Precisely for political-criminal monopolistic motives were killed: the candidate of the Serbian Liberal Party (SLS) for mayor of North Mitrovica, in the local elections (2013) Dimitrije Janicijevic (on 16.01.2014), and also, on 16.01.2018 (precisely 4 years later), the other candidate for mayor of North Mitrovica from the SDP party, Oliver Ivanovic, shortly after the municipal elections at the end of 2017.



Hence, in the first two municipal elections, in which SRPSKA List participated, two Serbian political rivals were murdered in North Mitrovica. While, in the first case, i.e., Dimitrije Janicijevic, the purpose of the murder was to intimidate political rivals to monopolize the government, in the other case, i.e., Oliver Ivanovic, in addition to the monopolization of the government, it was also the monopolization of criminality.

Ivanovic, at least six months before he was killed, had spoken openly about the threats he had received to withdraw from the elections that were held in October 2017. He also tried to complain to Aleksandar Vucic, but as he had stated, Vučić was supported by the centres of the power of crime and not of legal municipalities.

The murder of Ivanovic had made the name of a man, the representative of criminality in the north, more popular. Milan Radoicic, the main accused for the murder of Oliver Ivanovic, had already won the support of Aleksandar Vucic.

Despite accusations of total control in the north - of gang control; control of tenders in Serbia and Serbian projects in Kosovo; for the control of the budget of Kosovo, intended for the northern municipalities; control of narcotics traffic and monopoly in it; the executor of orders from Belgrade - the exercise of violence - threats, beatings and murders; control of Serbian politicians in Kosovo, except those of the SRPSKA List, Milan Radoicic, with the approval of Vucic, in June 2018 was “elected” vice president of the SRPSKA List.

From this time, sometimes in the guise of a politician, sometimes as a criminal, Radoicic also formally became Aleksandar Vucic's most reliable man. Milan Radoicic controlled everyone else, while he was controlled by Vucic.

His involvement in everything bad in the north, but also in Serbia, made Radoicic a target not only of the intelligence services of Kosovo and other partner services operating in the country, but also a target of the media. Very soon he became a target of the justice institutions, which once indicted him for the murder of Ivanović, and later also for his involvement in corruption.

Constantly, Vucic immunized and protected him from all attacks. He even supported him. Vucic defended Radoicic even when he was placed on the US Treasury Department's sanctions list on 8 December 2021.

A few days later, the Kosovo Police and the Basic Prosecution Office of Ferizaj started the action to arrest several people, known as the “Brezovica” case. Very soon, Radoicic also became the subject of the investigation in this case. From the beginning of 2022, Vucic's representative, Milan Radoicic, would no longer publicly carry out any activity in the territory of the Republic of Kosovo.

However, he organized all criminal and political activities from his hotel in Kopaonik, on the Serbian side of the Kosovo-Serbia border. Although only the vice-president of the SRPSKA List, he has de facto led this political entity. The main man of Vucic, had the headquarters for each activity in Kopaonik. All those whom he gave orders would gather there, whereas he himself would go to Belgrade to receive orders.

Belgrade's policy began to toughen after the Russian aggression in Ukraine, in February 2022. Recruitment and financing within illegal, criminal structures, which would later be declared terrorist by the Republic of Kosovo, intensified. The terrorist organizations are the Civil Defense and the Northern Brigade. The members of these terrorist organizations held regular training in Serbia, at the bases of the Serbian army and other locations such as: the training ground of the military complex "Pasuljanske Livade" in which the members of the Armed Forces of Serbia are also trained, their training ground in Peshter, near Tutini in Serbia; the training ground of the military barracks in Rashka; in the Training Centre of the Ministry of Internal Affairs "Mitrovo Polje" located in the mountains near Vernjačka Banja and Kopaonik.

### **THREATS FROM SERBIA: THE TERRORIST ATTACK IN BANJSKE / THE GROUP'S TIES TO SERBIA**

Serbia continues to be the greatest risk for the national security of the Republic of Kosovo, considering the hostile approach, the financing of parallel structures and terrorist organizations operating within the territory of Kosovo, the establishment and extension of military bases along the entire border line between the two states, the war hybrid, and especially the disinformation that Serbia exerts in Kosovo.

In the preamble of the Constitution of the Republic of Serbia, approved after the referendum of 8 November 2006, the Republic of Kosovo is considered an integral part of it, where "all institutions are committed to protect it both within Serbia and in international politics"

In general, the entire state apparatus of Serbia is engaged in sabotaging and damaging the Republic of Kosovo; starting from the highest decision-making institutions in Serbia, such as the institution of the president and the government, then the intelligence services, the armed forces, but also institutions with great social influence, such as the Serbian Orthodox Church and the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts.

After the beginning of Russian aggression in Ukraine (February 2022), Serbia has increased hybrid and aggressive activities against Kosovo, aiming at the security threat in Kosovo and the region, related to territorial claims, keeping the situation in constant tension (Serbian-Russian interests in region for instability / Serbian World);

Since 2022, with increased intensity, threatening and destabilizing capacities have been raised in Kosovo, with special emphasis on the four municipalities in the north.

Recruitment/financing within the illegal, criminal, already declared terrorist structures “Civil Defense” and “North Brigade” intensified. Serbian army and other locations, including: the training ground of the “Pasuljanske Livade” military complex, where FAS members are also trained, the FAS training ground in Peshter, near Tutin/Serbia, the training ground of the military barracks in Raska, in the Training Center of the Ministry of Internal Affairs “Mitrovo Polje” located in the mountains near Vernjačka Banja and Kopaonik.

In the efforts to destabilize Kosovo, namely the provocation of riots in northern Kosovo as well as in the aspirations for the eventual annexation of this part of the country, the Russian Federation also has a significant influence through systematic relations with the Serbian List, and the instrumentalization and use of Serbia as a proxy - by taking into consideration the strong cultural and political ties of these two countries. The Russian Federation uses Serbia, turning it into a proxy state, to achieve its foreign policy objectives and to promote its political agenda. The strong ties between the Kremlin and the Serbian List are evidenced by the meeting in Moscow of the head of this political entity, Goran Rakic, with the senior official of the United Russia Party, Sergey Zhelenyak.

The turning point towards the events of the last few months is undoubtedly the public appearance of Milan Radoicic, dated 05 July 2022, where through a video he openly challenges the authorities of the Republic of Kosovo and warns that from now on he will push forward his ideas. He says in his short speech that “now there is no going back”.

### **The barricades of 31 July 2022**

Members trained by the Serbian security structures had placed a total of 11 barricades in different locations in the municipalities of northern Kosovo. Masked, armed and tactically dressed persons were seen at the barricades. Regarding this, the president of Serbia said that they are “*young and old Serbs, who aimed to protect Kosovo from aggression*”.

### **Events as of 18 August 2022 and onwards**

After this date, graffiti of “Severna Brigada” appeared publicly for the first time. Then graffiti with the content “NATO GO HOME, OVO JE SERBIA”, after the separate meetings that the Prime Minister of Kosovo, Albin Kurti, and the President of Serbia, Aleksandar Vucic had held at the NATO headquarters in Brussels. After 30 August, an organized campaign of burning the cars of Serbian citizens in the north who registered cars with RKS license plates began, as a form of intimidation. On 03 November 2022, the former commander for the north, Nenad Djuric, was suspended from his job in the Kosovo Police, after he had refused orders to implement the

decisions of the Government of Kosovo. After Djuric's suspension, all northern Serbian police officers collectively and demonstratively resigned. After resigning from the Kosovo Police, they were illegally engaged in police duties, being armed, and after being equipped with green uniforms and radios.

After the resignation of the mayors of the four northern municipalities, extraordinary partial local government elections were announced for Leposavic, Zubin Potok, North Mitrovica and Zveçan.

At the same time, the Serbian officials of the CEC also resigned. A team from Pristina planned to open offices in the north of Kosovo, which were then attacked by the terrorist organization “Civil Défense”. Former Kosovo Police officer, Dejan Pantic, was arrested on suspicion of attacking the offices of the MEC. This led to the erection of new barricades.

### **Barricades of 10 December 2022**

The Serbs used the arrest of Dejan Pantic as a pretext and blocked all the roads in the north of Kosovo, from 10.12.2022 to 29.12.2022.

They again set up barricades in the municipalities of northern Kosovo, but with different strategies from the barricades of July 2022. Most of the machinery that was used to block the roads were filled with explosive devices. In the vicinity of the barricades, military trenches/posts with firing positions have been opened and we have confirmed the presence of armed persons in these locations.

### **Attacks against KFOR of 29.05.2023**

On 29/05/2023, with the aim of preventing the work of the elected Mayors from entering the Municipality, as of morning hours, Serbian citizens initially blocked the road with civilian cars without license plates, while the crowd of protesters tried to enter the facilities of Zveqan, Zubin Potok and Leposaviq municipalities.

On 29.05.2023, the violent protest started when KFOR asked the protesters to open a cordon for the change of Kosovo Police units.

Most of the masked and violent protesters have been identified as members of the Civil Defence.

The illegal and criminal structures, financed and directed by Serbia, “Civil Defence”, attacked KFOR with firearms and hand grenades, which was located in front of the facility of the municipality of Zveçan and at least 93 members of NATO were injured. Evidence of weapons and explosives used in these attacks was later found.

## **Attacks against Police Officers, Journalists and Citizens**

Attacks orchestrated by Serbia and conducted by illegal/criminal structures were continuously carried out, especially in the four municipalities in the north, including: attacks on members of the Kosovo Police, KFOR, EULEX, journalists, political opponents of the “Serbian List “, intimidation of citizens, arrest of Kosovo citizens under the suspicion that they have cooperated with Kosovo institutions, burning of the cars of Kosovo citizens from the ranks of the Serbian community, propaganda campaigns with inter-ethnic incidents (according to the Russian model), threats, blackmail, coercion for withdrawal from institutions, etc.

## **Declaration terrorist organization**

After continuous attacks and the administration of numerous evidences, Kosovo institutions alarmed by declaring the “Civil Defence” and “Northern Brigade” terrorist organizations (June 2023). The members of these organizations, according to the orders of Serbia, were placed in the barracks of the Serbian army in Raška, when they began to carry out war-related training with increased intensity.

## **Seizure of weaponry**

Two arms-confiscation-operations were carried out in the north (June 23 and September 5), where an arsenal of war weapons, most of them manufactured in Serbia, dedicated to the terrorist organizations in the north “Civil Defence” and “North Brigade” were confiscated.

## **Terrorist attack of 24/09/2023**

Based on the data and evidence analysed so far, it results that Serbia was directly involved in the terrorist attack of 09/24/2023. Milan Radoicic has close relations with Vucic and other senior leaders of Serbia, including the security and defence sector. The people involved in the attack were financed by Serbia. They were trained in Serbia on military bases and other terrains. The war weapons that the group possessed are of Serbian production and can only be obtained from military bases. The maps and outlines found (for the invasion of the north) were drawn up by a military expert.

· Milan Radoicic (leader of the on-site terrorist group), represents Serbia and not only the organized crime groups operating in the four municipalities in the north. Radoicic acts with the directives of the government in Serbia, in accordance with its security and defence structures.

· The organization, support and sponsorship of the terrorist group by Serbia has been done in several ways, including but not limited to:

- their financing;
- delivery of trainings;
- equipping and supplying weapons and war ammunition (a large part of which can be found or provided only in military warehouses);
- providing logistical and intelligence assistance;
- providing support in the military planning of the operation (divided into phases, for the invasion of the north, presented on military maps with details of tactical and operational actions);
- protection, safe spaces (shelter) allowing them to act and operate within the territory of Serbia and in the border with Kosovo, uniformed and armed;
- providing post-attack support, shelter, healing, glorification and providing political support in Serbia and Kosovo (Serbian List).

· The President of Serbia, Aleksandar Vucic, in various forms instructed Milan Radoicic and the illegal Serbian structures to mobilize young people in the four municipalities in the north and finally to establish the terrorist group that was involved in the terrorist attack on 24 September. This group operated unhindered in Serbia, in the border, being tolerated and supported by the security structures of the Serbian state.

-Milan Radoicic (leader of the on-site terrorist group), represents Serbia and not only the organized crime groups that operate in the four municipalities in the north. Radoicic acts with the directives of the government in Serbia, in accordance with its security and defence structures.

· Milan Radoicic, has participated in almost all the meetings of the Serbian President Aleksandar Vucic with the Serbian representatives of the north of Kosovo and not only.

· Milan Radoicic had strengthened his influence in the army after the arrival of Milosh Vucevic in the position of Minister of Defence (October 2022). He is also related to the chief of staff of FAS, Milan Mojsilovic, who is originally from the north of Kosovo. Special military units such as Cobra are under the command of the FAS Chief of Staff.

· Milan Radoicic has also a great influence within the structures of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, and therefore to the Serbian police. The police officers operating in the area of Rashka, Novi Pazar and other areas near our country, had received a final order that in the event that any

vehicle is stopped for any irregularity, but that are presented as “people from Radoicic”, they must be released immediately and no documents shall be requested. Recently, he even appointed many of his trusted people to leadership positions there.



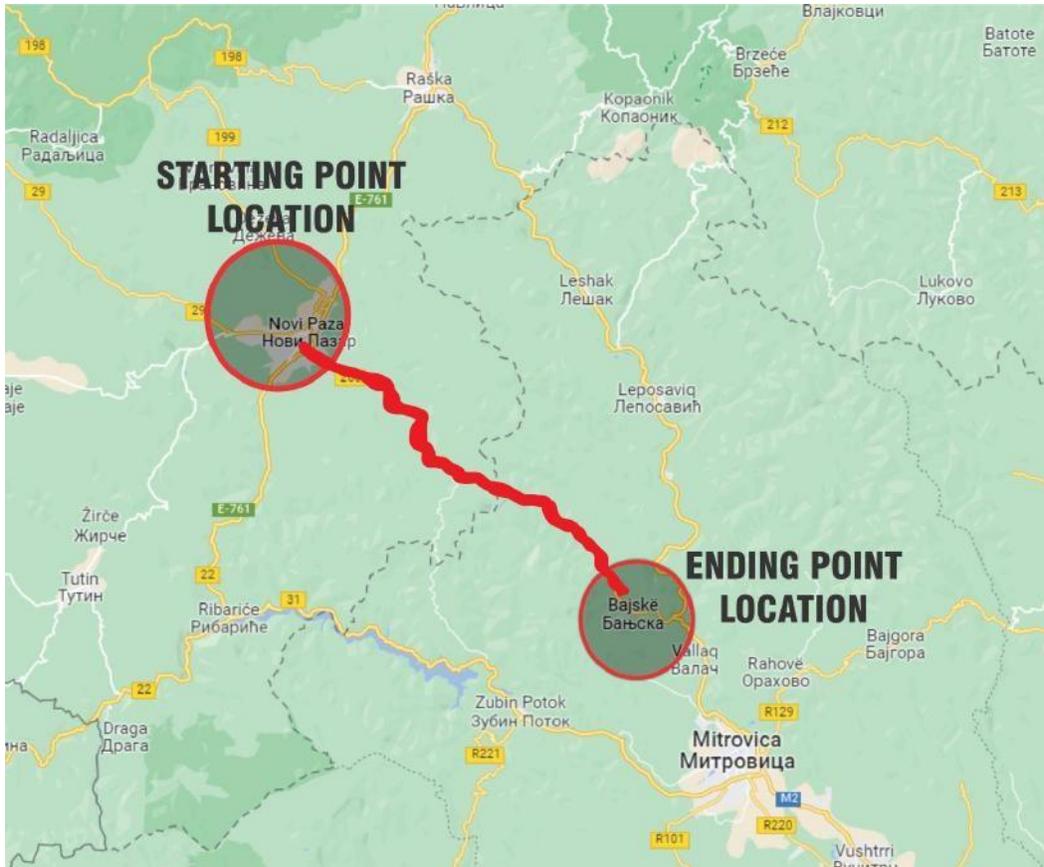
### **Details on the terrorist attack**

Based on the data and facts collected so far, the terrorist group (after numerous trainings in Serbia/military bases, substantiated by drone footage of the group), departed from Novi Pazari/Serbia in the afternoon of the 23 September.



Early in the morning of 24.09.2023, using the illegal road which is located near the border crossing called “Izvor”, which is the closest point to the city of Novi Pazar in Serbia and the village of Banjska in the municipality of Zvečan, they have entered our country and most have come as far as the village of Banjska in Zvečani.

Their journey was made in groups and in an organized manner 3-4 vehicles continued towards the village of Bajska Zvečan. The distance from the border to Banjska Monastery is about 14 km.

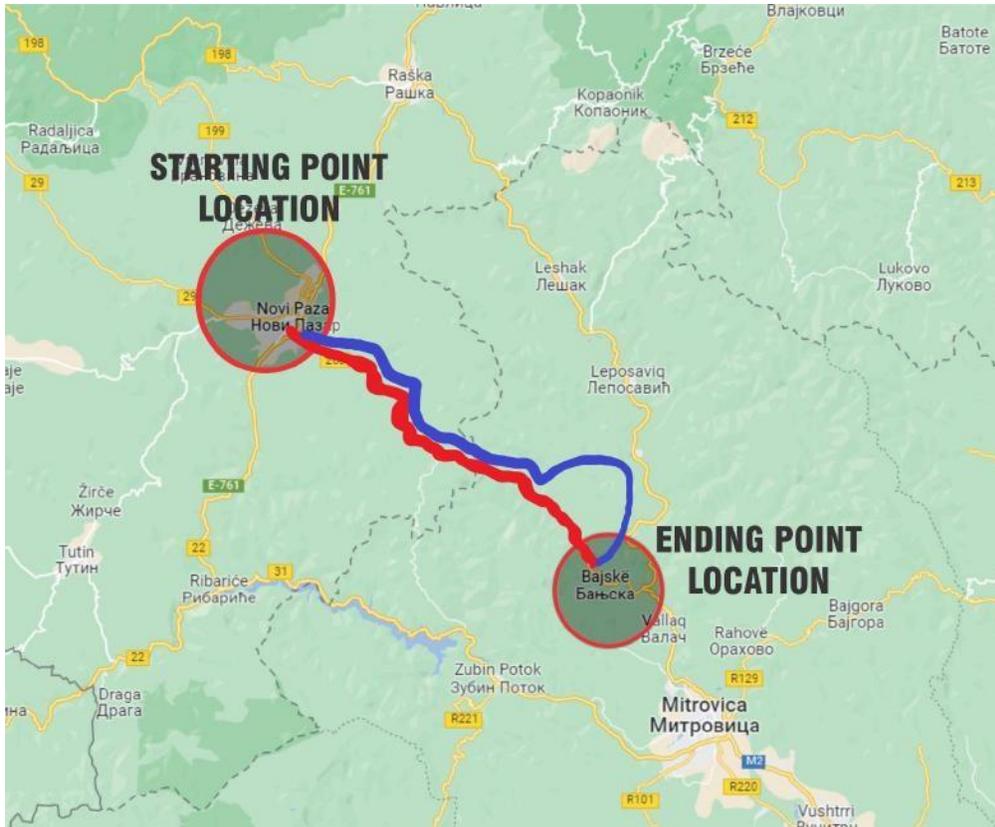


The members of this criminal and terrorist formation are equipped with short and long military weapons, explosive devices, anti-tank weapons, vehicles which they use for their operational needs, various means of communication, other means necessary for observation and photography, objects which they use as bases and for other needs, as well as various tools for logistical needs. The logistical capacities of this formation are financed and provided by Serbia and its structures, which mainly enter Kosovo through illegal routes in the north of the country.

The selected location is a strategic position that connects Leposaviq with Zvečan and North Mitrovica. Moreover, this location would have helped the terrorist subversive group to connect quickly with Serbia, with the FAS, but also with the mobilizing capacities of Serbia that it has installed in the four municipalities in the north.

According to maps and other evidence found at the scene, the operation was planned to take place in three phases, with a total of 43 points located at crossroads, strategic high places (hills) and bridges.

The attack started in the early hours of the morning, where KP sergeant Afrim Bunjaku was killed and three other police officers were injured. During the terrorist act, 3 members of the group were killed.



The goal was to occupy the northern part, to create a free corridor for mass transportation of weapons, to escalate the security situation to provoke military intervention (the model used by Russia in Ukraine), however after the failure of their plan on 24 September, most of them fled from the north, being sheltered in Serbia. Serbian President Vucic calls the same 'heroes', protecting them through public statements, however, at the same time offering them institutional protection, as well as not accepting any form of cooperation for the discovery or legal proceedings of this terrorist attack.

### **Gatherings of the Serbian army along the border line**

Immediately after the terrorist attack, Serbia began gathering the army near the border with Kosovo, including transporting heavy artillery. In addition to the direct threat of military aggression against Kosovo, this mobilization of the Serbian armed forces will also be used to encourage Serbian terrorist groups in Serbia and Kosovo to continue their attacks.

## **Additional assessments and recommendations**

The terrorist organizations “Civil Defence” and “North Brigade” must be declared terrorist by the allied countries as they pose a threat and danger to security in the region.

Seeing the delivery of regular trainings by declared terrorist organizations shows that there should be pressure to stop these trainings near the territory of Kosovo.

The SRPSKA list must be removed from the dominance and control from Belgrade and the connection with criminals like Radoicic. This shows that the functionality of the party is not for the interests of the Serbs but for its own interests and destabilization of the situation. It does not represent any political and democratic spirit, only pressure and control from Vucic.

The long tolerance against Vucic by the international community; him blackmailing with the potential to start conflicts and destabilize the region according to synchronized Serbian-Russian interests, have increased Serbia's appetites in the region, and the real threats were seen during the last days in Kosovo - terrorist attack in Banjska.

Serbia and Vucic must be held responsible, sanctioned immediately for the ongoing hybrid aggression against Kosovo. Serbia going unpunished regarding its responsibility for injuring 93 KFOR soldiers, barricading of roads in the north, continuous attacks on institutions, journalists and citizens (by the structures that are financed and directed by it in the north), led up to the terrorist attack of 24.09.2023. The continuation of further tolerance seriously risks the production of even more threatening situations for regional peace and stability.

Likewise, the further tolerance against Vucic's ambitions for regional hegemony enables the Russian Federation to continue to extend its influence through Serbia. At the same time that Russia extends its influence and projects its foreign policy objectives in the Balkans through Serbia, it also supplies it with modern weapons, which significantly increase Serbia's military capacity.

Increased attention is required about the staging of possible attacks on religious objects and the incitement of inter-ethnic hatred by the Serbian intelligence services and their tools in Kosovo, with the aim of shifting attention from the terrorist attack in Banjska.

Taking into consideration the indisputable evidence of the terrorist group's connections with the political leadership and the Armed Forces of Serbia, we consider that the Banjska event was a pure aggression by Serbia against the Republic of Kosovo, and classifying it as such, the international community must take concrete sanctioning measures against Serbia.

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