

**8th BURAK BORA ANATOLIAN HIGH SCHOOL  
MODEL UNITED NATIONS CONFERENCE 2026**

# **H-UNSC**

## **STUDY GUIDE AND RULES OF PROCEDURE**

**Under Secretary General: İlayda Gür**

**Academic Assistant: Cem Bayram**



### ***1. Welcome Letter From the Under Secretary General***

Beloved participants of BBALMUN'26,

It is my utmost pleasure to be welcoming you to the eighth annual session of Burak Bora Model United Nations Conference. I am honored to be a part of BBALMUN'26 and most importantly to be the under secretary general of this incredible committee.

This study guide is designed to offer a broad and impartial perspective while also encouraging critical thinking and in-depth discussion. We embark on this journey with the understanding that history is not merely a collection of events and dates. Rather, it is an ongoing narrative that preserves the experiences of nations, leaders, and individuals whose lives have been profoundly transformed.

I would also like to thank my academic assistant, Cem Bayram, for his consistent work throughout the process. I am fully confident that, with this dedication to work and learning, he will achieve great success on this path

My biggest dream since the beginning of my MUN journey was to reach where I am now. I would like to extend my sincere gratitude to everyone who has accompanied me throughout this journey, whose encouragement and guidance have played a significant role in my personal growth—especially Asya, Defne, Dila, Onat, Yağız, and Zehra.

Don't forget to contact me if you have any questions, concerns or suggestions. I'm always happy and ready to help. I am truly thrilled about the upcoming conference. See you soon!

With my best regards,

İlayda GÜR

igur5234@gmail.com

## **2. Letter from the Academic Assistant**

*Esteemed delegates of the **BBALMun 26**,*

*It is our biggest pleasure to have all of you in our 8th traditional BBALMun conference.*

*I am very excited for the upcoming intensely political and challenging committee, I believe it is a very intense committee, as the delegates will represent enemy countries that also have the opposite beliefs. Therefore, I, as the academic assistant, look forward to heated arguments and debates. I hope that we can make the best experience for you, and you can have the best Mun experience in your Mun career. I sincerely hope that the study guide will satisfy your needs and give enough information.*

*If you have any problems with the study guide, feel free to contact me via email so I can explain anytime you want.*

*With my best regards*

*the Academic Assistant of the United Nations Security  
Council*

*Cem Bayram*

*cembayram57@gmail.com*

## **2. RULES OF PROCEDURE**

### **2.1. General Rules**

#### ***Article 1: Language***

Throughout the conference, participants are only going to be able to communicate in English, as it is assigned by the United Nations Security Council as official and working language. During the sessions, it is prohibited for delegates to give a speech in any language other than English, in case of the usage of another language, the chairboard has the authority to remind the delegate to provide necessary interruption. Likewise, all documents presented to the secretariat must be in English.

***Article 2: Dress Code***

During the conference delegates are obligated to be wearing formal business attire. If not, the upper tier have the right to give official warning to the participants.

***Article 3: Electronic Aids***

Unless it is stated otherwise by the chairboard; the usage of any electronic device -smartphones, laptops, smartwatches, etc.- is restricted during the sessions.

***Article 4: Representation***

Each member may be presented by a single delegate. Withal, they cannot implement other countries' policies in their speeches and acts other than the country they are allocated for. Delegates are not allowed to use personal pronouns since they are not representing individuals.

***Article 5: Attendance***

Attendance shall be kept by the chairboard with a roll call at the beginning of every Security Council session as delegates are called by the chairboard according to the alphabetical order. Once a delegate's name is stated they need to state their presence by saying "present" or "present and voting". When a delegate says "present and voting" that means they are not going to be able to abstain during the voting procedure of any paper being voted upon in that session. If a delegate is late to a session they have to send a message paper to the chairboard stating they are present otherwise they are not going to be recognized or allowed to vote in the session. Delegates who are marked absent in two or more sessions are not going to take their certificates of participation.

***Article 6: Courtesy***

Every delegate will be courteous and respectful to the Committee staff and other delegates. The Chair will immediately call to order any delegate who does not abide by this rule and may issue an unofficial warning. Any delegate who feels that he or she is not being treated respectfully is encouraged to speak to the Chair, who will then take the appropriate action.

## **2.2 RULES OF GOVERNING DEBATE**

### ***Article 1: Quorum***

To begin the session at least one-third of the delegates must state their presence by enunciating “present” or “present and voting”. If quorum is still not met thirty minutes after the scheduled time of the session, Security Council shall start its session with the number of delegates already present, unless otherwise instructed by the secretariat.

### ***Article 2: Opening Speeches***

Delegates should deliver their opening speeches before the settlement of the debate. The Chair will present the floor to delegates by following the alphabetical order of the names of the members.

### ***Article 3: Agenda***

The Committee needs to set the agenda item in order to continue with the discussions and debate of the topic. Therefore, when the committee begins the delegates are expected to raise a motion to set the agenda. In the absence of any opposition regarding this motion, it is considered to be adopted. If there is opposition, the committee directors will establish a Speaker’s List which consists of 2 or 4 delegates to give for and against speeches. After the speeches, the committee will proceed with the voting.

### ***Article 4: Debate***

Setting the Agenda is followed by a motion to open debate. This motion is not open for debate and needs a simple majority in order to pass. After the motion passes, a new continuous speakers list is formed to conduct general debates on the topic. This Speakers List will decide the order of speakers for all debate on the Topic Area, except when superseded by procedural motions, amendments, or the introduction of a draft resolution.

### ***Article 5: Speakers List***

At the beginning of each session a delegate should raise a motion to open the general speakers list which allows delegates to discuss in a general way by giving them the chance to make a speech about whatever topic linked to the agenda item, the current situation, a clause etc.

Once the chair asks for the delegates who wish to be on the general speakers' list, delegates may raise their placards to add their countries. If there are less than three volunteers the chairboard has the right to choose randomly since there should be at least three delegates on the general speakers' list anytime otherwise the committee is going to fail. A delegate may remove themselves from the general speakers' list by submitting a request writing a message paper to the chairboard.

When the chairboard asks for any points or motions and there is none on the floor the debate is going to return to the general speakers' list automatically. A motion to close the general speakers' list is never in order.

#### ***Article 6: Yields***

A delegate granted the right to speak on the floor must declare the floor by yielding at the conclusion of their speech . The delegate may yield the floor in one of the three ways given below;

**Yield to Another Delegate:** When the delegate states their yielding to another delegate, whether they are going to accept this yield is going to be asked to the mentioned delegate by the chairboard. If said delegate does not accept the yielding the floor is going to be yielded to the chairboard inevitably. Once the delegate accepts the yield, the chairboard is going to recognize the delegate for the remaining time. The delegate's speaking time cannot be yielded to the original delegate.

**Yield to Questions:** Delegates may open themselves for questions if they are willing to answer questions about their speech. When the delegate states that they are open for any kinds of questions it is going to be asked by the chairboard if there is any. Questionnaires selected by the chairboard are limited to one question each and follow up questions will be allowed only at the discretion of the chairboard. The delegate on the floor may or may not accept the questions.

**Yield to the Chairboard:** This kind of yield must be made if the delegate does not wish to accept questions or yield the floor to another delegate. In this situation the chairboard is going to move to the next speaker.

#### ***Article 7: Right of Reply***

When a delegate's personal or national integrity has been impugned by another, the delegate may submit a Right of Reply by only writing to the Committee staff about the matter. The Chair will grant the Right of Reply at the delegate's discretion once the demand is received and this decision is not appealable. A delegate granted a Right of Reply will not address the Committee except at the request of the Chair. Submitting a Right of Reply to a right of Reply is out of order.

### ***Article 8: Moderated Caucus***

A moderated caucus is a structured debate format in which the predetermined list of speakers is set aside, allowing the chair to call on delegates to speak. During a moderated caucus, delegates take turns delivering brief speeches on the designated subtopic. The duration of 5e speeches are generally determined by the delegate who had raised the motion of a moderated caucus as a total and an individual speaking time. Delegates who are wishing to speak are chosen by the chairboard and added on the list of speakers.

### ***Article 9: Unmoderated Caucus***

The procedure of unmoderated caucuses are slightly different than moderated caucuses. In moderated caucuses, the time limit is set whilst the motion is being raised, but unlike moderated caucuses delegates are allowed to stand up and speak amongst themselves.

### ***Article 10: Semi-Moderated Caucus***

In a semi-moderated caucus, the speakers will not be determined with a speakers list. In a semi-moderated caucus, delegates who are wishing to deliver a speech may stand up and speak. The other delegates are expected to remain in their seats. When speaking, delegates should be respectful to one another at all times. Semi-moderated caucuses create a slightly more informal environment for speakers.

### ***Article 11: Closure of Debate***

When the floor is open, a delegate may move to close debate on the substantive or procedural matter under discussion. When the closure of the debate is moved, the Chair may recognize up to two speakers against the motion. There

will not be any in favor speeches entertained. If there are no speakers against the closing debate, the committee proceeds with the voting. The Committee Chair will ask the delegates if there are any objections to voting by unanimous consent. If there are no objections, the motion to close the debate will automatically be adopted and the Committee will move immediately to the substantive voting procedure.

### ***Article 12: Suspension or Adjournment of the Meeting***

The suspension of the meeting means the postponement of all Committee functions until the next meeting. The adjournment of the meeting means the postponement of all Committee functions for the duration of the Conference. In the last 5 minutes of the sessions, the delegates are expected to raise a motion in order to suspend the meeting. When the floor is open, a delegate may move for the suspension of the meeting or adjournment of the meeting.

## **2.3 RULES OF GOVERNING POINTS**

Points are used to officially communicate with chairs and fellow delegates in the committee. They are more personal and do not require voting. There are 4 points that can be used during sessions.

### ***Article 1: Points of Personal Privilege***

Whenever a delegate experiences personal discomfort, he/she may rise to a Point of Personal Privilege to request that the discomfort be corrected. A Point of Personal Privilege may only interrupt a speaker if the delegate speaking is inaudible. Otherwise, the delegate must wait until the speech is finished.

### ***Article 2: Points of Order***

During the discussion of any matter, a delegate may rise to a Point of Order to indicate an instance of improper parliamentary procedure. The Point of Order will be immediately decided by the Chair in accordance with these rules of procedure. A Point of Order may never interrupt a speaker.

### ***Article 3: Points of Order***

When the floor is open, a delegate may rise to a Point of Parliamentary Inquiry to ask the Chair a question regarding the rules of procedure. A Point of Parliamentary Inquiry may never interrupt a speaker.

#### ***Article 4: Points of Information***

Points regarding issues rather than parliamentary procedure and that are not covered in the rules governing other points shall be asked to the Committee Director as a Point of Information. A point of information may never interrupt a speaker.

## **2.4 RULES OF GOVERNING DOCUMENTS**

#### ***Article 1: Working Papers***

Delegates may propose working papers for Committee consideration. Working papers are intended to aid the Committee in its discussion and formulation of draft resolutions and need not be written in draft resolution format. Working papers are not official documents and may be presented in any format approved by the Chair but do require the signature of the Chair to be copied and distributed. A document will not be called a “working paper” until it has been introduced.

#### ***Article 2: Draft Resolutions***

A draft resolution is an improved version of a working paper with the appropriate adjustments on the format with the formal procedure. A draft resolution must include a headline, pre-ambulatory clauses and operative clauses. The heading has to begin with the name of the UN committee that adopts the resolution. The pre-ambulatory clauses need to recall the previous actions and explain why the committee needs to pay attention to these matters. The operative clauses need to provide forward the solutions that are found in the committee’s past process with an official language. The operative clauses should address the issues specifically mentioned in the pre-ambulatory clauses above it. A draft resolution needs the approval of the Chair and the signature of at least one-fifth of the present Member States.

#### ***Article 3: Introducing the Draft Resolution***

Once a draft resolution has been approved, a delegate or delegates may move to introduce the draft resolution. A procedural vote is subsequently conducted to determine whether the resolution shall be introduced. If the motion secures the simple majority necessary for approval, the draft resolution will be considered

introduced and on the floor. may allow a brief presentation of the resolution in a manner determined by the Chair and/or open the floor for speeches that are for or against the introduced draft resolution. It is possible for multiple draft resolutions to be on the floor at any one time.

#### ***Article 4: Amendments***

Delegates have the authority to modify any proposed resolution that has been presented by adding to, deleting from, or revising parts of it. Only one amendment may be introduced at any given time. Amendments to amendments are out of order; however, an amended part of a draft resolution may be further amended. A motion to introduce an approved amendment may be initiated when the floor is open. After this motion, the Chair may read the amendment aloud, time permitting. A Speakers List will be created to accommodate those in favor of and against the amendment. The motion will be adopted by a simple majority vote.

### **3. INTRODUCTION TO THE COMMITTEE**

The United Nations Security Council is one of the six main organs of the United Nations, was established in 1945 as a result of World War II to address the failings of the League of Nations, is the most powerful and potentially the most critical UN body working towards maintaining global peace, ensuring international security and protection of human rights as it has the right to take immediate and drastic actions if needed; furthermore charged with recommending the General Assembly to accept new members to the United Nations, and approving any changes to its charter. Since our agenda is one of the

events that led to World War II, our committee will function as a Historical United Nations Security Council. There is no difference with the UNSC procedure.

The committee is comprised of fifteen members as five of them being permanent and the rest are non-permanent members that the General Assembly decides at the end of every two-year terms. A state which is a member of the United Nations but not of the present Security Council may still participate in a conference, without having the voting right, on condition that the issue has its connections and interests regarded to them.

The aforementioned five permanent countries, also known as P5, have the privilege to veto any resolution or decision paper declared by the committee which means that any resolution or decision may be blocked (vetoed) by the P5 countries' authority. P5 countries are China, France, Russia, the United Kingdom and the United States.

Each member, and on some occasions observers, have one seat in the council. Every single participant has the right to vote on documents except observers whereas they can still express their approximations during the causes.

### ***Naming***

The Yugoslav Wars were a series of separate but related ethnic conflicts and wars of independence that took place from 1991 to 2001 in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFR Yugoslavia). These conflicts resulted in the dismantling of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. These conflicts began in mid-1991, into six independent countries matching the six entities that had previously constituted Yugoslavia: Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro, Serbia, and North Macedonia. The Yugoslav wars are not considered a civil war nor an international war. It is still indecisive, there are arguments for both sides which support the civil war or the international war idea. The "Civil War" Argument is made up of the facts being, The conflicts began before international recognition of the new republics (Slovenia and Croatia in 1991; Bosnia in early 1992). Ethnic communities were intermixed, with fighting inside republics rather than across clear borders. Some Western diplomats (notably during early peace negotiations) treated Yugoslavia as an internal crisis

rather than separate wars of independence. On the other hand the international war argument is that these were wars of aggression and secession, not internal civil wars. Once republics declared and were internationally recognized as independent states, conflicts became international in law like the conflict of Croatia. The presence of foreign intervention (e.g., Serbia in Bosnia; Croatia in Bosnia; NATO in 1999) also reinforces the “international” framing. Bosniaks and Croats often emphasize that Serbia and Montenegro’s involvement constituted *external aggression*, not internal rebellion. So at the end it is still indecisive if this was an international war or a civil war. So it is the most logical to look at these wars individually. These wars are called different names, Slovenia/yugoslavia war is called **The ten day war**, the Bosnia and Herzegovina war is called **the Homeland War**, the Croatia/Yugoslavia war is called **the Homeland War, the Kosovo war is called The Kosovo War**, North Macedonia conflict is called the **2001 Conflict**. The Yugoslav war is the general name of these individual wars.

### **\*Background**

Yugoslavia was formed after the first world war in 1918. The word Yugoslavia means “Land of the South Slavs.” “Yug” means South in the South Slavic languages like Serbian, Croatian, and Slovenian. Slavia means Land of the Slavs. Slavs are an ethnic group. There are 3 groups in the slavic ethnicity. These are east slavs, west slavs and south slavs. So after the collapse of the Austria-Hungarian Empire, southern slaves in the Balkans united to form a new nation, Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes which was later changed into the name the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. But in practice Serbs ,who had an existing state and army (Serbia) since 1912, dominated the new kingdom’s government and army. Croats and Slovenes often wanted more autonomy. The monarchist government tried to impose a single Yugoslav identity, suppressing ethnic distinctions yet this top-down Yugoslavism led to anger and dissatisfaction rather than unity and many felt it was really “Serbian dominance in disguise.”. This belief continued into the later times of Yugoslavia which was one of the biggest reasons for their downfall. After the Yugoslav’s took over the country at the end of WWII, nationalism was banned. Yet peace was sustained under Tito's rule, though nationalist protests did occur, but these were usually repressed and nationalist leaders were arrested and some were executed by Yugoslav officials. However, the Croatian Spring protests in the 1970s were backed by large numbers of Croats who complained that Yugoslavia remained a Serbian hegemony. Tito, whose home republic was Croatia, was concerned over the

stability of the country. So in response he enacted a new Yugoslav constitution which gave the republics greater autonomy. But this constitution resulted in the decentralization of Yugoslavia by giving republics and the provinces of Kosovo and Vojvodina near-statehood power including their own constitutions, veto authority, and control over key institutions which reduced Serbia's influence and fragmented federal decision-making. As a result, the federal presidency and parliament became slow, weak, and often unable to function because almost any major decision required consensus from eight increasingly divergent political units. Yet with this new constitution, the leadership of Josip Tito and the well being of the country, the protest ended. But unlucky for Yugoslavia this new constitution was a temporary fix. After the death of Josip Tito the country started to break down. Tito was a greatly respected leader. Even though Yugoslavia was a socialist country under the leadership of Tito, Yugoslavia was different from the other socialist countries. Yugoslavia had great relations with western countries and communist countries in the west. Yugoslavia wasn't a closed country like the other communist nations. Yugoslavia was also one of the fastest growing economies in the world. Yugoslavia were characterized by surprisingly high growth rates of both income and education during the 1950s. The period of European growth ended after the oil price shock in the 1970s. Following that, especially after the death of Tito an economic crisis erupted in Yugoslavia due to disastrous economic policies such as borrowing vast amounts of Western capital to fund growth through exports. At the same time, Western economies went into recession, decreasing demand for Yugoslav imports thereby creating a large debt problem. Also after the death of Tito on 4 May 1980, The LCY (league of communists of Yugoslavia), which had held Yugoslavia's multinational system together since World War II, lost cohesion after Tito's death in 1980 and became increasingly divided by competing republican agendas. Slovenia and Croatia demanded political pluralism, market reforms, and greater autonomy, while Yugoslavia's new leader Milošević's Serbia pushed for recentralization and tighter control over Kosovo and Vojvodina. Unable to agree on major reforms, the party reached a breaking point at the 14th Congress in January 1990, where the Slovenian delegation walked out after repeated clashes with the Serbian bloc, followed shortly by Croatia effectively ending the LCY and the political unity of the federation. Tito's death raised another problem which had been partially solved, but with a new pro-serbian nationalist leader Milošević the ethnic problem that led to the Croatian spring protests had once again begun. Milošević wanted to restore pre-1974 Serbian sovereignty which was restricted after the

1974 constitution. This resulted in the As a result of these events, ethnic Albanian miners in Kosovo organised the 1989 Kosovo miner strike. Meanwhile, Slovenia, under the presidency of Kucan, and Croatia supported the Albanian miners and their struggle for formal recognition. Initial strikes turned into widespread demonstrations demanding a Kosovar republic.

### ***10 Day War***

The Ten-Day War, also known as the Slovenian War of Independence, was a brief armed conflict that followed Slovenia's declaration of independence from Yugoslavia on 25 June 1991. It was fought between the Slovenian territorial defense, together with the Slovene Police, and the Yugoslav People's Army. The war lasted from June 27, 1991, to July 7, 1991, when the Brioni Accords were signed. The 10-day war was a very brief conflict because the Yugoslav People's Army, which was dominated by mostly Serbs, did not want to waste time and precious resources for Slovenia. Also Yugoslav government did not really care about the independence of Slovenia. Slovenia was considered "ethnically homogeneous" and therefore of no interest to the Yugoslav government. Also, the military was preoccupied with the fighting in Croatia, where the Serb majority in Yugoslavia had greater territorial interests. Even Serbia's president, Milosevic, stated that "I was against using the Yugoslav Army in Slovenia." and Borisav Jovic stated "With Slovenia out of the way, we could dictate the terms to the Croats." These statements clearly indicate that for Yugoslavia, Slovenia wasn't their priority, and the rising Croat problem was a bigger issue. On 23 December 1990, Slovenia held a referendum, which passed with 88.5% of the overall electorate supporting independence. The Slovenian government was well aware that Yugoslavia might seek to use military force to stop the separation. Immediately after the Slovenian elections, the Yugoslav People's Army announced a new defence doctrine that would apply across the country. The Tito-era doctrine of "General People's Defence", in which each republic maintained a territorial defence (TO), was to be replaced by a centrally directed system of defence. The republics would lose their role in defence matters, and their TOs would be disarmed and subordinated to the TO headquarters in Belgrade. Yugoslavia aimed to disarm the minorities so they couldn't effectively fight back; also, this ensured that the autonomy that was increased during Tito's rule was reduced. Slovenia countered this by ensuring that the majority of Slovenian Territorial

Defence equipment was kept out of the hands of the Yugoslav People's Army. It also declared in a constitutional amendment passed on 28 September 1990 that its TO would be under the sole command of the Slovenian government. At the same time, the Slovenian government set up a secret alternative command structure, known as the Manoeuvre Structures of National Protection. This was a preexisting institution that had not been used for a long time because it was no longer needed to date. This institution was also unique to Slovenia; no other state had this kind of institution. On 25 June 1991, Slovenia and Croatia declared their independence. On the morning of 26 June, units of the Yugoslav People's Army, aka JNA 13th Corps, left from Rijeka, Croatia and moved towards Slovenia. The move immediately led to a strong reaction from local Slovenians, who organized spontaneous barricades and demonstrations against the JNA's actions. By this time, the Slovenian government had already made a move to seize control of the republic's borders and the airports. The personnel maintaining the borders were, mostly, already Slovenians, so the Slovenian takeover simply consisted of changing uniforms. By taking control of the borders, the Slovenian government also aimed at forming defensive positions against an expected JNA attack. This meant that the JNA would have to fire the first shot. It was fired on 27 June at 14:30 in Divaca by a JNA officer. Further JNA troop movements took place in the early hours of 27 June. JNA also took control of the airport at Brnik. The Yugoslav air forces dropped messages that said "We invite you to peace and cooperation!" and "All resistance will be crushed." In the early hours of 27 June, the Slovenian leadership was told of the movements of the JNA. So, A meeting of the Slovene presidency was quickly convened, at which Kučan and the rest of the members decided on armed resistance. The Slovenian government also issued a warning to the JNA's Military Command that if helicopters were used, they would be shot down. The warning was disregarded by the JNA leadership, which still believed that the Slovenians would back down rather than fight. However, things played out very differently from JNA's leadership expectations. In the afternoon of 27 June, 2 JNA helicopters were shot down by Slovenia, killing the occupants, one of whom, Toni Mrlak, was a Slovenian pilot, as the JNA's forces consisted of nationals from all the republics. It was later discovered that the helicopter Mrlak was flying unarmed and was carrying only bread for the Yugoslav soldiers. The Slovenian military also took positions around JNA military bases in various locations, effectively encircling them, and launching a series of attacks on JNA forces across Slovenia. Despite the confusion and fighting, the JNA nonetheless successfully accomplished much of its military mission. By midnight on 27 June it

had captured all of the crossings along the Italian border, all but three crossings on the Austrian border, and several of the new crossing points established along Slovenia's border with Croatia. However, many of its units were still stuck in vulnerable positions across Slovenia. During the night of 27–28 June, Slovenian TO units were ordered to undertake a general offensive against the JNA. Also, the Yugoslav air force conducted a series of airstrikes against Slovenia, where 10 Slovenians died. By the end of the day of 28 June, the JNA still held many of its positions but was rapidly losing ground. JNA was beginning to experience problems with desertions, and many Slovenian members of the JNA quit their units or simply changed sides and both the troops on the ground and the leadership in Belgrade was very confused at what to do. During the night of June 28–29, three foreign ministers met with Slovenian and Yugoslav government representatives in Zagreb and agreed on a ceasefire plan, but it was not implemented. In the morning, the Slovenians achieved several significant military successes. The JNA issued an ultimatum to Slovenia, demanding an immediate cessation of hostilities by 09:00 on 30 June. In response, the Slovenian Assembly adopted a resolution calling for a peaceful solution to the crisis that did not jeopardise Slovenian independence, and rejected the JNA ultimatum. On the first and second of July the success of the Slovenian forces continued, the Slovenian forces captured many JNA forces and large amounts of very needed ammunition. This directly led to the Yugoslav Ministry of Defence asking permission from the Yugoslav government to increase the operations. JNA's first plan – a limited operation to secure Slovenia's border crossings – had failed, and it was time to put into operation the backup plan of a full-scale invasion and imposition of military rule in Slovenia. But this plan was rejected by the Slovenian government. The JNA Chief of Staff, General Blagoje Adžić, was furious at the rejection and publicly denounced "the federal organs [which] continually hampered us, demanding negotiations while they [the Slovenians] were attacking us with all means." Still, even after the rejection of the plan, the JNA's attacks didn't stop. Actually, it increased. The heaviest fighting of the war to date took place on 2 July. The result was not pleasing for the Yugoslav government. The Slovenian military was defeated at the back near the border town of Bregana. This resulted in a lot of JNA forces getting captured. Further attacks on other military camps resulted in a number of JNA facilities being captured. On 3 July 1991, the JNA agreed to a ceasefire and a withdrawal to barracks. With a ceasefire now in force, the two sides disengaged. Slovenian forces took control of all of the country's border crossings, and JNA units were allowed to withdraw peacefully to barracks and to

cross the border to Croatia. The Ten-Day War was formally ended with the Brioni Accord, signed on the Croatian Brijuni Islands. It was agreed that Slovenia and Croatia would postpone their independence for three months, dependent on the continuation of the ceasefire and the Slovenian police and armed forces (TO) were recognised as sovereign on their territory. It was agreed that all Yugoslav military units would leave Slovenia, with the Yugoslav government setting a deadline of the end of October to complete the process. The Slovenian government insisted that the withdrawal should proceed on its terms; the JNA was not allowed to take much of its heavy weaponry and equipment, which was later either deployed locally or sold to other Yugoslav republics. The withdrawal began about ten days later and was completed by 26 October. Due to the short duration and low intensity of the war, casualties were not high. According to Slovenian estimates, the JNA suffered 44 fatalities and 146 wounded, while the Slovenians had 19 killed and 182 wounded; six Slovenian civilians were killed. 4,692 JNA soldiers and 252 federal police officers were captured by the Slovenian side.

### ***Croatian War of Independence***

The Croatian War of Independence was an armed conflict between Croatian forces and the Yugoslav People's Army. A majority of Croats supported Croatia's independence from Yugoslavia, while many Serbs living in Croatia supported the Serbian government. Most Serbs wanted a new Serbian state in the Yugoslav federation, including parts of Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina, with ethnic Serb majorities or significant minorities. So for this reason, the Serbs wanted to conquer as much of Croatia as possible.

In the autumn of 1989, the Serbian government pressured the Croatian government to allow a series of Serb nationalist rallies in the country and accused Croatia of war crimes and genocide, which were allegedly committed in 1941 to 1945 during the Second World War. even when the Croatian government objected to the Serbian government, accusing Croatia of being "blindly nationalist."

The 1990 survey conducted among Yugoslav citizens showed that ethnicity was on a small scale. Compared to the results from 25 years before, Croatia was the republic with the highest increase in ethnic distance.

The first free elections in Croatia were held on April 22, 1990. The HDZ party based its campaign on greater sovereignty (eventually independence) for Croatia. The HDZ party won the elections. HDZ also announced its new Constitution. A multitude of political, economic, and social changes would be guaranteed. Local Serb politicians opposed the new constitution. They thought that Serbs were the protectors of communism. This was because even though they were the minority in Croatia, they played a big part in governing.

After the HDZ came to power, many Serbs employed in the public sector, especially the police, were fired and replaced by Croats. This, combined with Tuđman's remarks, e.g., "Thank God my wife is not a Jew or a Serb," made the Yugoslav government believe that a new fascist state would be formed in Croatia. Aside from the firing of many Serbs from public sector positions, another concern among Serbs living in Croatia was the HDZ's public display of the Croatian checkerboard, which was also used in the fascist time of Croatia in the Second World War. This was a wrong idea, as the checkerboard had a history going back to the 15th century and was not identical to the one that was used in World War II. However, Tuđman's attitude towards Croatian Serbs, as well as his support for former Ustaše (the fascist Croats) leaders, increased Serbian fears.

Immediately after the Croatian and Slovenian parliamentary elections, the JNA announced that the Tito-era defence doctrine that we talked about before would be disabled. On May 14, 1990, the weapons of the TO of Croatia, in Croat-majority regions, were taken away by the JNA, preventing the possibility of Croatia having its own weapons as was done in Slovenia. But like we have talked about before in the 10-day war, Slovenia handled the situation much better and was able to preserve its guns, while the Croatian government lost much of its defensive mechanism.

In August 1990, an unrecognised mono-ethnic referendum was held in regions with a Serb population, which would later become known as the Republic of Serbian Krajina (RSK), on the question of Serb "sovereignty and autonomy" in Croatia. This was an attempt to counter changes made to the Constitution. The Croatian government sent police forces to police stations in Serb-populated areas to seize their weapons. Among



other incidents, local Serbs blocked roads to tourist destinations in Dalmatia. This incident is known as the "Log Revolution", and it lasted about a year.

In July 1991, Milošević had taken over control of the Yugoslav People's Army (JNA). The Croatian government responded to the blockade of roads by sending special police teams in helicopters to the scene, but they were intercepted by fighter jets and forced to turn back to Zagreb. The Serbs blocked roads. On August 18, 1990, the Serbian newspapers claimed "almost two million Serbs were ready to go to Croatia to fight."

On December 22, 1990, the Parliament of Croatia put out a new constitution, which was seen by Serbs as taking away rights that the Socialist constitution had granted.

On paper, the JNA seemed a powerful force. However, by 1991, the majority of this equipment was 30 years old. Before the war, the fighting in Slovenia brought about a great number of desertions and evasions of the draft, and the new conscripts proved an ineffective fighting force.

The conflict escalated into armed incidents in the majority-Serb populated areas. The Serbs attacked Croatian police officers in Pakrac in early March, while one Jovic is widely reported as the first police officer killed by Serb forces as part of the war, during the Plitvice Lake incident in late March 1991.

In March and April 1991, the **Serbian Krajina(RSK)** was formed. The RSK was an unrecognized protostate that was supported by the Serbian government. This area had a majority Serb population, and the people of RSK considered themselves Serbian. In August 1990, a referendum was held in Krajina on the question of Serb "sovereignty and autonomy" in Croatia. The resolution was confined exclusively to Serbs, so it passed by a majority of 99.7%. As expected, it was declared illegal and invalid by the Croatian government.

Significant clashes from this time is the siege of Kijevo, where over a thousand people were sieged in the inner Dalmatian village of Kijevo, and the



▲ Fig. 1: Map of Croatia during the war.

Borovo killings, where Croatian policemen engaged Serb militaries in the eastern village of Borovo and suffered twelve casualties, a Serb civilian was also killed on May 5 when he was caught in a crossfire between Serb and Croat paramilitaries.

The parliament of Croatia declared Croatia's independence and dissolved its association with Yugoslavia on June 25, 1991.

The government of Yugoslavia responded to the declarations of independence of Croatia and Slovenia with the Yugoslav Prime Minister declaring the secessions to be illegal and contrary to the Constitution of Yugoslavia, and supported the JNA taking action to secure the integral unity of Yugoslavia.

In July, in an attempt to salvage what remained of Yugoslavia, JNA forces were involved in operations against predominantly Croat areas. In July, the Serb-led Territorial Defence Forces started their advance on the Dalmatian coastal areas. By early August, large areas of Banovina were overrun by Serb forces.

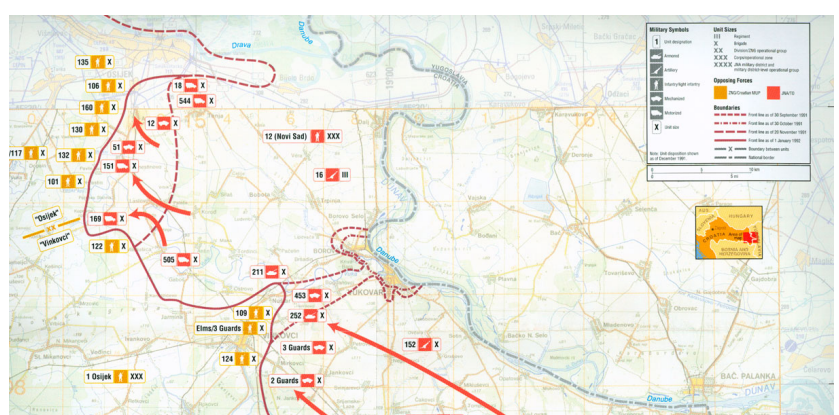
With the start of military operations in Croatia, Croat conscripts started to desert the JNA in masses, similar to what had happened in Slovenia. This made the JNA more ethnically dominated by Serbs and Serbian nationalists who believed in Greater Serbia. **(idea of a greater serbia)**



The Yugoslav army and other Serb forces held less than one-third of the Croatian territory, mostly in areas with a majority ethnic Serb population. The JNA military strategy partly consisted of extensive bombardment, even if there was the presence of civilians.

The United Nations (UN) imposed a weapons embargo; this did not affect JNA-backed Serb forces significantly, as they had the JNA arsenal at their disposal, but it caused serious trouble for the newly formed Croatian army. The Croatian government started smuggling weapons across its borders to fill its weapon demand.

In August 1991, the Battle of Vukovar began. Eastern Slavonia was gravely impacted throughout this



period, starting with the Dalj massacre, and fronts developed around Osijek and Vinkovci in parallel to the encirclement of Vukovar. In September, Serbian troops surrounded the city of Vukovar. Croatian troops entrenched themselves within the city and held their ground against elite armored and mechanized brigades of the JNA, as well as Serb paramilitary units. Vukovar was almost completely devastated; 15,000 houses were destroyed. Some ethnic Croatian civilians had taken shelter inside the city. Other members of the civilian population fled the area. Death toll estimates for Vukovar as a result of the siege range from 1,798 to 5,000. A further 22,000 were exiled from Vukovar immediately after the town was captured. In many areas, large numbers of civilians were forced out by the military. To this day, this is considered ***ethnic cleansing***.

On October 7, the Yugoslav air force attacked the main government building in Zagreb, an incident referred to as the bombing of Banski Divovski.

On October 8, the previously agreed three-month postponement on the implementation of the declaration of independence expired, and the Croatian government declared independence. Also, the bombing of Banski Divovski and the Battle of Vukovar caused the EU to impose sanctions against the Yugoslav government.

Between October 31 and November 4, Croatia launched its first major offensive operation by counterattacking the JNA's 5th corps, which was advancing on the city of Pakrac. The Croatian Army recaptured approximately 270 square kilometers (100 sq mi) of territory in this operation.

On 20 November 1991, the ***Vukovar massacre*** happened, which was the killing of Croatian prisoners of war and civilians by Serb paramilitaries. In the final days of the Vukovar battle, the evacuation of the Vukovar hospital was negotiated between



the Croatian authorities. The JNA subsequently refused the ICRC access to the hospital despite the agreement and removed approximately 300 people from its premises. The group, largely consisting of Croats but also including ***(Vukovar after the Battle)*** Serbs, Hungarians, Muslims, and two foreign nationals

who fought on the side of Croatia, was initially transported to the JNA barracks, and then they were transported to the Ovčara farm south of Vukovar. At the farm, the prisoners were beaten for several hours before the JNA pulled its troops from the site, leaving the prisoners in the custody of the Croatian Serb TO and Serbian paramilitaries. The prisoners were then taken to a prepared site, shot, and buried. There were other massacres, such as the Lovas massacre, the Erdut massacre, and the Škabrnja massacre, which also happened around this timeline. These massacres were all done by the Serb forces.

The Gospić massacre also happened at the same time. The Gospić massacre was the mass killing of 100–120 predominantly Serb civilians in Gospić, which was done by the Croatian National Guard.

In January 1992, with the help of the United States of America and the United Nations, a ceasefire was made between the Croatian government and the Serbian government. And with this ceasefire, Croatia was finally recognized by the European Community. Even though JNA started to retreat its forces from Croatia, it still retained control over the Serbian-populated areas. The UN deployed a protection force in Serbian-held Croatia—the **United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR)** to supervise and maintain the agreement.

And after that, Croatia became a member of the UN on May 22, 1992. Even though the ceasefire was in place, small armed conflicts still occurred, especially Croatian operations to relieve the sieges in Croatian cities. As a result of this, some areas were demilitarized and handed over to the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR). UNPROFOR was created by UN Security Council **Resolution 743** on 21 February 1992 during the Croatian War of Independence. The initial role of UNPROFOR was to ensure stable conditions for peace talks and security in the three demilitarized zones, but as the war went on, especially with the Bosniak war, UNPROFOR enacted a more military role and got into fights with the Serbian forces.

In 1993, the ceasefire was broken, and the fighting continued. The first operation (Operation Maslenica) was done by Croatia with a major offensive operation. The attacks proved successful as they met their declared objectives, but at a high cost, as 114 Croat and 490 Serb soldiers were killed during the offensive. While Operation Maslenica was in progress, Croatian forces attacked Serb positions. They advanced towards the Peruca Dam and captured it.

Retreating Serb forces wanted to detonate three explosive charges totaling the 65-meter high dam in an attempt to cause it to fail and flood the area downstream. However, a British UN lieutenant disabled the bombs. His action saved the lives of 20,000 people who would otherwise have drowned or become homeless.

Another operation took place in the south of Gospić, from September 9–17. The offensive was undertaken by the Croatian army to stop Serbian artillery in the area from shelling nearby Gospić. The operation met its stated objective of removing the artillery threat, but during the offensive, the Croats committed a lot of war crimes against Serbian civilians. The **ICTY (*International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia*)** later prosecuted Croatian officers for war crimes. The operation was halted because of international pressure, and an agreement was reached that the Croatian troops were to withdraw to positions held before September 9, while UN troops were to occupy the region. The events that followed remain controversial, as Canadian authorities reported that the Croatian army fought against the advancing Canadian army before finally retreating after sustaining 27 fatalities. The Croatian Ministry of Defense and UN officers' testimonies given during the Ademi-Norac trial deny that the battle occurred.

On February 18, 1993 Croatian government signed a secret agreement with the local Serbs called the Daruvar agreement. The secret agreement aimed to normalize life for local populations near the frontlines. But the authorities in RSK learned of this agreement and arrested the locals for the agreement.

In 1992, the ***Croatian-Bosnian conflict*** had erupted, but this conflict had never turned into a full-on war. By 1994, with pressure from the United States, 2 governments made a peace deal to fight against the Serb forces. In late 1994, the Croatian Army intervened in Bosnia from November 1–3 and conducted the Winter '94 operation and operation Cincar

While these operations were undergoing, the Krajina (RSK) forces continued the siege of Bihac. An UN peacekeeping force stationed in that town reported that the siege had reached its final stage. He added that there was heavy tank and artillery fire, and also a surface-to-air missile that surrounded the city of Bihac. With these developments, the UN Security Council passed ***Resolution 958***, which allowed NATO to launch its aircraft to operate in Croatia.

With this resolution on November 23rd 1994, NATO launched Operation Deny Flight and attacked Udbina airfield controlled by RSK, SAM (surface-to-air missile) sites

Violence erupted again in early May 1995. The RSK lost support from the Serbian government in Belgrade, partly as a result of international pressure. At the same time, the new Croatian operations reclaimed all of the previously occupied territory in Western Slavonia. In retaliation, Serb forces attacked Zagreb with rockets, killing 7 and wounding over 200 civilians.

On August 4, Croatia started Operation Storm, intending to recapture almost all of the occupied territory in Croatia, except for a comparatively small strip of land, located along the Danube, at a considerable distance from the bulk of the contested land. The offensive, involving 100,000 Croatian soldiers, was the largest single land battle fought in Europe since World War II. Operation Storm achieved its goals and was declared completed on August 8. However, the operation was at a high cost. The Croatian human rights organization said 677 Serb civilians were killed by Croatian forces after Operation Storm. Some other sources also say that an additional number of 181 civilians were killed and buried in a mass grave. These people who were killed were mostly old people who remained, while most Serb civilians fled. An additional 837 Serb civilians are listed as missing following Operation Storm. Many of the civilian population of the occupied areas fled or were displaced during the operation. It has been recorded by sources like the BBC and Amnesty International that around 200,000 Serbs were displaced during the offensive. However, the US immigration office claims that only 80,000 civilians were displaced

On November 12th, the Erdut agreement was signed, ending all hostilities between Croatia and RSK. The agreement stated that the remaining occupied area was to be returned to Croatia, with a two-year transitional period, and a new UN transitional administration would be established. The agreement also guarantees the right of establishment of a council of municipalities for the local Serbian community.

### ***Bosnian War of Independence***



The Bosnian War was an international armed conflict that took place in Bosnia and Herzegovina between 1992 and 1995. The war was mainly between the Serbian and Croatian-supported proto-states, the Croatian Republic of Herzeg-Bosnia and Republika Srpska. Bosnia is a very diverse place in terms of ethnicity and religion, with Muslim Bosniaks at 44%, Orthodox Serbs at 32%, and catholic Croats at %17.

On 29 February 1992, a referendum was held for independence. Even though the referendum passed, the Bosnian Serbs rejected the outcome and formed the "Republic of the Serb People of Bosnia and Herzegovina," which later became Republika Srpska.

On April 6th, the longest siege of a city in modern warfare history began, which would last for 4 years. The Bosnian capital, **Sarajevo**, would be under siege from 5 April 1992 to 29 February 1996 (1,425 days). Republika Srpska had a siege force of 13,000 stationed in the surrounding hills. From there, they blockaded the city and assaulted it with artillery, tanks, and small arms, dropping at least



500,000 bombs. A total of 13,952 people were killed during the siege, including 5,434 civilians. On 2 May 1992, Bosnian Serb forces established a total blockade of the city. They blocked the major access roads, cutting supplies of food and medicine, water, electricity, and heating. It's estimated that the city's population decreased by 150,000

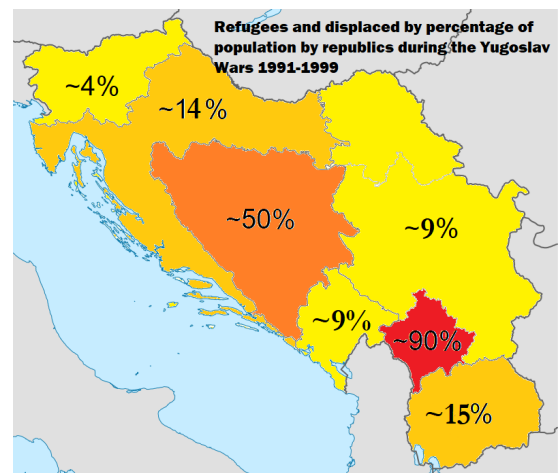
during the war. The Serbian forces used another strategy, to make continuous bombardments of the city, especially on civilian targets. According to the report of the UN IRMCT, "during the siege, thousands of shells were fired at residential areas, hospitals, markets, and other civilian targets. Snipers attacked citizens of Sarajevo while they were going about their daily activities, such as fetching water, walking, or using public transport. Even children were shot while playing, cycling, walking with their parents, or on their way home from school." These actions played the most part in leading up to the NATO intervention.



In 1992, outside of Sarajevo, Serbians were somewhat successful in their offensives. Serbs had seized Bosniak-majority cities along the Drina and Sava rivers and forced their Muslim population to leave. A joint Bosnian-HVO offensive in May was greatly successful, and they were able to make a counterattack and recapture some cities, and also encircled some JNA forces during the duration. In April 1992, the Croatian forces entered Orašje and, according to Croatian sources, began a campaign of harassment against Serb civilians, including torture, rape, and murder. An agreement was made with the Bosnian government that JNA units would be allowed to leave Bosnia peacefully. Despite the agreement, the convoy was attacked in Tuzla's Brčanska Malta district with rifles and rocket launchers; mines were placed along its route. 52 JNA soldiers were killed, and over 40 were wounded, mostly ethnic Serbs.

During these times, it was discovered that there were concentration camps established by the JNA to torture and kill Bosniak-Croat civilians. Especially, Muslim civilians were transferred to these camps and were tortured and later killed. This was one of the biggest acts of ethnic cleansing of the war. Also, other camps were used for different purposes, like the camps in Foca for the rape of women.

By June 1992, refugees and internally displaced persons had reached **2.6 million**. The number of refugees significantly strained the Croatian economy and infrastructure.



The Croat-Bosniak alliance, formed at the beginning of the war, had started to break. An attempt to create a joint HVO and TO military headquarters in mid-April failed. The tensions steadily increased throughout the second half of 1992. An armed conflict occurred in Busovača in early May and another one on 13 June. On 19 June, a conflict between the units of the TO on one side, and HVO and HOS units on the other side, broke out in Novi Travnik. Incidents were also recorded in Konjic in July, and in Kiseljak and the Croat settlement of Stup in Sarajevo during August.

In early 1993, conflicts continued, but a major operation had not happened. Yet in the small conflicts, both sides accused each other of war crimes. The most major event that happened was on 8 January 1993, when Serb forces killed the deputy prime minister of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina after stopping the UN convoy transporting him from the airport.

On 22 February 1993, the UNSC released Resolution 808, which established an international tribunal for the prosecution of persons responsible for serious violations of international humanitarian law. UNSC also proposed a peace plan. It wanted Bosnia and Herzegovina to be a decentralised state with ten autonomous provinces. Some of these autonomous provinces would be controlled by Croatia, some by Bosnia, and some by Serbia; however, the Bosnian government would reject this peace deal. The peace plan was viewed by some as one of the factors leading to the escalation of the ***Croat-Bosniak conflict***.

On 31 March 1993, the Security Council released ***Resolution 816***, which called on member states to enact a no-fly zone in Bosnia-Herzegovina. On April 12th, NATO launched operation ***deny-flight***. And after resolution 816, the UNSC released resolution 826.

Most of 1993 was dominated by the Croat-Bosniak War. In early January, the HVO and the ARBiH clashed in central Bosnia. A temporary ceasefire was reached after days of fighting, with UNPROFOR mediation. On 30 January, ARBiH (Bosniak army) and HVO (Croatian army) leaders met in Vitez, together with representatives from UNPROFOR and other foreign observers, and signed a ceasefire in central Bosnia, which came into effect the following day. On 13 February, a joint ARBiH-HVO commission was formed to resolve incidents.

The war restarted at the beginning of April. The Croats attributed the escalation of the conflict to the increased Islamic policy of the Bosniaks, while Bosniaks accused the Croat side of separatism.

On April 16th, the Croatian army launched an attack and entered the village. HVO units went from house to house, burning them and killing civilians. When Croat forces arrived, they left all Croats alone and massacred the Bosniaks.

who could not escape the massacre. This resulted in more than 1000 civilians being killed

The war continued with offensives and massacres from both sides, killing civilians intentionally, even though Croats and Bosniaks were fighting with each other, they were still allied in some places, like Sarajevo, where they fought together as allies. In some parts, the Republika Srpska forces allied and fought together with both the HVO and the ARBiS (Bosnian Army). So the war was very confusing for the soldiers. One day, they are fighting against the HVO with the help of VRS, the other day they are allies with HVO, and they are fighting with the VRS (Army of Republika Srpska ).

Between 30 March and 23 April 1994, the Serbs launched another major offensive. On 9 April 1994, the Secretary General of the UN, citing Security Council **Resolution 836**, threatened airstrikes on the Serbian forces. For the next two days, NATO planes carried out air strikes against Serbian military objectives. The Bosnian Serb Army surrounded 150 UNPROFOR soldiers, taking them hostage. NATO issued the Serbs an ultimatum, which they were forced to comply with.

On February 5th, Sarajevo suffered its biggest attack in the war, where 68 people were killed, and the Serbian forces deliberately bombed the population center of Sarajevo

On 6 February, the UN formally requested NATO to confirm that future requests for air strikes would be carried out immediately. On 9 February 1994, NATO was authorised to launch air strikes at the request of the UN against artillery and mortar positions in or around Sarajevo, determined by UNPROFOR to be responsible for attacks against civilian targets. Only Greece did not support the use of air strikes, but did not veto the proposal. NATO also issued an ultimatum to the Serbs demanding the removal of heavy weapons around Sarajevo by midnight of 20–21 February, or they would face air strikes. On 12 February, the large-scale removal of Bosnian-Serb heavy weapons began on 17 February 1994.

On 23 February 1994, in Zagreb, with the help of the American government, the **Washington Agreement** was signed, which ended the Croat-Bosniak war. The Croat-Bosniak alliance was renewed with this agreement.

On 28 February Nato fighter jets blew 4 planes out of the sky when they violated the no-fly zone. On 10–11 April 1994, UNPROFOR called in air strikes to protect the Goražde safe area, resulting in the bombing of a Serbian military command outpost near Goražde by two US F-16 jets. This was the first time in NATO's history that it had conducted air strikes. In retaliation, Serbs took 150 U.N. personnel hostage on 14 April

On 19 November 1994, NATO approved the use of large-scale military air operations against Serbian military objectives, and in the following days, NATO forces attacked Serbian military airports and air defence systems.

On 11 July 1995, Army of Republika Srpska (VRS) forces occupied the UN "safe area" of Srebrenica in eastern Bosnia, where more than 8,000 men were killed in the **Srebrenica massacre**, and most of the women were expelled to Bosniak territory. The massacre constitutes the first legally recognised genocide in Europe since the end of World War II. 83% of those killed were civilians. As of 2020, nearly 7,000 genocide victims had been identified through DNA analysis of body parts recovered from mass graves. It was found that most of these victims were Bosniak Muslims.



Because of these massacres on 30 August, the Secretary General of NATO announced the start of **Operation Deliberate Force**, widespread airstrikes against Bosnian Serb positions supported by UNPROFOR rapid reaction force artillery attacks

Only 12 days later, the Serbian government had accepted most of the peace conditions, and on the 14th of December, the **Dayton Accords** were signed. And the Serbian government accepted defeat.

### ***Kosovo war***

The Kosovo War is a conflict that lasted from 28 February 1998 until 11 June 1999. It was fought between the Yugoslav forces and the UÇK (Kosovo Liberation Army).



Before the war, there was clear discrimination against the Kosovar Albanians, who were mostly

unemployed and had terrible living standards due to the racist actions of the Yugoslav government. Due to these terrible living conditions, the **UÇK**, or more formally known in English as **KLA**, was formed. The KLA believed that only armed resistance could solve the situation.

The Yugoslav government considered the KLA to be "terrorists" and "insurgents" who indiscriminately attacked police and civilians, while most Albanians saw the KLA as "freedom fighters". Also, even though the US had not officially recognized the KLA as a terrorist group, it had stated that it had committed "terrorist acts".

The KLA was mostly supplied with arms by the Albanian mafia groups. Their tactics as usually focused mainly on guerrilla and mountain warfare, and harassing and ambushing Yugoslav forces and Serb police.

In a compromise agreement between Milošević and Boris Yeltsin on 16 June 1998, the Yugoslavian government agreed to accept an independent observer mission, **KDOM(Kosovo diplomatic observer mission)**. This was initially a group of approximately fifty diplomats from different countries who acted as observers in Kosovo and relayed information to the international community.

One of the most brutal single conflicts happened in the Drenica valley area. The Yugoslav police aimed to kill or capture Adem Jashari. This encounter led to the death of 60 civilians, of whom 18 were women, and 10 were below the age of 10.

As the conflicts continued throughout 1998, both Albanian and Serb villages were burned and raided, but one of these incidents stands out. On 28 September, KDOM discovered mutilated corpses of 35 Kosovar Albanians. There were women and children among the corpses.

As of 1998 of September over 250,000 people had been displaced from their homes by the excessive and indiscriminate use of force by Serbian security forces and the Yugoslav Army, with 250,000 of the displaced Albanians, 30,000 of whom were out in the wild, without basic humanitarian needs. Because of these circumstances, the UN Security Council adopted Resolution 1199, which demanded a ceasefire.

On 13 October 1998, NATO issued activation orders for the execution of a limited air strike campaign in Yugoslavia. On the 15th of October, the KVM agreement was signed. The KVM (Kosovo Verification Mission) was an OSCE mission to verify that the Serbian and Yugoslav forces were complying with United Nations Security Council resolutions 1199 and 1203.

On October 30, **Operation Eagle Eye** started. This was the result of the NATO-Kosovo Verification Mission agreement, which established an air surveillance system consisting of NATO reconnaissance aircraft and unmanned aerial vehicles. The monitors consisted of 1,400 ground observers. The Serbs did not comply with the resolutions and agreements.

On 15 January 1999, the **Račak massacre** occurred, in which 45 Kosovan Albanians were killed. This was the most disturbing act since the ceasefire. Even though the Yugoslavian forces denied the massacres, according to OSCE reports, they were committed by the Yugoslavian forces. With these atrocities, NATO decided that only a military force could solve the conflict

On 30th January Nato announced that they have decided to authorise air strikes against Yugoslav military targets, Nato also set non-negotiable terms for the Yugoslav government. With these terms, the Yugoslav government agreed to a peace conference called the **Raumbillet conference**. Yet this conference did not succeed due to Yugoslavia's not accepting any NATO forces in Kosovo. After the talks, Yugoslavia responded by mobilising huge amounts of troops and resources and declared a state of emergency.

On 24 March at 19:00, NATO started its bombing campaign against Yugoslavia. NATO announced its goal very clearly with this statement: "Serbs out, peacekeepers in, refugees back". NATO primarily focused on destroying air and ground targets such as artillery, tanks, and units. However, this process was extremely slow due to every target needing to be hand-voted by every single member.

There were also several incidents of civilian casualties, one of which was an accidental bombing of an Albanian refugee convoy, thinking it was a Yugoslav military convoy. This accident killed about 50 Albanians. And in another incident, NATO accidentally bombed the Chinese embassy, killing 3 Chinese civilians. This is why they considered it an accidental bombing, yet there are some claims that

this was not mistaken, but rather because it was being used as a relay station for Yugoslav army radio signals.

On 9 June, after Milošević accepted the conditions, the NATO-led peacekeeping Kosovo Force (KFOR) of 30,000 soldiers began entering Kosovo, and the ***Kumanovo Agreement was signed***. This agreement between NATO and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia halted the 78-day NATO bombing campaign and mandated the phased withdrawal of all Yugoslav military and police forces from Kosovo. The following day, on June 10, 1999, the United Nations Security Council adopted ***Resolution 1244***, which formalized the agreement, established a UN administration in the territory, and authorized a NATO-led peacekeeping force (KFOR).

### ***Insurgency in Macedonia***

The insurgency in Macedonia was a short conflict that happened between the ***National Liberation Army (NLA)***, which had gotten most of its aid from the UÇK (KLA), and the Macedonian government. The NLA wanted to secure Albanian rights in the Macedonian government and did not want to separately form a new country.

The first attacks started on the 22nd of January 2001, and by the start of March, the NLA had taken effective control of a large piece of northern and western Macedonia and had come within 12 miles of the capital. The series of attacks continued till the start of August.

On 13 August, the ***Ohrid Agreement*** was signed between ethnic Macedonian and Albanian representatives, ending the conflict. The Ohrid agreement stated that it changed the official languages of the country, with any language spoken by more than 20% of the population becoming co-official with the Macedonian language. With this, the Albanian language was a co-official language. It also established basic principles of the state, such as ending hostilities, voluntary disarmament of ethnic Albanian armed groups, and the reform of minority political and cultural rights. This agreement was essentially made possible with the mediation of the EU and NATO.

**Operation Essential Harvest** was launched on 22 August and effectively started on 27 August. This 30-day mission involved 4,200 NATO troops and Macedonian troops to disarm the NLA and destroy their weapons. In September, the NLA disbanded.

### **Arms Embargo**

One of the first resolutions made by the UNSC for the breakup of Yugoslavia was **Resolution 713**. The resolution UNSC supported the EU's attempts at solving the crisis by enforcing an arms embargo and urging a ceasefire between Yugoslavia and Croatia- Bosnia.

But this Resolution made a really big difference in the arms capability in the early years of the war. Because, as we talked about at the beginning of the study guide (check the ten-day war), the Yugoslavian government had ended the **Tito-era defense** doctrine and seized all weapons from the autonomous regions. So the Serbian side had most of the amendments in the country, while sides like Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia, and Kosovo struggled to find guns and relied mostly on captured or smuggled guns.

Especially in the Kosovo conflict, the UÇK had to mostly rely on the smuggled weapons from the Albanian mafia from the border.

This imbalance also led to the Yugoslavian government committing war crimes and massacres much more easily due to the civilians' inability to defend themselves. Critics argued that the arms embargo indirectly worsened humanitarian disasters such as the siege of Sarajevo and the Srebrenica massacre by leaving Bosnian government forces too poorly equipped to defend civilians against better-armed attackers.

Most historians believe the **arms embargo failed** to prevent the Yugoslav wars and instead favored Serb forces, who already controlled most of the former Yugoslav army's weapons, while weaker republics like Bosnia and Herzegovina and Croatia struggled to defend themselves.

## War Crimes

The Yugoslav wars were the most brutal conflict in Europe since the 2. world war, it also had many war crimes, especially committed by the Serb forces. That was the main reason for the Nato intervention, and later, after the war, the formation of **ICTY (*International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia*)**, which we will talk about in the next chapter, much more. These atrocities led to a massive humanitarian crisis, with millions of people getting displaced, thousands of children, women, and men getting murdered and massacred, raped, sent to camps to be killed, starved, and in need of basic humanitarian needs like food, water, and shelter.

In the Croatian independence war, more than 3500 people died due to the massacres of the Serb forces, including large numbers of children and women. These massacres were intentionally made against ethnic Croatian civilians. The most severe massacres recorded were the **Gospic massacre, Bacin massacre, Pakrac killings,**

**Vukovar massacre, Sisak killings, Petrinja massacre, and the Dalj massacre.**

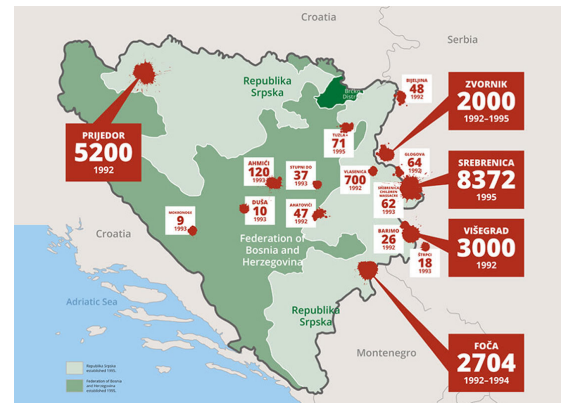
These massacres combined killed more than 1500 Croat civilians. The Serb officials were convicted for war crimes and crimes against humanity, including **murder, torture, persecution** on political, racial, and religious grounds, cruel treatment, **imprisonment, deportation**, plunder of public or private property, wanton destruction of villages or devastation not justified by military necessity, **inhumane acts, and attacks on civilians.** The Croatian War is home to the start of the **systemic ethnic cleansing** that became even more widespread in the Bosnian War.



During the early phase of the Croatian War, around **250,000–300,000** Croats were displaced from territories captured by Serb forces. Cities like Vukovar were heavily destroyed, causing large refugee movements. Many civilians were also detained in camps or forced to flee because of violence and intimidation. More than **500,000 people** were displaced in total, considering also

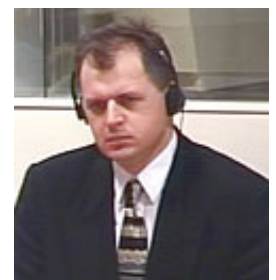
the Serbian population. Tens of thousands of homes were destroyed. This caused a huge humanitarian crisis with people living in camps and the stress not being accessible to basic humanitarian needs.

The Bosnian genocide is known for the systemic ethnic cleansing and deportation. It also has the biggest single genocide since the 2. world war. The ***Srebrenica genocide*** was the mass killing of 8.372 Bosniak Muslim men and boys. Additionally, 25,000 to 30,000 Bosniaks, mainly women and children, were abused and forcibly moved out of Srebrenica. This happened in a UN-protected area where UN Dutch peacekeepers were not able to prevent the massacre. There were also other systematic ethnic cleansings, in Predekor, 5200 Bosniak Muslims were murdered, in Visegrad, 3000, and in Foca, 2704.



The Bosnian Genocide was not only contained in the Srebrenica genocide, but there were a total of ***25,609 Bosniak Muslim civilians*** killed, ***7,480 Bosnian Serb civilians***, and ***1,675 Croatian Bosniak civilians***. Also, more than 10,000 people are missing, mostly Bosniak Muslims.

During the Bosnian War, around 2 million people were displaced, making it one of the largest refugee crises in Europe since World War II. Bosniaks, Croats, and Serbs were all forced from their homes through ethnic cleansing, violence, and mass expulsions. Many civilians fled to other parts of Bosnia and Herzegovina or became refugees abroad after towns and villages were attacked or destroyed, and 12,000 to 20,000 women were raped. In March 1995, a report stated that Bosnian Serb forces had been responsible for 90 percent of the ethnic cleansing committed up to that time and that leading Serb politicians almost certainly knew of the crimes. Many Serbs officials, generals, and soldiers were prosecuted because of these atrocities.



There were also war crimes committed during the Croat/Bosniak war, like the ***Lašva Valley ethnic cleansing***, which was the killing of Bosniak Muslims by the Croatian forces. The Lašva Valley's Bosniaks were subjected to persecution on political and religious grounds, deliberately discriminated against in the context of a widespread attack on the region's civilian population, and suffered mass murder, rape, and wartime sexual violence, imprisonment in camps that had horrendous conditions; the cells were small and overcrowded, hygiene was very poor, and the food was not enough. The detainees were beaten. Screams were played over the loudspeakers at night. Many did not return; around 1300 people were killed.

The Kosovo War caused one of the largest displacement crises in modern European history. It resulted in the displacement of approximately 1.5 million people and the killing of 12.000 Albanian Kosovars driven by systematic ethnic cleansing and military campaigns. This was a time when the Kosovar Albanian population was close to 2 million. So the people that were displaced were a big majority of the population. One tank commander reported, *"For the entire time I was in Kosovo, I never saw an enemy soldier, and my unit was never once involved in firing at enemy targets. The tanks, which cost \$2.5 million each, were used to slaughter Albanian children... I am ashamed"*.



## ***International War Crimes Trials***

The ***International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY)*** was a United Nations court established in 1993 to prosecute serious violations of international humanitarian law committed during the Yugoslav war. ICTY judged 161 cases like Milosevic, Radovan Karadžić and Ratko Mladić. The ICTY played a major role in creating modern international criminal law and influenced later institutions such as the International Criminal Court. After completing its mandate, the ICTY was closed on 31 December 2017.

***Radovan Karadžić*** was the president of the Republika Srpska during the Bosnian War, he was found guilty of genocide, crimes against humanity, war crimes, and violations of the laws or customs of war. He got life in prison.

***Ratko Mladić*** was the commander of the Army of Republika Srpska during the Bosnian War he was convicted of genocide, crimes against humanity, and war crimes. Got life in prison.

***Slobodan Milosevic*** was the president of the Yugoslav government and the Yugoslav army during the Yugoslav wars. The ICTY charged Milošević with genocide, crimes against humanity, and war crimes however he died his final verdict in 2006.

The ***International Residual Mechanism for Criminal Tribunals (IRMCT)*** was created by the UN Security Council in 2010 to carry out the remaining functions of both the ICTY and the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda after those tribunals closed. IRMCT's responsibility is to hear appeals, witness protection, the tracking, arrest and prosecution of the remaining fugitives still wanted for trial by the ICTR.

## ***Aftermath***

After the Yugoslav wars 7 new independent countries were created; Slovenia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia, Serbia, Kosovo, North Macedonia and Montenegro. Most of these countries are still not friendly with each other, often getting to the brink of another war. Yet the war memories are still fresh and the traumas still exist in people's minds.

The war also made major impacts on these countries' international politics. Most countries that broke up from Yugoslavia are much closer to the EU and Nato because of the interventions made by the US and their allies. But Serbia is much closer to the Russian Federation because of the same reason. Countries like Croatia and Slovenia joined the EU and Croatia, Slovenia, Macedonia and Montenegro joined the Nato.

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About the war crimes in Croatia:

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About war crimes in Kosovo:

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